TRANSACTIONS

of the

SECOND WORLD CONGRESS

of

SOCIOLOGY

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VOLUME I

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
SECOND WORLD CONGRESS
OF SOCIOLOGY

Held in the University of Liège, Belgium,
from 24–31 August, 1953, under the auspices, and with the support,
of UNESCO and of the Belgian Government

VOLUME I

Preface

The Executive Committee of the *International Sociological Association*, meeting at the end of the Second World Congress of Sociology, decided to publish the *Transactions* of the Congress. It was apparent, however, that the financial cost of publishing in full all the 156 papers which had been presented in the four sections of the Congress, amounting to nearly 2,000 mimeographed pages, would be too great. Consequently, it was agreed to publish some of the papers in shortened versions and to omit from the *Transactions* the papers in section II of the Congress, which was concerned with *Intergroup Conflicts and their Mediation*. The omission is justified in some degree by the fact that a number of the papers in this particular section are likely to be published in connection with the UNESCO *Tensions Project*, while further selections are to appear in sociological journals. The procedure of omitting one whole section was in any case preferred to the difficult and invidious task of making a selection from the papers in each section.

The Executive Committee regrets profoundly that this lack of financial resources has prevented it from undertaking a complete publication of the Congress papers.

The contents of the two volumes of *Transactions* now published are as follows :—

> Volume I contains all the papers in Section III, *Recent Developments in Sociological Research* and Section IV, *The Training, Professional Activities and Responsibilities of Sociologists*, of the Congress. Some of the longer papers have been shortened, and many papers have been revised, by their authors, for publication.

> Volume II contains all the papers in Section I, *Social Stratification and Social Mobility*, of the Congress, with the exception of 7 short papers, which the authors did not wish to publish. Authors have, in most cases, revised their papers for publication.

It is hoped that the present volumes will form the first of a series of *Transactions*, to be published on the occasion of the triennial Congresses of the *International Sociological Association*.

Executive Secretary.

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Introduction

ROBERT C. ANGELL, *President*

(Professor of Sociology, University of Michigan)

These first years of the International Sociological Association's existence constitute a searching challenge to our discipline. Sociologists should, of all people, understand how to fashion an organisation whose activities will meet real needs, whose development will be sound and fruitful. We must marshal all our abilities to make the decisions of our international association wise and its initiatives energetic. It is tragic that death so soon robbed us of the services of our first president, Louis Wirth. His long experience in putting sociological knowledge to work in practical ways was a great asset to this Association in its formative stage, an asset now sadly missed.

Ours is an international association that should be unlike any other, for the simple reason that sociology is itself distinctive. No other discipline will play quite the same rôle on the world's stage, and its organised expression should, therefore, be unique. Our task is to analyse carefully that potential rôle and to plan an association that can give it maximum effectiveness.

All sciences require full and accurate communication among their devotees. Theories and empirical findings, methods of research and methods of teaching, standards of training and standards of professional conduct, are all subjects for give and take among scholars. Much is accomplished by scientific meetings, by the steady publication of books and monographs, by the learned journals with their articles on research and teaching, their reviews and their bibliographies. This is true no matter what the subject matter, whether physics or political science, because the royal road to scientific progress is inter-stimulation. It is all the more true in the case of sociology, because our discipline shows no signs of becoming standardised in scope and conception. Sociologists around the world need to be lifted out of their provincialisms.

An international association may make contributions of several kinds to this scholarly interaction. All of them have to do with increasing the numbers of persons that are in communication and the scope of the contacts. The establishment or facilitation of world-wide bibliographical and abstracting services is obviously of the first importance. Each unit of the scientific army needs to know what its fellow units are doing, what obstacles they are encountering, what victories they are winning in the common campaign. But occasionally at least it is desirable that the leaders on the various fronts come together for personal consultation and the exchange of experience. This is achieved through international seminars and world congresses. As the tempo

of scientific development quickens, the importance of this function increases.

Scientific sociology is a relatively recent development in human culture and there has not been time for it to become as well diffused throughout the world as have the older sciences. The result is that there are great differentials between countries in the salience of the subject educationally and in the importance attached to sociological research. In this situation communication between sociologists is all the more imperative because it is the only feasible way to lend assistance to countries in which sociology is less developed. If the ISA can act as an intermediary to facilitate such communication, two consequences can be anticipated. (1) Scholars in these countries will be stimulated to greater scientific knowledge and achievement; and, perhaps more important, (2) these scholars will learn the best ways to promote the acceptance of the subject in the public mind and to organise the expanded programmes of teaching and research. If asked to do so by governments, the International Sociological Association might assist in procuring competent advice on these matters. Thus the experience of those who have succeeded in gaining an established position for sociology could be put at the disposal of those still striving for the subject's adequate recognition.

There is another reason for international activities among sociologists, a reason which is germane to biology, geology, and most of the other social sciences as well. This is that the data which are necessary to the generation and testing of certain types of theory are not available in all parts of the world. A physicist or a chemist can build his laboratory almost anywhere and secure the materials he needs for his research. Not so the geologist who wishes to study volcanic processes or the biologist who is interested in ecological patterns that involve rare plants and animals. Obviously the sociologist is in the latter situation, too. If he wants to compare the concomitants of a matriarchal form of family organisation with those of a patriarchal form he must either travel to complete his research or rely on data gathered by someone else.

The importance which this scientific interdependence of the different parts of the world gives to an international association is obvious. Broad theories need to be tested under many sorts of conditions, some of which can be found only in distant places. Communication opens the way to such systematic testing, through co-operative efforts.

The International Sociological Association has been alive to the possibilities in this direction right from the beginning. The comparative studies in the field of social stratification that are in process and projected—studies which owe a great deal to the pioneering efforts of the late Theodor Geiger—constitute a demonstration of alertness and initiative. It is to be hoped that similar programmes of comparative research in other fields will be sponsored by the Association in the future.

The variations in sociological data in various parts of the world give particular urgency to the need for the exchange of professors and the migration of students. One who has studied Oriental bureaucracies, for instance, may have much to contribute to the study of Occidental bureaucracies and vice versa. And students who are interested in race relations in the United States may learn a great deal by studying race relations in Africa. Just how the International Sociological Association can facilitate these matters is not at once apparent, but clearly there is here a function of importance.

The final characteristic of sociology that must be taken into account in planning our international activities is almost, if not quite, unique. I refer to the fact that, since sociology is interested in all social systems, it must study that greatest of all systems, the world society. This society is embryonic as yet. It is not well integrated. It lacks almost completely a moral order. There is no sociologist, however, who does not foresee the gradual development of a world society. It may never become dominant over national societies, but, if the human race is to survive, it must somehow bring these societies into peaceful relations with one another. Just what the ties will be and how world institutions will come to function we cannot now foretell. But certain it is that these matters are now in process, and that sociologists have an obligation to study them. Surely never did mankind stand in greater need of the guidance that objective research can give. Our progress toward peace is sure to be stumbling and interrupted at best, but we may escape pitfalls and blind alleys if we study our experience as we go, and periodically reorient our efforts in the light of what we learn.

The potentialities of the International Sociological Association in this connection are great indeed. The processes of the world society are international in their very nature. To take a simple example, a student going abroad for study and returning home is like a shuttle. He may serve to knit two people together or, if he is scarred in the process, he may tear asunder what is already woven. To learn under what conditions the one or the other result occurs requires careful investigation in both countries. A limited amount of research of this kind has already been undertaken by social science colleagues in the United States. If such studies are to be done on a large scale, however, they will have to enlist the collaborative efforts of sociologists of different nationalities. The ISA can help to organise such collaboration.

This amounts to saying that a new level of social organisation is emerging. Men of each society are a part of it, but they cannot see it adequately from their limited perspectives. We must develop ways of seeing it whole, in its full three-dimensional character. This demands more than comparative research, for comparative research looks at different phenomena with the same glasses. In this instance we must look at different parts of the same phenomenon with the same glasses, and then put the results together to form a consistent picture. We

are at the very beginning of this task. We do not yet visualise it clearly. But it is a safe prediction that fifty years from now much will be known about the processes of the world society. And it is almost as certain that the International Sociological Association will have played a significant rôle in the accumulation of that knowledge. History will probably show that it was our greatest contribution.

For the moment we can only try as best we can with limited funds to fulfil some of the great tasks that lie before us. In co-operation with UNESCO and with other social science associations we must plan carefully. It would be a shame to fritter away our efforts and resources on the less important when we might, with a little vision, devote them to the more important.

We have made a good start. Two World Congresses have been held, the second of which attracted some 300 sociologists from 46 countries. The present two volumes containing some of the papers given at Liège and abstracts of others are a modest beginning of what we hope will be a distinguished series of *Transactions*. Mutually profit-able co-operation has been worked out with the Social Sciences Department of UNESCO. The Association is giving indispensable aid in the production of *Current Sociology*. We have fulfilled a contract for the preparation of studies on the teaching of sociology in eight countries, studies which are to be published by UNESCO. Another contract has been entered into to take charge of the preparation of a volume evaluating the studies UNESCO has produced under the so-called " Tensions Project " and suggesting fruitful lines of new research in the sociology of international relations. A possible Asso-ciation project that is under active consideration at the present time is the issuance of a news letter that would give our member organisa-tions information of mutual interest. Several of the functions discussed earlier would be furthered by such a service.

One of the challenging difficulties that our Association faces results from its federative character. The central secretariat does not have direct contact with the great body of working sociologists throughout the world. It reaches them indirectly through national associations, research institutes and other organised bodies. This is inevitable, but it puts a great responsibility on these member units. If the Associa-tion is to succeed there must be active support and facilitation of its work by its constituent groups. And this means more than interest on the part of a few officers. Imagination and ingenuity are much needed to devise ways for ensuring that each member of these organisa-tions feels a personal involvement in the International Sociological Association. Perhaps a News Letter distributed through the con-stituent organisations to the 10,000 individual members represented in the ISA would be worth while. Perhaps someone will think of a better way. But one way or another we must prevent the Association from becoming merely a superstructure. It must have firm foundations in the lives of thousands of individual sociologists. They are the ones

who feel the need of communication with their colleagues and it is they that the Association must serve.

Despite the many difficulties that lie in our path, those of us who were at Liège feel optimistic about the International Sociological Association. At that Congress there was demonstrated a fellowship and an ability to work together that augurs well for the future. If we can but capitalise on that experience and press forward with intelligence and enthusiasm, we can look ahead confidently to the growth of the Association in stature and in usefulness.

The International Sociological Association, 1950-1953

T. B. Bottomore, *Executive Secretary*
(Lecturer in Sociology, London School of Economics)

The ISA was founded at a Constituent Congress held in Oslo from September 5-11, 1949, under the auspices of UNESCO, and attended by representatives of the United Nations and UNESCO, and by 24 delegates from 21 countries. The Congress drew up *Statutes** governing the organisation of the Association, elected provisional officers and a Provisional Executive Committee, and established a programme of activities. The present report, appearing in the first published *Transactions* of the Association, is intended to survey briefly the development of membership and activities up to 1953. It is based on the *Annual Reports* for 1949-50, 1950-51, 1951-52 and 1952-53, distributed to all members of the Association.

I. MEMBERSHIP (see *Statutes*)

At the end of the first year of its existence (September 1950) the Association had 29 *regular members,* 6 *associate members* and 41 *individual members.* Altogether 39 different countries were represented in the membership.

At July 1, 1953, the Association had 43 *regular members,* 8 *associate members,* and 54 *individual members,* while 45 countries were represented in the membership.

II. OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (see *Statutes*)

President	Prof. Louis WIRTH (University of Chicago), 1950-52.
	Prof. Robert C. ANGELL (University of Michigan), 1953-.
Vice-Presidents	Prof. Fernando de AZEVEDO (University of Sao Paulo), 1950-53.
	Dean Georges DAVY (University of Paris), 1950-.
	Prof. Morris GINSBERG (London School of Economics), 1950-.
	Prof. Leopold von WIESE (University of Cologne), 1953-.
Executive Committee	Prof. Pierre de BIE (University of Louvain), 1950-.
	Dr. K. A. BUSIA (University College of the Gold Coast), 1953-.
	Prof. L. A. COSTA PINTO (University of Brazil), 1953-.

* The *Statutes* are published in an Appendix to the present report.

Prof. Theodor GEIGER (University of Aarhus), 1950–52.

Prof. G. S. GHURYE (University of Bombay), 1950–.

Prof. René KÖNIG (University of Zurich, now University of Cologne), 1950–53.

Prof. Kunio ODAKA (University of Tokyo), 1950–.

Prof. Stanislaw OSSOWSKI (University of Warsaw), 1950–53.

Prof. Torgny T. SEGERSTEDT (University of Uppsala), 1953–.

Prof. H. Z. ULKEN (University of Istanbul), 1953–.

Dr. Abdel Hamid ZAKI (Cairo), 1950–53.

Executive
Secretary

Mr. Erik RINDE (Institute for Social Research, Oslo), 1950–52.

Mr. Stein ROKKAN (University of Oslo and Institute for Social Research, Oslo), 1952–53.

Mr. T. B. BOTTOMORE (London School of Economics), 1953–.

The Association suffered a grievous loss during 1952 by the deaths of Professor Louis Wirth, its first President, and of Professor Theodor Geiger, a member of the Executive Committee and Chairman of the Research Committee. Professor Wirth was among those who first helped to plan the creation of an international organisation of sociologists. His guidance and encouragement contributed greatly to the establishment of the ISA as one of the major international social science organisations, and the success of the First World Congress of Sociology was largely due to his enthusiasm and inspiring personality. Professor Geiger, the Association's first Research Committee Chairman, played a major part in the development of the ISA, especially in initiating the programme of cross-national comparative research on social stratification and mobility, the first large scale cross-national research in the field of sociology.

III. ACTIVITIES

(1) *Congresses.* The First World Congress of Sociology was held in Zurich from September 4–9, 1950. It was attended by 124 delegates from 30 countries and 56 papers were presented under the following main themes:

" Sociological Research in its Bearing on International Relations."

" The Rôle of the Citizen in a Planned Society."

" The Rôle of Minorities in International Affairs."

A report of the Congress papers and discussions was published in the *International Social Science Bulletin*, Vol. III, No. 2, which appeared in summer, 1951.

The Second World Congress of Sociology was held at the University of Liège from August 24–31, 1953. It was attended by 281 delegates

from 34 countries and 156 papers were presented in four principal
sections :

" Social Stratification and Social Mobility ".

" Intergroup Conflicts and their Mediation."

" Recent Developments in Sociological Research."

" The Training, Professional Activities and Responsibilities of
Sociologists."

The opening ceremony was attended by H. E. the Minister of Public
Instruction, Mr. P. Harmel; by Mr. Giraud, representing the UN;
by Mrs. Alva Myrdal, representing UNESCO; by the Rector of the
University of Liège, Mr. F. Campus; by members of the provincial
and municipal governments, and by leading representatives of cultural
and commercial organisations in Liège.

Professor J. P. Haesaert, of the University of Ghent, chairman of
the Belgian Organisation Committee and honorary president of the
congress, opened the session by welcoming the delegates and the
representatives of governmental and international bodies. The Asso-
ciation is greatly indebted to this committee, and particularly its
Secretary-General, Professor R. Clémens, for its efficient organisation
of the Congress and for the generous hospitality which was shown to all
participants.

Reports of the Congress papers and discussions in each section were
published in the *International Social Science Bulletin*, Vol. VI, No. 1
(1954), and the papers of three of the sections are published in full,
or in shortened versions, in the present *Transactions*.

(2) *Social Science Documentation*. From its foundation the Asso-
ciation set itself the task of improving documentation in the field of
sociology. In collaboration with the Social Sciences Department of
UNESCO and the International Committee on Documentation in the
Social Sciences, the Association has established a quarterly periodical,
Current Sociology, of which one double-issue a year contains a classified
bibliography of sociology for the preceding year, while the other two
issues contain Trend Reports and bibliographies in special areas of
sociology. The classified bibliography contains upwards of 3,500
items for each year and covers publications of interest to sociologists
in demography, social psychology and social anthropology, as well
as the strictly sociological literature. Up to the end of 1953 three
classified bibliographies had been published, covering 1951 (first and
second half-year) and 1952, as well as two Trend Reports, the first on
" The Social Implications of Technical Advance " by Professor
S. C. Gilfillan (University of Chicago), and the second on " Social
Stratification " by Mr. D. G. MacRae (London School of Economics).

(3) *Survey of the Teaching of Sociology*. One of the programme
activities suggested by the Provisional Executive Committee appointed
at the Constituent Congress in 1949 was a world survey of the state

of sociology. It was later found that a part of this project coincided with a project adopted under the UNESCO programme for 1951, viz., an inquiry into the teaching of the social sciences in selected countries throughout the world. The UNESCO project, covering eight countries, was carried out through the appropriate international social science associations, and the ISA assumed responsibility for the preparation of reports on the teaching of sociology, social psychology and social anthropology. The project was begun at the end of 1950 and the reports were completed by June, 1952. Professor Pierre de Bie was appointed general rapporteur and prepared a general survey of the teaching of these subjects, which covered not only the eight countries dealt with by all the international associations but also seven additional countries. The information collected under this project is being published, in a shortened form, in a UNESCO series *Teaching in the Social Sciences*. The series covers the teaching of the social sciences in particular countries, and comparative studies of the teaching of each discipline in various countries. Several volumes have already appeared: " The Teaching of the Social Sciences in the United Kingdom ", " L'Enseignement des Sciences Sociales en France ", and " The University Teaching of the Social Sciences: International Relations ".

The ISA organised a Conference on the teaching of sociology and related disciplines in 1952 to study the completed national reports and the general survey by Professor de Bie. This general survey will appear in the UNESCO series.

(4) *Promotion of research collaboration.* The Constituent Congress recommended the establishment of a Research Committee which would act as a clearing house for information on research methods and projects and which would also help the development of cross-national research. Subsequently, the members of the Research Committee, as set up at the Zurich Congress, were asked to send in suggestions for research activities to be promoted by the Association. These recommendations were submitted to UNESCO and to a number of eminent sociologists throughout the world. The proposal which was received most favourably was one for comparative studies of social stratification and mobility and it was, therefore, decided to convene a Working Conference on this subject for 1951. The preparation of the conference was undertaken by Professor Theodor Geiger and Professor D. V. Glass. The Research Committee subsequently published an account of this Working Conference with detailed recommendations for research (doc. ISA/SSM/Conf. 1/1-8). A number of research projects under this programme have been started and some were completed between 1951-53. They are reported in papers presented to the Second World Congress of Sociology and published in Volume II of the present *Transactions*.

The Research Committee also undertook a world survey of sociological research and invited reports on recent developments in research for one of the sections of the Second World Congress. These reports

are published, in shortened versions, in Volume I of the present *Transactions*.

(5) *Other activities*. The Association has collaborated closely with UNESCO and has carried out a number of studies related to the UNESCO programme under special contracts. One of these was the survey of the teaching of sociology and related disciplines (mentioned under item 3 above).

The Association has been closely concerned with the UNESCO *Tensions Project*. A major section of the Second World Congress was devoted to "Intergroup Conflicts and their Mediation". Following the discussions at the Congress, the ISA was invited to prepare, on behalf of UNESCO, a new volume in the *Tensions* series reviewing the concepts and methods of research employed in sociological and social psychological studies of conflict and war. The preparation of this volume was begun at the end of 1953.

Among other studies prepared for UNESCO may be mentioned a preliminary evaluation of current research in the field of sociology.

One of the most important permanent activities of the Association is that of acting as a clearing house for all sociological information. The Association is constantly increasing the number of its correspondents, and maintains close personal contact with sociologists throughout the world. In this way the Secretariat is able to supply information on current research and to put sociologists working in the same field in touch with each other.

Appendix

INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION STATUTES

PREAMBLE

The undersigned sociologists from various countries, having met in Oslo from September 5–11, 1949, under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, being convinced of the desirability and necessity of improving relations between sociologists of various countries, hereby establish the International Sociological Association.

ARTICLE I—*Nature of Organisation*

The International Sociological Association is an organisation for purely scientific purposes.

ARTICLE II—*Purposes*

The object of the Association is to advance sociological knowledge throughout the world. To this end the Association shall undertake measures of international collaboration designed to assist the advancement of sociological study, teaching and research, and in particular:

(a) To secure and to develop personal contacts between sociologists throughout the world.

(b) To encourage the international dissemination and exchange of information on significant developments in sociological knowledge.

(c) To facilitate and promote international sociological research.

ARTICLE III—*Membership*

(1) Membership in the Association, in principle, shall consist only of sociological organisations.

(2) In countries or regions, however, where no organisations which are affiliated with the International Sociological Association exist membership shall be open to qualified individuals until a national or regional organisation whose membership is open to such individuals, is formed.

(3) Otherwise qualified sociologists, sociological institutes and institutions, whether members of national or regional societies or not, are also eligible for individual membership in special circumstances.

(4) Organisations and institutions concerned with problems related to sociology but not directly active in the field of sociology shall be eligible for associated membership. Associate members shall have the right to participate in all activities of the Association but shall not be entitled to take part in the designation of a national representative to the Council or to vote in the Council.

The Executive Committee, or Membership Committee designated by it, shall have power to set up qualifications for the several types of memberships and to decide on all applications for membership.

ARTICLE IV—*Governing Body*

The supreme governing body of the Association shall be the Council. In the interim between meetings of the Council, the powers of the Council, with the exception of the power of amending the constitution, shall be vested in the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE V—*The Council*

Every country whose sociological organisations are affiliated with the International Sociological Association shall have at least one member and one vote and not more than two members and two votes in the Council.

Whether a country shall have two members in the Council shall be determined from time to time by a two-thirds vote of the Council, taking into account the importance of sociology in each country.

The Council shall consist of one or two members from each country to be designated by the affiliated sociological organisation or organisation representative of the affiliated members in that country. In case of disagreement on a country's members in the Council, or in case no affiliated sociological organisation exists, the Council shall have power to decide on the representation of the country in question.

One or more alternate members may be designated from each country. These alternate members shall have the privilege of participating in the deliberations of the Council, but shall have no votes unless representing the absent Council member.

The members of the Council shall hold office for a term of three years or until the respective successors are chosen.

The Council shall elect the President of the Association and one or more Vice-Presidents and the members of the Executive Committee.

All decisions of the Council shall be reached by majority vote of those present, except as specified in Article XI, which require a two-thirds vote of those present.

The Council shall meet at least once every three years. Special meetings may be called by the Executive Committee or upon the written request of one-third of the members of the Council.

One-third of the total membership of the Council shall constitute a quorum. In the absence of Council meetings mail votes shall have the same effect as votes taken at Council meetings.

ARTICLE VI—*The Executive Committee*

The Executive Committee shall consist of not less than seven and not more than eleven members, including the President and the Vice-Presidents of the Association. It shall be elected by the Council from among the Council's own members.

In case of vacancies on the Executive Committee, the Executive Committee shall have the power to fill vacancies from the Council membership.

The Executive Committee shall meet at least once every three years. Special meetings may be called by the President or upon the written request of one third of its members. The term of office of members of the Executive Committee shall be six years, except that one half of the original Executive Committee members shall have terms of three years. All other rules of procedure of the Council shall also apply to the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII—*The Executive Secretary*

The Executive Secretary shall be elected by the Executive Committee for a term of three years. He need not be a member of the Council.

He shall be in charge of the administrative affairs of the Associations and will receive instructions from the Executive Committee through the President and will be responsible to the Executive Committee.

He shall make full reports on the state of the organisation, its membership, finances, programme, activities and accomplishments at least twice a year.

The stipend and allowances of the Executive Secretary shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

The office of Treasurer may be combined with that of Executive Secretary in the same person.

ARTICLE VIII—*President and Vice-Presidents*

The term of office of the President and Vice-Presidents shall be three years. The President shall not be eligible for re-election to the office of President.

The President shall preside at all of the meetings of the Council and Executive Committee. In his absence a Vice-President shall preside.

ARTICLE IX—*Headquarters of the Organisation*

The Headquarters of the Organisation shall be determined by the Executive Committee at the time of the election of the Executive Secretary.

ARTICLE X—*Dues*

The dues of member organisations and individual members shall be fixed by vote of the Council.

ARTICLE XI—*Amendments*

Amendments to the constitution shall only be voted on at meetings of the Council at which at least one half of the total Council membership is present and shall require a two-thirds vote of those present and shall not come into effect until ratified by a two-thirds mail vote of the total membership of the Council unless the vote for the amendment at the Council meeting constituted a two-thirds vote of the total membership of the Council.

All proposed amendments shall be submitted to members of the Council in writing at least sixty days before the date of the meeting where they are to be acted upon.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS
IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Sociological Research in Australia

S. F. NADEL

(Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Australian National University)

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

Yet the absence, in Australia, of academic Departments responsible for sociological teaching and research means also the absence of a common focus for all these studies, related though they may be by their common interest in social factors. More important, it means certain lacunæ in the training of the research workers, especially in theory and methodology. In consequence, strictly theoretical studies are few, and the empirical investigations are not infrequently narrowly descriptive, failing to develop a sharp *Problemstellung* or to press their analysis sufficiently far. If they are nevertheless brought together in the present survey, this was done because it seemed important under the conditions to indicate also the trend of research, however limited

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its scope. This trend has grown more and more marked in recent years. And it is the hope at least of the present writer that it will before long be given official recognition, through the establishment of sociological departments in the Australian Universities.

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

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

1. SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES PROPER

Only one study is concerned with a general and essentially theoretical problem, that of " Social Communications " (carried out in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology of the National University). A group of studies is concerned with social class and related subjects such as occupational mobility and the " prestige hierarchy " of occupations (Departments of Political Science, Melbourne; Department of Anthropology, Sydney; Department of Social Studies, Melbourne), special attention being paid to urban-rural comparison. The more specific effects of urbanisation, on adolescent attitudes (Department of Education, Sydney) and on the position of the aged (Department of Social Studies, Melbourne), provide a further research topic. So do social and human relations in industry (Department of Anthropology, Sydney; Departments of Psychology, Melbourne and Western Australia).

Several investigations cover the field of social tensions and prejudice (Department of Psychology, Melbourne). A final project, of related though broader scope, is the study of the assimilation and absorption of recent immigrants (Department of Anthropology and Sociology, National University).

2. INDIRECTLY SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The topic of immigration, now studied from other angles, also figures in the research programmes of demographers (National University), economists (Western Australia), and geographers (Sydney). The influence of social factors on school attainment and educational " wastage " is being studied in two Departments of Education (Sydney,

Queensland). Historians have chosen such near-sociological topics as labour mobility in the 19th century (Sydney), strikes under arbitration (Western Australia), and " Private Charity and State Aid " (Melbourne). " Penological Technique " and " The Ethics of Punishment " provide research topics for jurists and philosophers respectively (Western Australia), while the social factors affecting the institutional care of crippled children are considered in a piece of research carried out by the Department of Social Studies, Melbourne.

Psychologists claim the largest share in near-sociological research. Here several studies deal with the influence of the social environment on school children (Melbourne, Western Australia) and with the social adjustment of juvenile delinquents (Melbourne). One study (in Western Australia) is concerned with the diverse " frames of reference " influencing interaction in ethnically and socially heterogeneous groups.

3. GENERAL SURVEYS

These, as has been mentioned, frequently have specific practical aims, such as that of providing information for city authorities on needed social services or amenities and on the general pattern of community life. Examples are the social surveys of North Sydney (Department of Social Studies, Sydney) and of a suburb of Melbourne (Department of Psychology, Melbourne). Other surveys have an agricultural-economic bias (Melbourne, Western Australia) or concern the recreational and leisure interests of urban and rural populations (Department of Education, Melbourne). An ambitious project, still in the pilot stage, aims at the continuous study of a group of children over the first ten years of their life, the main object of the study being the influence of social factors on " mental health " (Department of Social Studies and Institute of Child Health, Sydney).

METHODS

A final note on the methods employed. The more specifically sociological studies and those carried out by social psychologists rest mainly on interviews and field observation; occasionally *ad hoc* experiments, personality and other tests, or sociometric techniques are also included. The research within other disciplines involves primarily the use of documentary material. The " Surveys " combine the latter with interviews and questionnaires.

Though the methods vary thus widely, they do not do so to an unusual degree. Any series of sociological studies, even when undertaken within the conventional framework of sociology, might show a similarly wide range of variation.

Recent Sociological Research in Denmark

DANISH SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

The place of sociology has until recently been very humble in Denmark. Only in 1937 was the first Danish chair of sociology established at the University of Århus and Dr. Theodor Geiger was appointed to the chair. Since his untimely death in 1952 the professorship has not been filled.

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

Professor Theodor Geiger succeeded in establishing an Institute of Social Research and promoting a series of valuable projects, particularly in the field of social mobility and social stratification. He was also the founder (1951) and the first president of the Danish Sociological Society.

In 1953 Denmark lost another outstanding social scientist, Professor Svend Ranulf, since 1939 professor of philosophy at the University of Århus. His interest was to a large extent directed towards sociology, particularly the sociology of social norms and of political propaganda.

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

A considerable proportion of social research and related studies have, since the war, been undertaken or sponsored by Government Departments, in particular the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. The Social Science Adviser to that Ministry, since 1941 Mr. Henning Friis, is in charge of research considered necessary for the planning of legislative and administrative measures in the field of social welfare.

RECENT RESEARCH BY THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ÅRHUS

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

The subject matter of the investigation is the origin of the Danish intelligentsia—defined as the producers of cultural values—during the period 1500-1900. The material utilised is the personal data of 8787 prominent men and women drawn from " Dansk Biografisk Leksikon ". The members of the intelligentsia have been classified according to date of birth, place of birth, field of cultural activity,

social status of parents, and sex, and the findings are interpreted with reference to contemporary cultural and historical developments.

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

The study is centred around two principal aims: (1) to determine the extent to which the academically trained are recruited from non-academic social strata, when not only the occupation of the students' fathers, but also the occupations of their grandfathers are taken into account, and (2) to isolate the (hypothetical) social strata which function as intermediaries (fathers) between non-academic grandfathers and the student generation. The analysis is based upon questionnaires returned by 7,902 students.

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

The study is concerned with occupational mobility between generations in Århus, Jutland, and is based on data from the municipal census of 1948. The material comprises the 39,722 men of 15 years and over that answered census questions asking for occupation of self, father, and—when the respondent was married—father-in-law.

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

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

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

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

RECENT RESEARCH ON SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN DENMARK

Social Conditions of Large Families in Copenhagen. Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs: "Undersøgelse af københavnske børnerige

familiers forhold med særligt henblik på deres boligforhold ". 1946. The basic documentation comprises statistical data on income, housing, and social welfare of 10,000 families with three or more children. Interviews were conducted with a sample of 1,400 families.

Social Conditions of Large Families in Århus. " Børneriges bolig-forhold ", Statistical Quarterly of the Municipality of Århus, No. 3, July 1952. Based on the census forms used at the general housing census in 1950. The investigation covers all 2,700 families with three or more children in Århus.

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

The statistical inquiries of the Commission directed by Mr. Henning Friis have covered the following fields:

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

(2) Activities of youth organisations, 1945–46. (The Organisation Inquiry).

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

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

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

The Youth Survey, published under the title: " Den danske Ungdom " (Danish Youth), (Copenhagen 1951), covered a sample of 9,000 young persons in the age group 15–24 years and was conducted by the interview method. (English summary.)

The Gymnasium Inquiry has been published in the report: " Ung-dommens adgang til den højere uddannelse " I (Opportunities of Young Persons for Higher Education, I). The Gymnasium, pp. 85–112 (Copenhagen 1949). The Student Inquiry has been published in Statistical Reports of the Government Statistical Department (Stati-stiske Meddelelser, 1951, series 4, volume 144, issue 4), the Village Hall Inquiry in the report: " Fritidslokaler på landet " (Leisure Time Facilities in Rural Districts), pp. 17–21 (Copenhagen 1951), the Organisation Inquiry in the report: " Ungdommen og fritiden " (Youth and Leisure), (Copenhagen 1952).

The Gymnasium—and the Student Inquiries are based on question-naires filled out by nearly all secondary school pupils and university students. Local authorities provided the data for the Village Hall Inquiry. About 8,000 local branches of youth associations filled out the organisation inquiry questionnaire.

Follow-up study of Pupils from Classes for Mentally Retarded Children. A follow-up investigation into the social development of a group of low intelligence in Copenhagen during the years 1907–14, undertaken by Holger Rasmussen and Karl O. Christiansen.   With reference to criminality, the investigation covers 593 male and 319 female pupils of schools for mentally retarded children and, as control groups, 436 male and 243 female normal school pupils from the poorest districts of Copenhagen.   The results are published in " Hjälpskolan ", 1946. (Uppsala.)

The Government Youth Commission has carried out a similar investigation of school children having attended special classes for mentally retarded children at Odense in the years 1923–37, published in : " Den tilpasningsvanskelige ungdom " (Maladjusted Youth), (Copenhagen 1952).

A Study of the Behaviour Problems of 200 *Maladjusted Children and Juveniles under the Guardianship of the Child Welfare Boards.* This study undertaken by the Government Youth Commission in 1948–49 under the direction of the psychiatrist, Dr. Helge Kjems, is based on a sample of cases from different types of communities.

Final report, published in " Den tilpasningsvanskelige ungdom " (Maladjusted Youth), (Copenhagen 1952).

Social and Economic Conditions of Widows and Single Mothers in Copenhagen. National Council of Danish Women : " Foranstaltninger til forbedring af enkernes kaar ".   1948.   This study was undertaken in 1946 by the National Council of Danish Women and the Statistical Office of the city of Copenhagen under a grant from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.   Five hundred widows were interviewed by social workers.

National Council of Danish Women : " Den enlige moder ", 1953. An enquiry into the social and economic situation of single mothers undertaken by the institutions mentioned above; 744 single mothers were interviewed.

Social and Economic Conditions of Single Mothers in Århus. On the basis of the 1946 census, the municipality of Århus has interviewed a sample of widows, divorced, separated and unmarried mothers on their economic, marital and other conditions.   Statistical Quarterly of the Municipality of Århus.   (Vol. 8, No. 1, January 1952).

A Study of the Women who have requested a Legal Abortion. A Study initiated in 1947, undertaken for the Maternity Aid Institution of Copenhagen by the psychiatrist, Dr. Henrik Hoffmeyer, which includes about 500 cases in which legal abortion has been either undertaken or refused.   The aim is to investigate the effects of the Danish abortion legislation, and the legal possibilities for assisting mothers before and after childbirth.

The results are expected to be published in 1955.

At the same time a statistical follow-up investigation has been taking place with respect to the course of pregnancy for women who were refused a legal abortion during the years 1945–50 (15,000 women). Preliminary results have been published in the annual report from the Maternity Aid Institution, 1950–51.

A Follow-up Study on the Blind. The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs has organised a follow-up study of about 150 persons who have previously been subjected to public care for the blind with a view to ascertaining how they got along since. The investigation takes place by means of interviews with the persons concerned, coupled with information on the part of the public bodies with which they have been in contact. A report will be published in 1954.

The Causes of Poverty. The most comprehensive project instituted under the auspices of the Ministry of Social Affairs is a study of the individual circumstances of persons receiving public assistance in Denmark. The study is directed by Dr. Erik Warburg, professor of the Medical Faculty at the University of Copenhagen, and the Social Science Adviser of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Mr. Henning Friis. The material consists of a mixed urban and rural sample of 1,000 persons who have received public assistance for eight months or more in the period 1944–45. The aim of the investigation has been to study the individual causes of need, and on this basis to point out methods for the counteraction of poverty. A report of the somatic diseases was published 1954. Karl Teilmann: " Legemligsygdom ogoffentlighjælp ". It is intended to publish the final report in 1955.

A Study of the Workhouse-clientele. This study, undertaken by the Government Committee on Reforms of Workhouses, is directed by the psychiatrist, Dr. Georg K. Stürup, and includes case studies of 300 cases and a less detailed study of 300 other cases. The study will be published in 1954.

Inquiry into the Various Aspects of German Troops' Sexual Relations with Danish Subjects. Dr. Grethe Hartmann: " The Girls they left Behind " (Copenhagen 1946).

An investigation of 200 girls chosen among the women reported to the Danish police as having transmitted venereal diseases to German soldiers. The aim of the study was to investigate the factors underlying the fraternisation of Danish girls with German soldiers.

Male Traitors in Denmark during the German Occupation. Karl O. Christiansen: " Mandlige landssvigere ", published by the Government Prison Administration (Copenhagen 1950). (English summary.)

The material includes 5,107 male traitors. The purpose was to make a description of the criminal acts of male traitors and a socio-psychological account of their environmental conditions from birth till the time of their last offence, as well as an evaluation of their physical and mental status.

East African Institute of Social Research

AUDREY RICHARDS

(Director)

HISTORY

The East African Institute of Social Research is attached to Makerere College, Kampala, Uganda, the University College of East Africa. It is one of three institutes for research in the social sciences which were set up after the second World War on the recommendation of the Colonial Social Science Research Council of the Colonial Office and financed from funds voted under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and 1945. All these three institutes have been attached to colonial universities, the sister institutes being the West African Institute of Social and Economic Research attached to the University College, Ibadan, Nigeria, and the Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College of the West Indies in Jamaica.

The East African Institute of Social Research started work in April 1950 under the directorship of Dr. Audrey Richards. Its first buildings were completed by August 1951 and it now has a library and conference room, seven offices, a Director's house and ten residential flats. Its staff is now as follows: Anthropologists and Sociologists—Dr. A. W. Southall, Dr. L. A. Fallers, Dr. E. H. Winter, Dr. Laura Bohannan, Mr. H. S. Morris, Mr. P. C. W. Gutkind, Miss Jean La Fontaine, Mr. M. Southwold, Mr. A. B. Mukwaya, Mr. W. P. Tamukedde; Linguists—Mr. W. H. Whiteley, Mr. O. Bernard; Psychologist—Dr. L. H. Ainsworth; Economists and Economic Historians—Mr. C. C. Wrigley, Mr. W. Elkan, Mr. H. Fearn; Secretaries—Miss G. B. Hunter, Mrs. F. Ehrlich.

OBJECTS

The objects of the Institute are the following:

(a) The establishment of a centre of East African studies including a knowledge of the cultures and languages of the East African peoples and their political, legal, economic and social structure. Since the majority of students studying at Makerere College are Africans, it is natural that the study of Bantu, Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic and Hamitic peoples of East Africa should predominate in the Institute's programme but a study of the Indian communities in East Africa is described below and many of the problems under consideration cannot be understood without a simultaneous investigation of the European, Indian and African communities.

The Centre is building up a lending library of East African literature and, in conjunction with the main library of Makerere College, it provides a unique collection of monographs and government reports on East African peoples and cultures. The Institute is also establishing

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a collection of press-cuttings from the vernacular papers. It is already beginning to act as an information centre for government and other inquirers.

To this Centre are attached not only the team of workers appointed and financed by the Institute, but independent research workers such as those financed by the Colonial Social Science Research Council or the Fulbright organisation, who are attached for supervision and joint discussion. The conferences which have been held during the past three years have attracted workers in the social sciences not only from the Social Science Department of the College itself, but also government anthropologists and research workers in the social sciences from all over East Africa. The Institute has also been visited by two Carnegie delegations, and economists from Cape Town University, South Africa, and from England, as well as a demographer working for the Social Science Department of UNESCO, a political scientist from Rochester University and a psychologist from Yale University.

(b) The organisation of comparative studies of particular problems.

(c) The organisation of experiments in research methods.

(d) The organisation of studies of administrative importance on behalf of the government.

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

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

SUBJECTS OF RESEARCH

Anthropological and Sociological Research

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

Kenya

Boran   Mr. P. T. W. Baxter, C.S.S.R.C. scholar, work in field
             completed in spring 1953.
Kikuyu   Dr. Jeanne Fisher, C.S.S.R.C. scholar, work in field
             completed in June 1952. Dr. Fisher has written a

report on her study of the position of women among the Kikuyu.

Teita	Mr. A. Harris and Mrs. G. Harris, C.S.S.R.C. scholars, work in field completed in August 1952.
Turkana	Dr. Philip Gulliver, C.S.S.R.C. scholar, work in field completed in summer 1951.

Tanganyika

Barabaig	Mr. G. Wilson, C.S.S.R.C. scholar, work in field completed in October 1952.
Ha	Mr. J. Scherer, Dutch Government scholar, work in field completed in February 1953.
Haya	Mrs. P. Reining, E.A.I.S.R., work in field completed in April 1953.
Iraqw	Dr. E. H. Winter, E.A.I.S.R., field work to be completed in December 1954.
Zinza	Mr. J. W. Tyler, E.A.I.S.R., field work completed in August 1952.

Uganda

Acholi	Mr. F. Girling, C.S.S.R.C. scholar, work in field completed in mid-1951.
Alur	Dr. A. W. Southall, E.A.I.S.R., work in field completed in mid-1951.
Amba	Dr. E. H. Winter, C.S.S.R.C. scholar, work in field completed in June 1952. (Dr. Winter has now joined the E.A.I.S.R. staff, see above.)
Ganda	Dr. A. I. Richards, Mr. M. Southwold, Mr. A. B. Mukwaya, all of E.A.I.S.R., field work in process.
Gishu	Miss J. la Fontaine, E.A.I.S.R., field work to be completed in October 1955.
Jie and Karamojong	Dr. P. Gulliver (see above, Turkana).
Lugbara	Mr. J. Middleton, C.S.S.R.C. scholar, work in field completed in June 1952.
Nyoro	Mr. J. Beattie, Scarborough grant, field work completed in September 1953.
Soga	Dr. L. A. Fallers, E.A.I.S.R., work in field completed in July 1952, now in charge of the leadership project (see below).
Toro	Mr. B. K. Taylor, C.S.S.R.C. scholar, work in field completed in May 1952.

(b) *Comparative Research on African Cultures.* One of the principal aims of the Institute is the organisation of comparative studies on particular problems, whether sociological, economic or psychological. These studies have been so far mainly in the anthropological field. The problems selected are first of all discussed in conferences which have been held every six months when a common outline has been

agreed upon, each worker undertaking to collect data on the lines approved in his or her own area. It is intended that the results should be published in common volumes, each with its own editor who will discuss the basic concepts behind the whole investigation. Problems so far selected for this type of comparative work are (i) the political organisation of African peoples as they are reacting to present-day demands and economic changes; (ii) land tenure in different type areas; (iii) clan and kinship organisation. Other studies will follow.

(c) *Urban Studies.* One of the first studies undertaken by the Institute was an investigation of the township of Jinja (Uganda) a town in which very rapid industrial development is already taking place. It consisted of a sample survey of the European, Indian and African inhabitants of Jinja township and a census of European population, followed by an intensive study of race relations in industry, of women in three contrasted communities showing different stages of urbanisation of African women. The survey was made by Mr. and Mrs. C. Sofer. The report is completed and in process of publication.

A social survey of Kampala was started in January 1953. It is being conducted by two sociologists, Dr. A. W. Southall and Mr. P. C. W. Gutkind. It includes a social survey of two sample communities within Kampala municipality. Mr. W. Elkan, whose work is described below, is working closely with this team on the economic side.

(d) *Study of Immigrant Labour in Uganda.* This investigation was carried out at the request of the Government of Uganda and was completed in May 1952. Seven village surveys were made to study the methods of settlement in Uganda as well as a sample analysis of immigrants passing through two transit camps at the borders of Uganda. The Director of the Institute edited the report of this project, which has now been published under the title " Economic Development and Tribal Change " (Heffers, Cambridge).

(e) *Social Surveys with special reference to Fertility, Infant and Child Mortality and Stability of Marriage.* At the request of UNESCO the Institute has carried out two parallel studies of fertility in areas of low fertility revealed by the 1948 Census. These two areas were Bukoba (Tanganyika) and Buganda (Uganda). Both surveys included the collection of maternity histories as well as an analysis of household composition, stability of marriage, education, average income, clan and lineage distribution. In the case of the Bukoba survey a medical examination of 100 per cent of the village population was made by the East African Medical Survey. The work was completed in October 1952.

(f) *Study of the Indian Communities in Uganda.* Mr. H. S. Morris is making a study of the history of the Indian immigration into Uganda and of the present-day social structure of the Indian communities. The work has been started in Kampala in connection with the Kampala survey, described above.

Linguistic Studies

From 1950 to 1952 Mr. E. M. K. Mulira carried out linguistic studies in Luganda resulting in the production of a simple grammar and an article on tones in Luganda. In August, Mr. W. H. Whiteley was appointed to the staff and accepted the position of secretary to the Inter-Territorial Language Committee (Swahili). Besides organising research in Swahili and examing MSS for the press, Mr. Whiteley has prepared a monograph on Iraqw, is making a study of the Kuria verb and has compiled a linguistic bibliography of East Africa.

Economics and Economic History

In June 1952, Mr. C. C. Wrigley was appointed to the staff. He is engaged in a study of the history and present-day development of the coffee industry in Buganda and dealing with problems of peasant production in general. He is working in close contact with anthropologists working in Buganda and Buhaya, another coffee-growing area. Mr. W. Elkan was appointed in December 1953 to make a study of the labour problems facing manufacturers in urban areas in Uganda and particularly in Kampala. He has completed an experimental study for developing a standard method of investigation and is particularly interested in problems arising out of employment of migrant labour. Mr. H. Fearn has made an analysis of much of the statistical and other economic data available on the North Nyanza area in the College library and is now working in the Kisumu area of Kenya on an economic history of Nyanza Province.

Psychology

Mr. A. J. Laird took up his duties in April, 1952. He made a comparative study of attitudes and personality structure belonging to three tribal groups—Ganda, Luo and Kikuyu—among students at Makerere College and a parallel study among school children at Maseno in Nyanza Province in Kenya. He completed his field work in December 1953 and is now writing up his material. Dr. L. H. Ainsworth was appointed at the beginning of 1954 and is carrying out psychological tests with special emphasis on personality tests at King's College, Budo, a secondary school near Kampala.

Leadership Project

In May 1953 funds were granted by the Carnegie Corporation for a comparative study of leadership in two areas of East Africa. The following staff members compose the team which will work on the scheme:

Director	Dr. L. A. Fallers
Anthropologists	Dr. A. I. Richards
	Dr. L. Bohannan
	Mr. M. Southwold
	Mr. W. P. Tamukedde

| Economic Historian | Mr. H. Fearn |
| Psychologist | Dr. L. A. Ainsworth |

Another anthropologist will be appointed, as well as an economist and a second psychologist.

Publications

Method of Publication.   The Institute are producing work as follows :

(1) A series of occasional papers called " East African Studies " of which No. 1—" Buganda Land Tenure " by A. B. Mukwaya (E. A. Literature Bureau: distributed in U.K. by Messrs. Kegan Paul) has already been published, and No. 2—" Sukama Tribal Structure " by H. Cory, and No. 3—" Jinja Transformed " by C. and R. Sofer, are in the press.

(2) Monographs and longer books of which the first " Economic Development and Tribal Change " edited by A. I. Richards (Heffers) has recently been published and " The Baamba " by E. H. Winter and " Alur Society " by A. W. Southall are in the press.

(3) Roneoed Reports.   (i) Report of E.A.I.S.R. Conference, June 1952; (ii) Report of joint conference E.A.I.S.R. and I.R.S.A.C., February 1953; (iii) Report of Fertility Survey in Buganda and Bukoba by A. I. Richards and P. Reining;   (iv) Report of Three Years' Work of E.A.I.S.R. (reprinting). These reports are published by the Institute.

(4) Linguistic Series.   (i) Iraqw Grammar by W. H. Whiteley; (ii) A Linguistic Bibliography of East Africa, by W. H. Whiteley and A. E. Gutkind.   These are also published by the Institute.

Evolution de la Recherche Sociologique à
" Economie et Humanisme "

L. J. LEBRET
(Directeur-Général, " Economie et Humanisme ")

La fondation du " Centre d'étude des complexes sociaux " générale-
ment désigné sous le nom de " Economie et Humanisme " fut décidée
en 1938 et réalisée en 1940. " Complexe " désigne ici, aussi bien les
ensembles constitués par une unité territoriale ou une unité profes-
sionnelle quelle que soit leur taille, que les états psycho-sociologiques
les mettant en malaise. Dans le premier cas, on cherchera à analyser
des structures ; dans le second, à percevoir les causes immédiates ou
lointaines de situations déjà critiques ou simplement socialement
dangeureuses.

L'objectif majeur d'Economie et Humanisme est l'élaboration d'une
discipline théorique et pratique, devant faciliter, au sein des complexes
territoriaux, le passage d'une phase considérée comme moins humaine
à une phase considérée comme plus humaine. On y est en garde contre
tout système prétendant avoir une portée universelle. L'observation
méticuleuse des faits économiques et sociaux peut seule permettre
une estimation satisfaisante des situations, des besoins et du possible
et d'en conclure à un " diagnostic " et à un " traitement ".

Dans cette perspective, on est d'abord amené à faire appel, non
seulement à la sociologie strictement dite, mais à toutes les sciences
économiques et sociales ; une équipe d'économie humaine devra
comprendre des géographes, des biologistes, des psychologues, des
démographes aussi bien que des économistes et des sociologues.
L'effort de chacun opérant selon les méthodes de sa discipline, permettra
de reconnaître sous tous ses aspects la réalité à traiter et d'éviter aussi
les erreurs de diagnostic et de traitement.

On est aussi amené à ne jamais séparer les " microcomplexes " des
" meso-complexes " et des " macro-complexes " dans lesquels ils
sont placés. L'analyse des faits sociaux observés à la base ne peut
jamais suffire. Les données doivent être interprêtées en fonction de la
conjoncture des ensembles plus larges, jusqu'aux nations et à l'ensemble
des nations.

Il ne faut donc pas s'étonner si la recherche entreprise par Economie
et Humanisme n'avance que lentement et si ce n'est que quatorze ans
après sa fondation que les travaux du groupe apparaissent comme
valables aux yeux d'un nombre croissant de spécialistes des sciences
sociales.

Ce résultat eût d'ailleurs été impossible si les fondateurs du centre
n'avaient pas déja, avant la fondation, consacré de nombreuses années
à des analyses partielles, comme celles de l'agriculture européenne, des

pêcheries mondiales et du marché mondial du poisson, des échanges internationaux.

On peut résumer ainsi les étapes de la recherche plus strictement sociologique, ces étapes se trouvant d'ailleurs en recouvrement.

PREMIÈRE ETAPE (1940–47)—*Création d'outils d'analyse d'individus*[1]

L'effort s'est d'abord porté sur l'étude des " personnes " : homme, femme, adolescent, jeune fille, enfant inadapté[2]; des " groupes " : groupe familial, commune rurale, paroisse catholique; des " cellules de travail " : entreprise, exploitation agricole; des " ambiances " : habitat, rue, ilôt, quartiers; des " genres de vie ".

L'outil: d'analyse étant un questionnaire du type courant, mais cherchant, en dehors des éléments purement descriptifs, à estimer chaque élément en valeur, par une cotation de 0 à 9, puis de 0 à 4, en fonction des échelles de valeur généralement admises en occident.   Les analyses devant tendre à l'" intervention ", cette cotation a semblé légitime dans le contexte de la civilisation occidentale.   Les " données " étant transcrites sur des diagrammes circulaires pour faciliter l'exploitation visuelle, effectuer des comparaisons, dégager les " types " et les " classes ".[3]

De nombreuses enquêtes ont été alors effectuées, soit sur l'initiative du groupe, soit sur la demande d'organismes privés ou publics.[4]   A cette étape se rattache la monographie publiée en 1944 " Les dockers de Marseille ".[5]

DEUXIÈME ETAPE (1944–51)—*Etude des tensions du monde moderne*

L'analyse des tensions proposée par Marx et Engels semblant au groupe partiellement valable, partiellement insuffisante, il a cherché, soit à vérifier ou critiquer les positions de Marx, soit à élargir l'analyse sur des domaines inexplorés par Marx.   C'est dans cette perspective que furent publiés, de 1948 à 1950, les sept cahiers " Idées et Forces " : " Dialectique de la nature et de la conscience ", " Classes sociales, frontières humaines ", " Géographie des masses humaines ", " Famille et feminisme ", " Humanisme et rationalisation ", " Les confessions chrétiennes devant le communisme ".   La session d'élaboration de septembre 1951 eut comme thême : " Les tensions du monde moderne ", le terme de tension étant appliquée soit aux antagonismes progressant sociaux, soit aux oppositions rencontrées dans les structures et les mécanismes économiques.[6]   Dans la même ligne, était paru, en 1951, le cahier " Paysans d'hier, agriculteurs de demain ".   Les études de tensions n'ont d'ailleurs pas cessé d'attirer l'attention du groupe.

TROISIÈME ETAPE (1948–54)—*L'analyse des complexes territoriaux, des niveaux collectifs de vie et des besoins*

Plusieurs années d'application à l'analyse des " individus " permirent de simplifier les divers outils, de mettre au point la méthode d'interview, de sondage ou d'interprétation des coups de sonde, et surtout d'envisager

l'analyse des ensembles territoriaux dans toute leur complexité.[7] C'est alors que furent publiés les trois tomes du " Guide pratique de l'enquête sociale "; " Manuel de l'enquêteur " (1952); " L'enquête rurale " (1952); " L'enquête urbaine " (1954); qui donnent les grandes lignes de la méthode d'analyse et fournissaient les outiles permettant l'analyse d'une unité territoriale rurale ou urbaine sous la plupart de ses aspects. Le livre de Michel QUOIST: " La ville et l'homme ", monographie d'une large secteur de Rouen fut publié en mars 1952.

Le problème de l'" aménagement des territoires " (regional planning) amène à publier " Le diagnostic rapide de localité rurale " et le cahier " l'aménagement des territoires " No. 79 qui présentent quelques exposés de la session d'élaboration tenue en septembre 1952. Un ouvrage qui fera suite au " Guide pratique de l'enquête sociale " est en préparation pour aider à l'analyse de grandes unités. La méthode d'analyse de moyens ou de grands espaces en vue de la mise en valeur et du développement à été appliqué par le groupe pour l'Etat de Sao Paulo, au Brésil, pour la grande région de Lyon, et pour le département de la Moselle. La conception de la mise en valeur, du développement et de l'aménagement, en économie humaine, oblige à tenir compte, avant tout, des niveaux de vie des populations qu'il s'agit précisément d'améliorer. D'où l'importance attachée par le groupe à élargir le concept de niveau de vie. Les études du C.S.E.D.E.H.L. (Centre d'information et d'etude d'économie humaine en Lorraine) ont porté conjointement sur le budget familial, le logement et le genre de vie des ouvriers de la Moselle, de la Sarre et de la Rhur. Le groupe a été amené à collaborer, dans la même perspective, avec les Professeurs Josué de CASTRO et Guerero RAMOS à l'enquête comparative sur les niveaux de vie ouvriers dans les divers Etats du Brésil.

Le cahier " Productivité, niveaux de vie, phases de civilisation " (juillet-aout 1952) a analysé et comparé, à partir des données statistiques de 97 pays, les niveaux de vie et de développement pour les dix zones plus ou moins homogènes du monde: Amérique du Nord, Amérique latine, Europe occidentale, Afrique, Europe orientale, Proche et Moyen Orient, U.R.S.S., Chine et Sud-Est asiatique, Japon, Océanie.

" Economie et Humanisme " cherche aussi à attirer l'attention sur les niveaux collectifs de vie pour lesquels l'unité d'analyse est la localité rurale ou le quartier urbain. Les niveaux biologique, économique, technique, ménager, scolaire, résidentiel, considérés comme composantes basiques du niveau de vie collective, et les niveaux familial, culturel, social et politique, comme composantes ethiques et sociologiques; le premier groupe est susceptible d'une approximation assez serrée, le second d'une approximation plus lâche ayant cependant une valeur indicative. Chaque " composante " est élaborée par pondération d'un certain nombre d'" éléments " critères ou indicateurs importants ou sensibles, tantôt mesurables, tantôt pouvant être " estimés " avec une certaine marge d'indécision. Par là, des voies sont ouvertes à une recherche comparative que des travaux effectués simultanément en

France et au Brésil annoncent comme devant être féconde. Ces diverses études ont montré l'importance qu'il y a, en toute étude de niveaux de vie, à procéder par couches sociales plus ou moins homogènes et par zones géographiques plus ou moins homogènes également, les moyennes globales de population ou de nation ne livrant pas les structures réelles de niveaux de vie.[8] En prenant ces nouvelles dimensions, l'étude des niveaux de vie permet de conclure aux " besoins " des populations auxquels doit répondre le " développement ". Aussi bien la session d'élaboration de september 1953 a pris pour thême : " Théorie du besoin et jalons pour une économie des besoins ".[9]

QUATRIEME ETAPE (1950–54)—*Recherches en sociologie religieuse*

L'application des méthodes d'analyse pratiquées pour les niveaux de vie et les tensions, a permis au groupe de contribuer à l'essor actuel des études de sociologie religieuse effectuées dans le catholicisme, sous la vigoureuse impulsion des Professeurs LECLERCQ et LEBRAS. Dépassant le stade des analyses statistiques d'actes cultuels, le groupe voudrait établir la typologie des paroisses, serrer de très près la structure et l'évolution des groupes (groupes religieux, groupes neutres groupes hostiles), leurs états d'alliance ou conflictuels, et atteindre à la sociologie en profondeur par l'étude des imprégnations chrétiennes et des processus de christianisation ou de déchristianisation.[10] Il s'agit ici d'une recherche commençante qui a retenu l'attention de la IVème Conférence Internationale de Sociologie Religieuse (catholique).[11] Son apport pourra être particulièrement utile en sociologie générale, à l'étude typologique des groupes et à la dynamique des besoins.

Telle se présente, en bref, l'évolution de la recherche sociologique à Economie et Humanisme. Bien qu'elle soit finalisée par un vouloir d'intervention, la recherche n'en est pas scientifiquement compromise, ce vouloir ne s'opposant ni à l'objectivité des observations, ni à l'application d'une méthode rigide d'exploitation et d'interpretation. Beaucoup de pistes sont encore à peine entr'ouvertes et l'exploitation systématique des données déjà accumulées ou en cours de collecte, est loin d'être achevée. Le groupe, qui a un caractère international, accorde une grande importance aux recherches comparatives, et est largement ouvert à des chercheurs non français travaillant dans les zones en phases différentes de développement.

NOTES

[1] Au sens statistique du mot.
[2] Recherches dirigées par le Professeur LAFON, de l'Université de Montpellier.
[3] Etant donnée l'hypothèse de cotation, il s'agissait des classes de " valeur ".
[4] On en trouvera la liste partielle dans le " Manuel de l'Enquêteur " par L. J. LEBRET, aux Presses universitaires de France, Paris 1952, p. 115–19.
[5] Par M. R. LOEW.
[6] Voir cahier : " Tensions du monde moderne ", mars-avril 1952.
[7] Voir cahier : " Connaître une population " (1952)—Préface de Gabriel LEBRAS —*lère Partie* : Structure démographique et professionnelle d'une population.— *2ème Partie* : Le niveau humain d'une population.—*3ème Partie* : La vie sociale d'une population.

* Cf. le rapport du Comité d'Experts réunis par l'O.N.U. en juin 1953 : " Report on international deposition and measarement et standards and levels of livering united nations 1954 " (document E/CN. 3/179, E/CN. 5/299.

* Voir cahier " Economie et Humanisme " de mars-avril 1954.

¹⁰ Cf. Collection do sociologie religieuse :

  Outil S.R.I. 52—Diagramme typologique de Paroisse Catholique et lexique explicatif.

  Outil S.R.II. 52—Analyse des Groupes (groupe spontané, association, section de mouvement, etc.)

  Outil S.R.III. 52—Diagramme comparatif des forces vivantes.

  Outil S.R.IV. 52—Chronologie comparative de l'évolution économique et sociale, de la pratique religieuse et des options politiques.

  Outil S.R.V. 52—Tableau pour l'analyse de l'imprégnation religieuse chrétienne d'une population et des ambiances de vie.

  Outil S.R.VI 52—Niveau humain d'une population.

  Outil S.R.VII. 52—Processus d'évolution du comportement religieux.

¹¹ Les travaux de cette conférence seront prochainement publiés aux Editions Ouvrières et Edition Economie et Humanisme, Paris.

Report on the Development of the Social Sciences in Indonesia

H. J. HEEREN

(Leader, Institute for Social Research, Faculty of Law, University of Indonesia)

In the colonial period, interest in sociology was limited, and the atmosphere not favourable to social research. In the Netherlands-Indies, before the war, some research had been done on the causes of the decline of wealth of the native population, on the coolie budget,[1] and similar topics; but the objects of these researches were limited, and attention was almost exclusively paid to economic, as distinct from social factors.

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

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

After the war and the subsequent independence of Indonesia, a great number of social problems suddenly came to the fore, and interest in the social sciences grew rapidly. As a result, teaching and research facilities were expanded, and the social sciences began to play a more important part in the curriculum. The present situation (April, 1954) can be summarised as follows:

Social science is being taught at both the official State Universities:

(*a*) The " University of Indonesia " at Djakarta (continuing the pre-war Netherlands Indies University), having a Faculty of Law and Social Sciences with a separate branch at Macassar; a Faculty of Economics; and one of Arts and Literature.

(*b*) The " Gadjah Mada-University " at Djokjakarta, having a Faculty of Social and Political Science; and a Faculty of Law with a separate branch at Surabaja.

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

Social Anthropology is being taught at the Faculty of Literature at
Djakarta by Dr. G. J. Held and Dr. F. A. E. van Wouden. The former
is known for his fieldwork in New Guinea before the war, while the
latter has been working after the war in Central Celebes and Sumba.
Since 1947 the Faculty has an Institute of Language and Culture
(Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaja), which has sponsored some outstanding
research in the field of Social Anthropology. In particular, the work
of Dr. Chabot on social stratification and sexual tensions in a small
village in Southern Celebes must be mentioned.[2] At present Dr. E.
Allard is working on a research programme on the status and family
structure of the Indo-Europeans (Eurasians) in three different towns—
Bogor, Menado and Semarang. Prof. Held has recently started
anthropological research on the island of Sumbawa.

Sociology proper is taught at Djakarta in the Faculty of Law as well
as in that of Economics; in the Faculty of Law by Dr. Jusuf Ismael;
and in the Faculty of Economics by Miss N. Postma and the present
writer. Since December 1952 an Institute for Social Research (Lembaga
Penjelidikan Masjarakat) has been founded by both Faculties together,
it being the first of its kind in this country. It is intended to serve as
a centre for documentation as well as research, and has an extensive
library of sociology. Up to now, the following researches have been
carried out: (a) in cooperation with one of the students' societies
an investigation was carried out as to the conditions of living of students
in the capital; (b) a more extensive research on the problem of the
migration of Javanese peasants and demobilised soldiers to Southern
Sumatra took place in the middle of 1953; (c) at the instigation of
UNESCO, a broad project has been started on the problem of the
urbanisation of Djakarta. In 15 different wards (kelurahan) more
than 5,000 families have already been interviewed as to their family-
structure and reasons for migrating to the city. It will be some time,
however, before a report on this work can be expected.

At the Macassar branch of the Law and Social Sciences Department,
sociology is taught by Dr. H. Th. Chabot. He, too, has been working
on the urbanisation problem in this town, but has concentrated on the
migration of two different ethnic groups, the Sangirese and Bandjarese.
To find out something about the causes of migration, he visited the
areas of origin of both groups; an approach thus far neglected.

As to the Gadjah Mada-University at Djokjakarta, sociology is being
taught by Prof. Djojodiguno, who is a jurist by origin. Also, in the
academic year 1952–53 Mme. Jeanne Cuisinier from Paris has been
teaching sociology and social anthropology as a visiting professor.
In the present academic year she is teaching in the Faculty of Literature

in Djakarta, and has done research into the isolated Christian community of Depok, south of Djakarta.

The Gadjah Mada-University has furthermore cooperated to some extent in the research on the town of Paree (Kediri, E. Java) by a team of 10 American graduate students from Harvard and Yale Universities. This research, which is planned to take about one and a half years, and to cover all aspects of the social life of a typical Javanese small town, will be the first extensive social survey ever carried out in this country. The team comprises a linguist, sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists, and a number of new research techniques are being used for the first time in Indonesia.

There have been individual researches by the political scientists Paul M. Kattenburg, who worked in the Salatiga-area, and Boyd Compton, while the tragic death of Raymond Kennedy in 1950 bereft us of a social scientist who knew the country really well. At present R. J. Palmier, from the London School of Economics, is working in the Banjumas area.

Among the work of institutions connected with the Faculty of Agriculture at Bogor, that of the Institute for Social Research of the Village (Lembaga Penjelidikan Masjarakat Desa) must be noted. This Institute specialises in rural sociology. Of its reports, those by Ir. H. ten Dam should be mentioned, who studied a village on the island of Flores in 1950.[3] At present, extensive research is being carried out in the village of Tjibodas near Lembang (W. Java). Also at Bogor is the Bureau of Land Utilisation (Biro Perantjang Tata Bumi). In a great number of small but excellent reports, this Institute has shown awareness of the social factors involved in physical planning.

As will be seen from this account, the social sciences in Indonesia are still in the phase of teaching on an elementary level. As yet none of the Universities can offer facilities to study sociology as an independent subject, and there is practically no specialisation worth mentioning. Moreover, teaching is severely handicapped by the lack of proper textbooks in the Indonesian language, so that English and Dutch textbooks are widely used. There are also almost no Indonesian periodicals entirely devoted to social science, although the " Tijdschrift van het Bataviaas Genootschap " does still appear; and " Ekonomi dan Keuangan " (Economics and Finance) sometimes carries articles on social science. In Holland, the " Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde " and " Indonesie " are among the most important journals on Indonesia. Among the non-specialised periodicals " Orientatie " (in Indonesia) and " De Nieuwe Stem " (in Holland) have sometimes published articles on Indonesian social science.

The few sociologists working in Indonesia have not yet been organised into a society, nor is there a national secretariat of the I.S.A. The Institute for Social Research of the Faculty of Law at Djakarta became a full member of the I.S.A. in August, 1953.

It is to be expected that the number of Indonesian social scientists will grow in the future, because among students there is a lively interest

in social problems.   On the other hand, many more workers will be needed to cover the enormous fields, still open.

NOTES

[1] The coolie budget report was never published by the Government.   See W. F. Wertheim: The Coolie Budget Report.   Pacific Affairs, 1953, p. 158.

[2] H. Th. Chabot: Verwantschap, Stand en Sexe in Zuid-Celebes (Kinship, Status and Sex in S. Celebes).   Groningen/Djakarta, 1950.

[3] H. ten Dam: Kampong Nita dan sekitarnja.   (The village of Nita and its surroundings).   Bogor, 1951 (stencil).

Sociology in Israel: 1948-1953

S. N. EISENSTADT

(The Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

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

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

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

These developments have all been mainly in the fields of construction of various mathematical models for psychological and social research,

which then have to be applied to significant fields of research. In some fields, such as psychotechnics, they have already been used with interesting results, and more developments are to be expected. The work of the Institute has contributed to methodological problems of survey work and has also made contributions in several other fields of attitude measurement. It may yet have additional repercussions on some other fields of research and inquiry. Among these fields, one of great interest is the application of various psychological tests to people stemming from various cultures. As is well known, this problem has been of great importance on the borderline of psychology and anthropology.

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

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

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

Within the scope of these researches, that on cultural indices of absorption, undertaken for UNESCO, should be given special mention. In it patterns of cultural change, educational advancement and mobility and acquisition of the Hebrew language are being analysed. All these

researches are both of general interest in the field of population studies and of special importance in providing material for adequate analysis of various social trends within a whole society. It is now being planned to integrate these studies with intensive sociological studies, so that the interpretation of the two would provide for the integration of different aspects of research.[3]

Social development conditions in Israel, the great influx of mass immigration and the processes of development of an integrated social structure out of these elements and the variety of social forms within them, have provided an unusual opportunity for combining inquiries into "immediate" problems with fundamental research in the field of sociology. The Research Seminar in Sociology of the Hebrew University has focused most of its researches in this direction, so that they might analyse various aspects of the integration of a social structure and some basic social and psycho-social processes related to it. Among these the following should be mentioned: (1) The first stage of the research on absorption of immigrants[4]; (2) the second stage, which deals mainly with problems of mobility, communication and leadership[5]; (3) research on the social patterns of the elites and professions in Israeli society; (4) problems of social stratification in communal and cooperative settlements in Israel[6]; (5) research on youth movements and immigrant youth.[7] Each of these researches has many subprojects, but we shall indicate here only the main results achieved so far and some of the main problems they raised.

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

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

The second stage of the research on absorption of immigrants is being focused on some of these basic components of social integration. Problems of reference group behaviour, patterns of communication, types of leadership patterns and processes of leadership selection and

their relation to the other variables are being investigated among different groups of immigrants. At the same time comparative material is being gathered in several samples of the " old ", stable population. This work is still in the first stages, but it already shows various interesting developments and possibilities.

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

The fourth research, the study of social stratification within communal and cooperative settlements in Israel, has a double significance. First, it traces the development of division of labour, social stratification and leadership within originally equalitarian settings; and the existence of two main types of settlement provides us with almost experimental conditions. On the other hand, this study has direct bearing on the problems of elite composition and changes in Israeli society. The various types of pioneering settlements performed several elite functions during the period of the Yishuv, and it seems that they are now losing some of their former standing.

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

Youth movements were especially active in the " older ", established sector of the community, and it was felt that the study of immigrant youth is of great significance from the point of view of discovering the

bases of social integration of the society. Several preliminary studies have been launched in this direction, the aim of which is to analyse the main types of group participation, relation to family background and general aspirations. The focus here is on the development of new ego-identity and identification with the new society. Emphasis is laid on the question as to whether there exist continuity and balance between instrumental and technical aspirations and between social and expressive participation, and on the effects of lack of balance between these spheres.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTES

[1] See S. N. Eisenstadt, *Sociology in Israel, 1949*, submitted to the Constituent Congress of the International Sociological Association, Oslo.

[2] See R. Bacchi, " La Population Juive de l'Etat d'Israel ", *Population*, 1952.

[3] See R. Bacchi, " Cultural Absorption of Immigrants ", *Population Studies*, 1951.

[4] See S. N. Eisenstadt, *The Absorption of Immigrants in Israel*, Jerusalem 1951, reprinted in an extended form in *Human Relations*, Vol. V, Nos. 3, 4.

[5] See S. N. Eisenstadt, " The Place of Elites in the Process of Absorption of New Immigrants ", *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1951; " Processes of Communication among New Immigrants in Israel ", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Spring 1952.

[6] See Y. Garber-Talmon, " Social Stratification in Cooperative Settlements ", *British Journal of Sociology*, 1953.

[7] See S. N. Eisenstadt, " Youth Culture and Social Structure in Israel ", *British Journal of Sociology*, June 1951; " Delinquent Group Formation among Immigrant Youth ", *British Journal of Delinquency*, July 1951.

[8] See the special research report, published in the present volume.

Recent Trends in Japanese Sociology

(Liaison Committee, Japan Sociological Society)

I

The thorough defeat of Japan at the hands of the Allied Powers in the late Pacific War had its good points, just as it had its bad, and the drastic change in the social environment of semi-feudal Japan brought with it, be it reluctantly, the conditions necessary for the unrestrained study and pursuit of the social sciences, notably sociology, for the first time in the history of the country.[1]

But to speak of the establishment of the necessary conditions in Japan for the unrestricted study and development of sociology is one thing, and the successful development of sociology in fact quite another. If the number of university chairs, university students, and the volume of material annually published in a field are any measure of the success attained by a science, then, certainly, sociology must be considered as having been successful enough in post-war Japan. New material has been rapidly absorbed to fill in the unfortunate blank left by the War, new methods or techniques have been mastered, and an unprecedented number of young students have been, and are being, trained, who promise to make able scholars and research workers in the near future.

Amidst all this activity, however, the discerning observer will intuitively realise that, blessed as they now are with the freedom to speak out their minds, Japanese sociologists are not without their own peculiar troubles, the most obvious among them being (1) the lack of a proper theory, and mature method to work by, and (2) the limited number of full-fledged scholars and research workers in contrast to an expanding sphere of study.

Taking these and various other factors inclined to handicap them in their work into consideration, however, Japanese sociologists are not doing at all badly and as these difficulties are overcome, they will, in all possibility, increasingly prove their worth to their brother sociologists across the seas.

II

We give below a brief commentary on the more important fields of sociology in Japan for the period 1950–53.

Rural Sociology. The majority of empirical studies have traditionally been undertaken in this field, a place of first importance having been given to the study of family relations in the rural community. This tendency continues to hold good for the 1950–53 period, except that the somewhat conventional and obsolete methods hitherto employed in

the research work conducted in this field have now almost completely given way to the more up-to-date techniques developed in the United States; and that the recent interest, especially of the younger generation, of rural sociologists is focused on the theories of Loomis, Nelson, Esminger, Kolb and such other sociologists. It may be worth while to mention, while we are on the subject, that only last year an extensive research was carried out in this field to determine and compare the social attitude patterns of the Tohoku (North-Eastern Japan) and Seinan (South-Western Japan) farming communities, employing social-psychological methods for the first time.

Industrial Sociology. Despite the fact that only a handful of sociologists were engaged in study and research work in the field of industrial sociology during the period directly following the termination of the Pacific War, this field now ranks second only in number of projects undertaken or underway to rural sociology, and is generally credited with using the most up-to-date and varied scientific methods in the whole sphere of sociology.

But researches, scientific as they may be, are altogether useless without the necessary conceptual framework to guide them in the right direction, and the general feeling is that it is high time that industrial sociologists should be setting about the formulation of a workable theory based on the findings of their current research work in industrial organisation and, more recently, in union-management relations. The realisation by more and more people that a sizeable amount of systematic knowledge already exists in the neighbouring sciences whereby students of industrial sociology may profit considerably, promises to remedy this situation and act as a favourable influence on the thought of future scholars in this field.

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

Theory. In all of the above three fields, and in other fields of sociology, the tendency towards empirical study is markedly strong in post-war Japan.

But on the other hand, theory is not faring at all badly, although it is regrettable that most of the work done up till now has been excessively theoretical and has not succeeded in raising itself above the social-philosophical stage, thus leaving a wide gap between current theory and empirical study which cannot easily be bridged over.

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There is promise of more practicable theories developing in the future, however, and it is perhaps not merely a coincidence that much thought and study is being applied to the social theories of Max Weber, Talcott Parsons, and Karl Mannheim by many students of theory. The Social Theorists' Association, founded in 1953 in Kyoto, is further evidence of the gradually mounting interest in the proper development of theory, and efforts centring around this group hold promise of bearing fruit in the future.

The recently published " Essays in Sociology "[2] will give the interested reader a rough idea of the present level and scope of social theoretical work in Japan.

Methodology. The most outstanding feature of methodology during the period is the increasing popularity gained by the statistical method and its wide use by scholars in field research. This largely accounts for the very significant results obtained by using the sampling, scaling and testing methods in field research work in industrial sociology and social stratification.

Although this tendency is likely to continue for some time in the future, there is some reflection over the validity of the quantitative method as applied to social research, which has, in turn, provided an incentive to the systematic study and application of the anthropological method, which has remained somewhat in the background until very recently in this country.

III

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

The first is a Sampling Survey of Social Stratification and Social Mobility in the Six Large Cities of Japan undertaken by the Research Committee of the Japan Sociological Society. This Survey, in which 50 researchers from 18 universities and research institutes all over the country participated, was most significant in the sense that it was the first time Japanese sociologists joined their efforts for a large scale study.[3] It may be added that the Survey is now being extended to rural areas on an even larger scale.

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

NOTES

[1] As for the trends in Japanese sociology before 1950, see Prof. K. Odaka's paper, " Japanese Sociology: Past and Present ", *Social Forces*, Vol. 28, No. 4, May 1950.

[2] This collection of essays by sociologists in many fields, was compiled in 1954 by the Japan Sociological Society in honour of Japan's veteran sociologist, Yasuma Takada's sixtieth birthday.

[3] For details, see the " Report of a Sample Survey of Social Stratification and Social Mobility in the six large Cities of Japan ", issued by the Research Committee of the Japan Sociological Society in 1952.

Social Research at the National Autonomous University of Mexico

LUCIO MENDIETA Y NUÑEZ

(Professor of Sociology, National Autonomous University of Mexico)

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

For various reasons it was necessary to undertake a total reorganisation of the Institute in 1939. The present writer was charged with this task, and he drew up a well defined plan for this purpose. Above all, the original objectives of the Institute were respected and maintained: the proper union between scientific study and immediate utility; study and investigation not only for the sake of learning but with the purpose of transforming unfavourable social conditions or of bettering other social conditions which, though they may be considered as acceptable or even favourable are, nevertheless, susceptible of improvement. The writer had then, and still has, in mind the admirable concepts of the great sociologist, Emile Durkheim: " The fact that we propose, first of all, to study present-day reality does not mean that we renounce our intentions of improving present conditions. Our research would not be worthwhile if our purpose were purely abstract. If we take care to separate the theoretical from the practical problems, it is not with the purpose of forgetting about the latter; on the contrary, it is with the purpose of being in a better position to solve them. Science can help us to find the direction in which we must aim our efforts, to determine the ideals which we dimly sense amid the confusion. But we can attain our ideals only after having faced reality; or is it possible to proceed in some other way? Not even the most intemperate idealists can proceed otherwise, for ideals have no foundations if their roots do not penetrate into reality ".[1]

" The aims and efforts of Sociology ", affirms Posada, " are not exhausted solely upon research on social processes, nor in determining what those processes are. The work of Sociology to be complete must include a programme of social action, and it must take into consideration how the social processes which it attempts to investigate and tries

to explain, can be continued, within the chain of social events or happenings ".[2]

" Sociological investigation ", says Stuckenberg, " cannot be indifferent to the future of Society ".[3]   With the exception of a few " pure " sociologists, modern sociologists agree that Sociology, undoubtedly, has a practical object, although it is true that extreme care should be taken in separating the strictly scientific aspects from those concerned with Sociology's practical application.

The above concepts led us to the formulation of three successive phases in the work of the Institute: the first phase consists of the theoretical study of social conditions; the adaptation of sociological methods to our social structure; and the drawing up of detailed programmes for research on the social conditions or cases previously selected.   In the second phase of the Institute's work, the programmes previously formulated are put into action.   The third phase deals with the study and the analysis of the data obtained through research, in order to arrive at conclusions and formulate projects and programmes of action.   As may be seen, this programme, so openly utilitarian, does not exclude the possibility of scientific theorising, but, on the contrary, favours it, because such abstract thought is based on the realities of social conditions, or indisputable facts which have been scrupulously gathered and systematically organised.

To put this plan into effect the Institute was reorganised in five departments: I. Sociology; II. Social Medicine; III. Social Engineering and Architecture; IV. Labour and Economy; V. Library Files and Foreign Relations (relations with other institutions in Mexico and other countries).   In order that they may be clearly understood, analysed and explained, the complexity of social phenomena requires knowledge of various kinds.   It is a mistake to believe that because a certain phenomenon is of a social nature, it may be thoroughly investigated and studied by a sociologist.   There are social aspects which only the psychiatrist or doctor, the engineer, the lawyer, the economist, the ethnologist or the anthropologist can identify, isolate and evaluate.   However, it is evident that, in the final analysis, it is the sociologist who must undertake the genuinely sociological task of integration, synthesis, interpretation and generalisation which will make possible the practical application of the science.   But in order that the work of the sociologist may be of value, it must be based upon data which it is impossible to obtain without the proper scientific knowledge and technique, and such knowledge and technique cannot belong to a single person, no matter how learned he may be.   Based upon these ideas, the Institute of Social Investigation, from the date on which it was reorganised, tried to organise the aforementioned departments so that each one might carry on research into our present-day social conditions, each department with its specialised point of view.   It was thought that the co-ordination of the results of those specialised and partial investigations would bring us closer to the truth than if we should proceed unilaterally.

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

Between 1939 and 1952 (when this report was prepared) the Institute carried out a number of projects. Among the most serious national problems, without doubt, one of the most important is the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of the population, and, with the approval of the Honourable Council of the University, the Institute of Social Investigation selected this problem as the primary theme of its activities. This social problem is so extremely complex, widespread and serious that many years and large resources are necessary to study it.   Nevertheless, the Institute undertook the work in 1939, despite its limited financial resources and after more than eight years of intense effort it has successfully finished the following projects :

Ethnographic Map of the Republic of Mexico

The first step necessary was the carrying on of research into the ethnographic and ethnological characteristics of the aboriginal peoples of the country, and in order to do so it was necessary to locate them geographically, to establish, with some precision, the regions which they inhabit. Using the various censuses of the Mexican Republic and ethnological, archæological and linguistic studies on the indigenous races by numerous authors, the first ethnographic map of Mexico was drawn up. This map readily shows, in detail and in overall aspects, the distribution of the so-called indigenous groups of the country. This ethnographic Map of the Republic of Mexico is the only one of its kind; previously only linguistic maps were known. It was printed in offset, in large size, and it was distributed among the principal educational centres of Mexico. Various foreign universities and institutes have also acquired the Map.

Monographs on the Indigenous Races of Mexico

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

University, these surveys were necessarily sketchy, but they were carried out systematically, in accordance with carefully-prepared programmes and questionnaires. In order to follow the points of the programme and to fill out the questionnaires, the sociological investigators questioned members of each indigenous race as well as the more highly-educated persons who had lived among them for a long time and, therefore, were intimately acquainted with their peculiarities, characteristics and customs. Direct, on-the-spot observation, though rapid because of the impossibility of prolonging the visit in each region, supplied additional information for the surveys. With the information thus obtained and with other data to be found in the works of various authors, monographs were written on 48 indigenous races. These monographs were planned and written with a practical end in view. They endeavour, exclusively, to present as exact a picture as possible of the present economic and cultural conditions of the indigenous groups which form a part of the population of the country, and they should be judged from this point of view. Each monograph is copiously illustrated with photographs, maps and drawings concerning the subject with which it deals.

Ethnology of Mexico

With these monographs, it is planned to publish a 10 volume work, entitled " Ethnology of Mexico ". The 48 monographs were expanded, re-edited, supplied with a copious bibliography and grouped, according to a modern classification, by linguistic families, in order that there might be some method of presentation in the overall exposition of the ethnic problem of our country. Two volumes have been completed, but their publication is costly not only because of their length, but also because of the great number of maps and photographs, many of which are in colour.

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

Mexican Ethnography (A Monographic Synthesis)

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

Special Monographs

Some of the indigenous races to be found within the country, because of their numerical predominance and their possibilities, are more important than others. The Institute of Social Investigation gives special attention to the study of these races. The first of these ethnic groups to be studied was that of the Tarascans, with essentially the same method of research as was used in the case of the other aboriginal races; but in this case it was necessary to organise a team of specialists in various fields, history, geography, ethnology, economy, etc., with the purpose of giving the project greater profundity, in accordance with the practical ends which are sought in all the scientific activities of the Institute. The results of the survey effected by this team of specialists were published in a profusely-illustrated volume, which received high praise in Mexico and in other countries. With the same research method, the Institute effected a survey of the Zapotecs, another strong indigenous group, which is exceptionally important in the ethnological composition of the Mexican people. The results of this survey were published by the Editorial Department of the National University, in a large and profusely-illustrated volume. A similar survey was carried out by the Institute among the Otomies of the Mezquital Valley, in the State of Hidalgo, but the monograph has not yet been published.

Biotypic Investigation on the Indigenous Races of Mexico

For the first time in the history of the study of the indigenous races of our country, the Institute of Social Investigation began to study the principal aboriginal races from a biotypic point of view. This kind of investigation was initiated among the Tarascans of the State of Michoacan, by a team of specialists headed by Dr. José Gómez Robleda. A summary of their findings was published in the monograph dealing with this indigenous race and, in addition, an extensive work, with the title of *Tarascan Farmers and Fishermen* (Campesinos y Pescadores Tarascos) was published by the Public Education Secretariat. With the experience obtained from this first effort, the Institute conducted similar biotypic surveys among the Zapotecs of the State of Oaxaca and among the Otomies of the Mezquital Valley. These surveys have been finished and the results will be published soon.

Survey of Indigenous Housing

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

Ethnographic Exposition of the National Autonomous University of Mexico

After eight years of research into indigenous life, the Institute of Social Investigation has gathered the most complete collection known of photographs of representative types from all the indigenous races which inhabit the Republic of Mexico as well as of their homes, their dress and small industries. In addition, the monographs previously mentioned were summarised in mural paintings, and with all this material an Ethnographic Exposition was organised and set up in the main salon of the Palace of Fine Arts. This Exposition aroused great interest in intellectual circles and among the general public.

Survey of Communal Lands

The Institute planned a survey, of a social and economic nature, of the present-day conditions of the communal land units throughout the country, selecting for the purpose representative units of the different types: those located on irrigated lands, on seasonal lands, in cattle-raising or grazing areas, in forest regions; units which are worked collectively, and others which are exploited individually. With the results of the survey, our purpose was to prepare a comparative study which would consider present-day conditions in communal land areas and which would portray objectively the results of the Agrarian Reform. The first effort to carry out this ambitious project was made in the State of Morelos, in the region of the Zacatepec Sugar Mill. Several communal land units were studied, and a monograph containing the results of the survey in that area was written, but it has not yet been possible to publish it due to lack of funds.

Problems of the University : Desertion of Students

As it has been observed that a large number of students abandon their studies before finishing their courses, thus creating a serious problem for the National University, which is forced to expend large sums on a student body which does not reap the benefits of University education to the full, the Institute of Social Investigation was charged with effecting a study of this problem in order to determine its seriousness and its causes and to seek possible solutions.

Special teams of investigators had a difficult statistical task in the incomplete archives of the University, but it was possible to determine, with accuracy, that 53 per cent. of the National University students abandon their classrooms before finishing their courses. A poll was conducted among a large number of " deserters ", or former students, to find out why they abandoned their studies. The former students were classified by schools and by years, so that a detailed picture of the problem would be available, and, lastly, the investigators prepared a chart giving the average grades of National University graduates across a period of nine years, with the object of showing the quality of

the professional men and women prepared by the National Autonomous University of Mexico.

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

Revista Mexicana de Sociologia

This review was founded in 1939, as a quarterly, with the following objectives: making known the work of the Institute of Social Investigation; stimulating sociological research in our country; publicising the latest works of the modern sociologists of Europe and of America; promoting closer relations and interchanges among the principal centres of learning and culture dedicated to study of the social sciences. For financial reasons, after the fifth year of publication, the Review was published every four months instead of every three months. At present 14 volumes have been published and publication of the fifteenth has begun (1953). The reception given to the Mexican Review of Sociology in scientific circles has been very flattering. The Review has among its regular contributors many distinguished sociologists, and several of the papers which it has published are cited in modern works on Sociology. Undoubtedly due to the prominence of its contributors, this is one of the periodical publications of the National University which have helped most to invest the University with prestige in Mexico and in other countries.

Sociology Booklets of the Library of Sociological Essays

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

To date thirteen booklets have been published, covering a wide range of sociological topics, among others, social class, political parties, social psychiatry, personality, and the theory of social groups.

In a second series of booklets with a different format four titles have so far been published.

The First National University Census

The social-statistical investigation on the " desertion " of University students brought into focus the necessity for a broader survey, of the same type, to reveal in detail the internal structure of the universities and other centres of higher learning which exist in the Republic of Mexico, and thus to include within a single survey the present conditions and the problems of university education in our country. With

this purpose, the Institute of Social Investigation, in August, 1949, compiled the First National Census of Higher Learning (Primer Censo Nacional Universitario), the only one of its kind which has been effected to date in Latin America. The Census includes data on the socio-economic conditions of the students and the professors of the National Autonomous University of Mexico and of the various universities and other centres of higher learning in the States of the Republic. Actually it is more than a census; it is a survey, founded on statistics, of present-day conditions of university education in Mexico. The printed work is prefaced by a " Sociological Essay on the University of Mexico ".

NOTES

[1] Emile Durkheim, *La División del Trabajo Social*, Madrid, Editorial Jorro, p. 41.
[2] Adolfo Posada, *Principios de Sociologia*, Madrid, Editorial Jorro, 1908, p. 377.
[3] Adolfo Posada, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

A Survey of the
Development of Sociology in The Netherlands, in particular after World War II

A. N. J. DEN HOLLANDER

(Professor of Sociology, University of Amsterdam)

and

J. P. KRUIJT

(Professor of Sociology, University of Utrecht)

Prior to 1940 there was only one chair of sociology in the Netherlands (established in 1922), at the University of Amsterdam, occupied by W. A. Bonger, pre-eminently a criminologist. However, special mention must be made of S. R. Steinmetz, who was from 1907 Professor of Geography and Ethnology in Amsterdam. The social sciences in the Netherlands are greatly indebted to him. Steinmetz, rejecting the anthropo-geographical approach, indicated social phenomena and human groups as the point of departure, and his " sociography " was really little else but descriptive sociology. Steinmetz was succeeded by H. N. ter Veen (d. 1948). Since 1950 the chair of sociography in Amsterdam has been occupied by H. D. de Vries Reilingh. Most of the present sociologists in the Netherlands originate from the sociographic school. A number of monographs, many of them doctoral dissertations, have been published since the late nineteen twenties, in various fields of sociological description, analysis and, to a lesser extent, theory.

The first period of sociography in the Netherlands was characterised by inadequate sociological training. The teaching of sociography was intended to satisfy the need for future teachers of geography, and until 1945 sociological theory was almost entirely neglected. The teaching of sociology as established in the Netherlands universities since 1945 aims at integrating sociography with sociology. This should enable sociography to overcome its " vitia originis ".

An important factor explaining the belated development and academic recognition of sociology in the Netherlands may have been the flourishing state of older sciences; theology, philosophy, law, history, economics, geography covered some of the ground claimed by sociology and quite a few scholars in these fields denied the necessity of a social science in the stricter sense. Sociology had to win its place. Another factor may have been the comparative social tranquillity in the country. The great waves, caused by revolutionary movements and disturbing events, in other European countries, sent only mild ripples over the Netherlands; the industrial revolution came late and social legislation as well as trade unionism soon caught up with the

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social problems created by the new system of production. Social change was gradual, and its pace was slow. Problems like the disintegration of village life, assimilation of immigrants, racial minorities, the impact of technology, the rise of giant cities, family disintegration, were either absent or lacked the urgency which they assumed in other countries. Although unemployment and the accompanying problems were serious in the nineteen thirties, a fairly general well being and the aspiration toward, and attainment of, lower middle-class standards by a large section of the working classes, kept social discontent within bounds. A colonial empire containing many different cultures, led to a thorough study of Indonesian anthropology and Oriental languages, history, art, religions, economics, but sociology derived little impetus from this. The upheaval of World War II, the German occupation, the " awakening " of Asia and Indonesia, the reconstruction of the Dutch empire, the drastic revision of political conceptions, the impoverishment of the Dutch nation, the increased rate of social change, the impossibility of further maintaining the traditional policy of neutrality, steered the country back into the currents of world affairs. Detachment had to be abandoned, and an increased interest in social problems was one of the results. Early membership of the I.S.A. by the " Dutch Sociological Association " (established 1936) and contacts with the Social Science Division of UNESCO proved stimulating, as did the establishment of a Faculty of Political and Social Sciences in Amsterdam (1947), and the publication of several Social Science journals: " Mens en Maatschappij " (since 1925), " Sociologisch Bulletin " (Protestant, since 1947), " Sociaal Kompas " (Roman Catholic, since 1953), " Sociologische Gids " (since 1953). Student journals: (a) " Sociografisch Nieuws " (Amsterdam, 1948–53), (b) " Trans-informator " (Utrecht, since 1951).

The Dutch universities may have been slow in recognising the importance of sociology, but after 1945 full professorships were established one after another. Bonger (Amsterdam) was succeeded in 1946 by A. N. J. den Hollander, P. J. Bouman was appointed at Groningen, W. Banning became part-time professor of church sociology at Leiden, W. R. Heere became full professor at the Roman Catholic Economic College at Tilburg. In 1947 J. P. Kruijt was appointed full professor at Utrecht, in 1948 F. van Heek at Leiden, Sj. Groenman at Utrecht (part time). In 1949 A. Oldendorff was appointed to the Roman Catholic University at Nijmegen, F. L. Polak joined the Economic College at Rotterdam. The same year a second chair of sociology was established in Amsterdam (S. Hofstra), the Neo Calvinist Free University in Amsterdam welcomed its first professor of sociology (R. van Dijk), a second chair was added in Leyden (J. Ch. W. Verstege). At the Agricultural College in Wageningen, E. W. Hofstee has, since 1946, given instruction in rural sociology, while since 1951 G. H. L. Zeegers has offered an introductory course in the theory and method of social research in Nijmegen. Since 1951 C. D. Saal has been Reader

in sociography at Groningen. Symptomatic of the renewed interest in modern world development was the replacement, in 1947, of the chair of " Colonial Ethnology " in Amsterdam by a chair in " History and Sociology of Indonesia " (W. F. Wertheim), whilst since 1950 R. J. van Lier has been teaching " Sociology and Culture of Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles " at Leyden. The University of Amsterdam established its " Amerika Instituut " (1947) under the direction of A. N. J. den Hollander, while S. Hofstra gives, *inter alia*, a course in African sociology in Amsterdam.

Financial aid from the Government made possible the launching of three large-scale research projects: criminality and morality among the Dutch during World War II and immediately after; the distribution of the Dutch population; fertility problems.

Of the institutes active in social research, the ISONEVO (Institute for Social Research on the Dutch People), Amsterdam, should be mentioned first. At the beginning it applied itself to regional and local research; at present research of a wider scope has come into the foreground. It is now conducting research on social mobility and social stratification, and in the field of cultural sociology. The Institute also organises congresses, among which may be mentioned those on the consequences of the increase of population and on social planning in the reclaimed areas of the Zuyder Zee. Social research is also carried out by " Sociographical Offices " and " Town Planning Offices " of many cities; regional area planning falls under the direction of the Provincial Planning Offices, while the National Planning Office at the Hague concerns itself with planning for the country as a whole. Then there are the Economic Technological Institutes in the various provinces, set up jointly by the Government and private parties, which concern themselves with requested research, especially in connection with the establishment of industries. The excellently equipped Central Office of Statistics at the Hague is active in many fields.

The Netherlands churches, too, have developed an interest in sociology. The Netherlands Reformed Church established a Sociological Institute of its own at Utrecht (1945), and has published its " Sociological Bulletin " since 1947. The Catholic Social-Ecclesiastical Institute at the Hague (1951) publishes its " Mededelingen " and many reports.

Further research is undertaken by the sociological institutes and seminars of the universities, and by private bureaus and persons.

Thus, on all sides one observes a greatly increased interest in sociology, which has acquired academic status, and has gained official recognition as a discipline which can be put to practical use. A recent crop of trained young graduates is emerging, interest among the students is lively and seems to be still increasing, while the shortage of qualified assistants and research workers, so noticeable in the years immediately after World War II, is disappearing.

The Sociological Institute of the Dutch Reformed Church

W. BANNING

(Professor of Church and Philosophical Sociology, University of Leiden)

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

When at the end of 1945 the Sociological Institute began its activities, the only assets were one man, an empty house, a mission and plenty of goodwill and devotion. Now, after eight years' work, the kind of services sociological investigations have rendered to a living church fully realising its apostolic vocation can be shown. Before dealing with these investigations I would like to describe generally the outlines of our work. We are convinced that the era of industrialism is not only new in world history, but that by its very nature it presents quite new problems to the churches. Never before has any type of civilisation been so much affected by the machine, technology and natural science, never before have moral life, philosophy, moral judgments, emotional

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life, been so strongly influenced by technology. In the present age we find the crisis of industrialism. The main symptoms are, first, that while modern science has discovered forces hitherto unknown and now available for mankind, it still remains to find instruments by which these forces can be controlled and be led into proper channels. Second, while these forces might serve men in a way never before dreamt of, they also appear to lead to self-destruction. Third, the peoples of our modern world are so permeated with feelings of distrust, hate, revenge, fear, that the simplest human relations are continually being threatened.

With all this in view the Sociological Institute of " Kerk en Wereld " has made special researches. Of those of outstanding interest, I might name in the first place the enquiry into the mode of life and mental attitude of young people since the war. In the years 1945–46 it was important for the Church, which, owing to its attitude during the military occupation had acquired the special attention of our people, to know exactly what the Dutch younger generation thought about the great problems of life and not to rely on vague or unverified impressions. This inquiry was instituted by means of questionnaires in which they were free to insert their replies without influences from outside. The results are compiled in a book, " Lives and Views of our Youth ".

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

In the fourth place we mention, that at the request of the Government seven scientific institutions are carrying out an extensive inquiry into

the mental conditions of youth in general and to this the Sociological Institute renders every assistance. Obviously, the results of this inquiry are the property of the Government but no doubt the general public will have the benefit of it in due course for, in order to take the necessary steps, very close co-operation of various public bodies and of the churches will be essential.

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

The subject of an important inquiry was that of the social standing of the Church ministers of the big cities. Although the results were as expected—most of the ministers belong to the lower middle classes, very few to the working classes—yet the inquiry demonstrates once again the nature of the foundation upon which the Church rests as far as the Clergy is concerned.

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

After enumerating some of the outstanding investigations, we now propose to go into background and purpose of the work. Since some scores of years expressions such as " lost groups " have often been used, that is, the groups that have lost all touch with the Church or even with religion, although many are still associated in a formal way. One finds them among intellectuals, labourers, new middle classes and in some parts of the country also agricultural workers. The question first put by sociologists (in 1933 a thesis was published by Dr. J. P. Kruijt dealing with de-Christianisation in Holland) began to alarm the Church workers. What are the social incentives at the back of this process which may be summed up in the word de-Christianisation ? The symptoms are not only apparent in Holland but in the whole of Europe. Is this an inevitable process to be acquiesced in, or can the Church by new methods face the new situation ? A positive way of

looking at it is the principle that takes shape more and more in the propagation of the gospel, that people should be approached in their *own environment*, that is in their daily lives, their families, in the social group to which they belong, the part they play in the labour market. Sociological investigations always aim at understanding people from their social points of view and with that in mind to explain their ways of thinking and acting, their conflicts and problems. On the strength of the development of sociology as a science, we venture to predict that it will be able to assist the Church not only in case of difficulties but also in finding ways of overcoming them. We are convinced that the vital questions at issue for the larger part of the population nowadays are rather on a social-ethical, than on a philosophical or dogmatic plane. Social ethics, for a long time a somewhat neglected subject of theology, can only profit by what sociology, with its practical analysis of social life, has to offer.

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

After having given an account of the present work of the Sociological Institute I should like to outline future work and to mention definite sections of the work and tasks. To start with I would like to name the study of social-economic, cultural and religious life, of the character and mentality of the Dutch nation as a whole, and also its regional and social communities. In all this we fully realise that our Dutch society is only a part of a whole which is in a radical process of transformation, a complete metamorphosis. With this in view, the following objects of inquiry come up for discussion:

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

2. The economic structure which is indispensable to an understanding of social symptoms: various groups of professions with their

regional differences in particular between town and country and the differences in standards of living and mentality resulting therefrom (remuneration of labour, working hours and speed, enjoyment of work, wealth, savings and leisure). Further, the differences in mentality of employers and employed and the changes therein and the problems concerning the manager and participation of his workmen.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12. For closer study, though more of an academic nature sociological and social-philosophical problems are extremely important, such as individual and community, community and society, leadership,

the importance of the process of secularisation, sociology of religion, cultural sociology and sociology of science.

The Sociological Institute publishes its own periodical four times a year, in which investigations are reported in a condensed form. The authors have dealt with sociological and religious aspects of villages and districts as well as with problems of specific parishes such as Sloten, now part of Amsterdam, youth in typical areas, problems connected with industrialism, etc.

In conclusion I should like to mention the difficulties we encounter in our work in the service of the Church. Unlike the work done in study or library, sociological investigations always cost a lot of money and workers in new districts should be prepared not only to spend much time and be very patient, but also to face much disillusionment. Besides, society as a complex of human strength and efforts not only requires a trained eye but also a sympathising and loving heart. The sociologist is usually concerned with people having social troubles, feeling threatened in some way or other and fighting moral battles. All this he should understand and appreciate scientifically as well as from the human point of view, so this work should never be degraded to routine work. To be quite honest we have to state that Church-sociology has to face special difficulties in so far as Church people as well as the clergy are not yet convinced of the advantages of sociological study.

Les Activités du Centre de Recherches Sociologiques de Genève et la Méthode Active et Spontanée

ROGER GIROD

(Professeur à l'Université de Genève et Directeur du Centre de Recherches Sociologiques de Genève)

Le Centre de recherches sociologiques a été créé le 14 janvier 1952.[1] Il s'agit d'un organisme scientifique indépendant, de forme encore tout à fait provisoire.

Programme

Le Centre s'intéresse à des travaux ayant à la fois une utilité pratique immédiate du point de vue de l'action en faveur du progrès social et une valeur comme moyens de contrôler des idées par des faits.

Ces lignes extraites du programme initial du Centre expriment assez bien l'inspiration générale de son travail; il s'agit " d'apporter une contribution, si modeste soit-elle, à l'effort de tous ceux qui luttent pour accroître l'autonomie de l'homme par rapport aux structures sociales, aux dynamismes historiques, aux pouvoirs et aux mythes qui contrarient sa capacité d'assumer ses responsabilités en toute conscience ". Le Centre se veut largement ouvert à la vie internationale. Il essaye, pour cela, d'étudier avec une attention particulière les aspects sociologiques de problèmes d'intérêt international, en mettant à profit notamment la documentation très riche que rassemblent de manière continue les grandes bibliothèques internationales installées à Genève (Nations Unies, BIT, OMS, etc.).

Travaux méthodologiques et théoriques

En liaison avec l'enseignement universitaire, le Centre poursuit des recherches méthodologiques et théoriques.

Elles ont touché jusqu'ici surtout deux thèmes : la portée de la sociologie moderne comme moyen d'action; les influences sociales qui s'exercent sur la pensée sociologique.

D'autre part, pour les besoins de ses enquêtes, le Centre a commencé à élaborer un ensemble de procédés de travail groupés sous le nom de " méthode active et spontanée ".

Cette méthode traduit un principe théorique et un certain nombre d'exigences pratiques.

Le principe théorique est le suivant: le sociologue est spécialisé dans l'emploi de certains moyens d'observation et d'analyse qui permettent d'éclairer des aspects encore obscurs de la réalité sociale, mais ceci n'implique en aucune manière qu'il ait le privilège de concevoir les problèmes sociaux de point de vue d'une raison intemporelle,

échappant aux influences historiques qui pénètrent profondément le raisonnement de chacun.   Le sociologue peut donc se rendre utile— et en même temps faire avancer sa science—en fournissant à la collectivité des données qui manquent encore, à propos de phénomènes parfois importants, mais il outrepasserait vraisemblablement son pouvoir réel en présentant ses jugements comme l'expression de la seule manière correcte et impartiale de concevoir les choses. D'où la nécessité d'établir avec les personnes qui vivent les situations collectives sur lesquelles on fait des recherches des arrangements à base d'échange. Au lieu d'être appelé en consultation pour dire ce qu'il convient de penser et de faire (ou comme c'est plus souvent le cas: au lieu d'être imposé par quelque autorité extérieure au groupe à "traiter", pour établir un diagnostic), le sociologue accepte d'apporter un certain nombre d'instruments de travail à des personnes qui sentent la nécessité de se livrer, selon leur propre inspiration, à l'analyse de divers aspects de leur cadre de vie, afin de les modifier. Le sociologue participe à l'analyse de la situation et recueille ainsi des données utiles à l'avancement de ses travaux. Les autres partenaires de la recherche font, quant à eux, des constatations intéressantes.   Ceci achevé, chacun repart de son côté, libre d'interpréter les faits comme il l'entend. En règle générale, la recherche ainsi conçue est effectuée par des équipes comprenant d'une part des membres de notre Centre et d'autre part des personnes qui ont la volonté de rendre plus efficace une action destinée à améliorer leurs conditions de vie.

La recherche devient ainsi fondamentalement *active*, à plusieurs titres.

Elle est exécutée par les intéressés eux-mêmes, en grande partie. Elle est liée à des activités pratiques, ce qui lui confère du point de vue des groupes avec lesquels les chercheurs entrent en contact un caractère d'utilité tangible. Elle est active en outre d'une manière qui intéresse les fondements mêmes de l'observation sociologique concrète, laquelle porte essentiellement sur les effets des interactions sociales, soit sur l'action par laquelle des phénomènes sociaux s'influencent mutuellement. Or, étudier une situation collective en fonction d'une action destinée à la transformer revient à ceci: on étudie les effets actuels de certains dynamismes sur la condition d'un groupe, en liaison avec des personnes qui désirent rectifier ces dynamismes. Les dynamismes en cause, actuels et à venir, ne sont autres, en dernière analyse, que des conduites, des actions, combinées d'une manière déterminée. Nous sommes en présence d'une situation où l'observation expérimentale devient possible. A condition de mettre en place un schéma approprié d'observation et d'analyse, on pourra enregistrer les effets observables du "stimulus" constitué par la série de actions qu'il s'agit de mieux comprendre, et éprouver à leur égard la valeur explicative de modèles théoriques.

La méthode en question est en outre *spontanée* dans toute la mesure où elle est appliquée dans des recherches qui sont voulues, élaborées

et exploitées librement par des partenaires qui respectent leur autonomie réciproque. Les uns et les autres s'entendent pour étudier selon des procédés compris et approuvés par chacun des faits considérés par tous comme intéressants. Pour les uns, il s'agit surtout de faire avancer des travaux à intention scientifique. Pour les autres d'éclairer le plus possible d'aspects d'une situation à modifier. Les sociologues ne cherchent pas à imposer leurs conceptions comme l'expression de la seule vérité. Leurs partenaires n'essayent pas d'utiliser des sociologues pour faire valoir des thèses extra-scientifiques. Chacun assume ses responsabilités et reconnait celles des autres.

Les exigences pratiques auxquelles nous faisions allusion plus haut sont simples; obtenir des résultats intéressants tout en réduisant les frais et le personnel nécessaire au minimum; obtenir la confiance des milieux au sein desquels on doit faire des observations directes et des interviews. Il est évident que les problèmes de ce genre sont résolus plus aisément lorsqu'on peut compter sur la coopération d'un groupe de recherches formés de personnes provenant des milieux en cause. Ces personnes, nous l'avons vu, participent activement à toutes les phases des travaux. Dès le moment de la détermination des faits à analyser et des moyens à utiliser pour cela, elles enrichissent le groupe de points de vue souvent féconds. Elles jouent aussi un rôle important dans l'exécution même des travaux, mettant souvent à la disposition de l'équipe de recherche les ressources techniques de certaines associations professionnelles ou autres. Ces collaborateurs bénévoles savent également faire comprendre autour d'eux l'utilité pratique des travaux —utilité qu'ils leur ont d'ailleurs eux-mêmes conférée en mettant l'enquête en rapport avec des problèmes pratiques auxquels le sociologue, livré à lui-même, n'aurait sans doute pas pensé. Ils contribuent ainsi à créer autour de l'enquête le climat de confiance indispensable. Ils se livrent eux-mêmes à des observations sur le vif, selon des schémas scientifiques élaborés par le groupe. Ils fournissent des faits, des documents.

Enfin et surtout, ils ont l'expérience vécue de la plupart des phénomènes mis à l'étude, ce qui leur permet d'ouvrir aux chercheurs l'accès de l'aspect interne des situations collectives qu'il s'agit d'éclairer. Sous sa forme brute, strictement subjective, cette expérience directe des faits n'a en général pas grande portée. Il s'agit de la transcrire en données intelligibles, de faire concourir des expériences individuelles partielles à une description sociologique d'ensemble. Sur ce point, le principe de l'échange qui est à la base de la méthode est particulièrement fécond. Les membres non sociologues du groupe de recherche détiennent d'importants, d'irremplacables matériaux qui ne deviennent réellement significatifs et utiles qu'au prix d'une certaine élaboration, à opérer principalement au moyen des instruments que peut apporter le sociologue. Au terme d'un tel travail, chacun conçoit avec plus de précision un certain nombre de choses dont il est utile de tenir compte tant du point de vue scientifique que pratique.

Au total, cette méthode, permet de ne jamais s'écarter de l'action (action de divers dynamismes sur une situation, action pour améliorer cette situation). Elle fournit l'occasion de multiples échanges entre des gens qui vivent les phénomèmes à étudier et à contrôler et des sociologues qui connaissent des moyens de dégager de cette expérience vécue des données présentant une signification générale. Au cours de ces échanges chaque partenaire dispose entièrement de son autonomie et ne se décharge d'aucune de ses responsabilités. Il y a accord entre citoyens qui ne veulent négliger aucun moyen de saisir le plus possible d'aspects d'une situation où certains d'entre eux sont très directement engagés, qu'ils étudient par eux-mêmes en mettant à profit des méthodes scientifiques, en se réservant évidemment le droit de penser et de faire ce qu'ils voudront des données ainsi obtenues.

Enquêtes

La liste jointe de publications reflète jusqu'à un certain point le travail de recherche accompli par le Centre.

Actuellement, nous avons en chantier une enquête principale et différentes investigations annexes.

L'enquête principale est effectuée avec l'appui du Fonds national suisse de la recherche scientifique et avec la coopération active d'une demi-douzaine de syndicats et associations professionnelles au sein desquels des groupes ad hoc se sont constitués. Il s'agit d'une comparaison des conditions de vie et de certains attitudes dans deux milieux de travail très différents, l'un surtout manuel (le bâtiment) et l'autre non manuel (les employés de bureau). En liaison avec cette étude, un certain nombre de cartes sociologiques montrant la répartition de différents milieux sociaux dans la ville de Genève ont été établies. Une recherche sur l'évolution comparée des prix et des salaires à Genève depuis 1800 environ doit également nous être utile pour mieux comprendre l'histoire du groupe formé par les gens du bâtiment et de celui que constituent les employés de bureau. Tous ces travaux sont en relation avec des observations concernant la mécanisation, la productivité, l'évolution comparée du primaire, du secondaire et du tertiaire, etc.

Nous avons entrepris aussi des préparatifs en vue d'une enquête de stratification et de mobilité sociales, dans le cadre du programme de l'AIS. Certains aspects théoriques de ce genre de recherche ont été étudiés et discutés par nous au cours des derniers mois. Nous espérons qu'un premier sondage d'essai pourra avoir lieu cette année.

Autres activités

Notre Centre effectue régulièrement en collaboration avec l'UNESCO l'analyse, du point de vue des sciences sociales, des documents et publications des Nations Unies et des Institutions spécialisées.

Il s'est intéressé à des titres divers à l'organisation de cours, exposés, colloques, etc. et a pris une part active à diverses initiatives tendant à stimuler le développement de la recherche sociologique en Suisse.

Publications donnant un aperçu de certaines enquêtes du Centre :[2]

Comment le public est informé des résultats d'études faites par des institutions internationales, processus psycho-sociologiques de communication et contenu des informations. Bulletin international des sciences sociales, UNESCO, Vol. IV, No. 4, 1952. En anglais et en français.

Evolution récente du travail en Suisse, quelques faits significatifs, Lettre du Gothard No. 199, avril 1953. En allemand et en français.

Facteurs de l'abstentionnisme en Suisse, Revue française de science politique, PUF, Paris, avril-juin 1953, avec 9 tableaux et 4 cartes.

Quelques observations sur la productivité et la structure du travail dans la construction à Genève, Revue économique et sociale, janvier 1954, Lausanne.

NOTES

[1] Président d'honneur: Professeur Jean Piaget, Sorbonne et Université de Genève, Président de la Société internationale de psychologie scientifique, Directeur du Bureau international d'Education et membre du Conseil exécutif de l'UNESCO. Responsable: Professeur Roger Girod, Université de Genève. *Adresse*: 5bis chemin Krieg, Genève, Suisse.

[2] Les publications générales et méthodologiques ne sont pas mentionnées ici.

Report on Some Experiences in Social Research Techniques in Switzerland and Germany

RENÉ KÖNIG

(Professor of Sociology, University of Cologne)

It has often been pointed out that, owing to special conditions in this field, there is a general lack of experience in empirical research methods in social sciences in the German speaking countries of Europe. This holds true for Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, though some important steps were taken in the latter country about twenty years ago, when Marie Jahoda and Hans Zeisl completed their study on unemployment in Marienthal; but since they were forced to leave the country a few years later, this very promising start came to an end very soon.

It was not until the end of World War II that things began to change. But though it is true that much work has been done in this field after 1945, there is still no agreement with regard to the general meaning of empirical research work and its relation to sociological theory. This implies, of course, a serious handicap not only for empirical research but also for sociological theory.

Furthermore teaching suffers likewise, since there is no accepted way of agreement between theoretical needs, scientific methods, and research techniques. Thus, the present situation moves within a vicious circle, the general sociological theory being confined to an old conceptual framework that has not been checked for decades, and empirical research work, if there is any, trying to proceed " off-hand " without any appropriate theoretical guidance. As a matter of fact, the relation between both instances grows into an almost complete separation and a mutual indifference, with the result that there is no space left for what Robert K. Merton has called " the theories of the middle range " between all-embracing theories on one side, and the minor working hypotheses of the work-a-day research on the other (Cf. R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe (Ill.) 1951, p. 5–10). This, translated into European terminology, brings about the deplorable and altogether annoying so-called antithesis of " socio*graphy* " and " socio*logy* ", which is rather misleading since it may induce the naïve observer to believe that there is a description which could dispense with a conceptual framework, or a conceptual framework unrelated to any experience.

Another difficulty arises with the question of ascertaining whether or not the different research methods, elaborated mainly in Anglo-Saxon countries, may work with a population of a different character. Here the paramount objection could be formulated in the following way: those methods may work with " them ", but they surely do not work

with " us ". In contrast to the approach of the average research worker, a kind of an irrational " comprehension " is advocated which is supposed to go directly and deeper into the " essence " of things, while rational research methods are denounced as contenting themselves with the outward shape of things. Here again I feel that this valuation is rather unfortunate and much more likely to prevent the progress of knowledge than to further it. However, since this valuation corresponds at the same time to an intrinsic in-group-out-group tension, and thus becomes a legitimate topic of sociology of knowledge, we must overcome explicitly the above-mentioned contrast by plainly neutralising the emphases involved, and by cutting them down to a logically more meaningful problem. Although such an attitude could and would be most fruitful in artistic creation, in science at least we simply cannot stay with the alternative between meaningfulness on one side and a commonplace on the other.

The real problem is to know whether or not there is a common subject when we speak, e.g. of " family " or " social classes ", or if there is only an " essence " hidden behind a series of incoherent phenomena, which can be called by numerous names except the terms of " family " or " social classes ". But now, since science is public, we have to arrive at a commonly recognised subject which can be defined by rational sentences, even if this definition should restrict itself to being nothing but an " operational definition ". An operational definition upon which we can agree within certain limits is still more than a meaningful intuition which, by its own nature, cannot be subject to any " public " control. In order to avoid to a certain extent those far-reaching consequences, and to embark upon the way of the middle range theories mentioned above, we have tried with several groups of students within the last few years, in Switzerland and in Germany alike, to attack the problem by simply setting to work. This paper is meant to be a report on our experiences.

It is, for the time being, impossible to present a comprehensive survey of methodology in social research work, since nearly everything is still in an experimental stage. But, on the other hand, it may be useful to present some points which have been brought to light during our personal experiences in the last few years, even if they do not present a closed system.

Thus, I will have to limit myself to three main topics without, however, pretending to an exhaustive picture: the problems (1) of interviewing, (2) of sampling, and (3) of community surveying, and their respective applicability in Switzerland and Germany.

I

The first method on trial has been the interviewing technique in its different forms. We had to tackle this problem first, since it has proved to be the most controversial, and since the public discussion of this

topic in central European countries after 1945 has actually been biased by many prejudices, misunderstandings, and mistaken beliefs as well.

Thus we started a series of handbooks on research methods in sociology with a volume on interviewing (Cf. R. König, editor, *Praktische Sozialforschung*: *Das Interview* (Zurich and Dortmund, 1952). Other volumes on observational methods, quantitative analysis and the like are in preparation, but first we had to prepare some practicable tools in order to start the discussion on a rational basis. On this occasion I tried myself to stress three main rules for the application of interviewing techniques, mainly for the construction of questionnaires, interview schedules, and interview guides. Before (1) going into the preparation of an interview action we have to determine what we want to find out. Thus, the preliminary action is of a more or less theoretical character. The stage of conversion into a concrete research design follows the precise definition of the topic of a planned research project and the formulation of the main hypotheses. Then (2) we have to delimit the range of our research plan, i.e. to come to an agreement as to how far we want to follow up a given problem. Since in the social sciences everything is connected with everything, this question may be of paramount importance for the efficiency of our research design. Again we will find ourselves confronted with the alternative of meaningfulness on one side, and a more or less complete lack of control on the other, if we extend our ambitions to too far-reaching consequences. However, it seems to me that a scrupulous restriction to the theories of the middle range may be most promising. Anyway, (3) the next rule may prove to be imperative, and push aside all considerations of the kind we mentioned above, and that is the question of the available financial means for a given research programme. Since, in central Europe, the problem of financing social research work is still a very precarious one, that third rule has grown into a nightmare for most European research workers.

Once those matters have been settled, and once we have reached an agreement that a certain problem cannot be dealt with unless we proceed by interviewing, the question arises as to whether or not a central European population will react in the same way towards interviewing as another population actually does. This, of course, is a problem of its own, since we do know that the efficiency of interviewing is dependent on a series of suppositions, mainly on the general attitude of public opinion towards interviewing.

Now, when we try to get a more precise picture of those opinions which could further or endanger the reliability and validity of data collected by interviewing techniques, we shall be confronted with the most incoherent and contradictory patterns. On one side we can be sure to meet with a favourable attitude where problems of public interest are discussed through the most different mediums of mass communication. This holds, of course, for a country like Switzerland. On the other side, experience has demonstrated that the average Swiss

citizen is rather well inclined to take part in a public discussion, to send letters " to the editor " of an important newspaper, but he would not be so well disposed to answer to the question how he voted, e.g. in the last election. This, to him, is a private matter. Thus, we come to the following statement, that the inclination to be interviewed varies with the different conceptions of privacy, and since privacy is much more restrictive in Europe than, e.g., in the United States, we may conclude that in this respect the general attitude toward interviewing will probably be less favourable in Europe. This, of course, is for the time being nothing but an hypothesis that requires further checking. As a matter of fact, we have already done some experimentation in this field, and we are planning for the near future more detailed research in order to find out about the limits of this private sphere and about the special topics influenced by this rather affective reserve.

With regard to Germany, we may say that the situation in this respect is much more complicated because it is burdened by a lot of historical ballast. Since the method of being questioned has proved to be a very dangerous tool in undermining democracy and the most work-a-day human relations, people may remember the Nazi methods of questioning and be on the look-out whenever they meet an interviewer. As a matter of fact we have found, while studying consistency or inconsistency of the interviewees in a long interview, that the power of recollection of the average man was really amazing. Everybody seems to be on his guard when answering a series of questions, in such a manner that the result be unequivocal. Thus, several kinds of control questions, unfortunately enough, become rather inefficient. The question arises to know if, under these circumstances, an interview is still a tool for obtaining dependable answers, or if the interviewee does not just " invent " a series of meaningful answers " for the occasion ". This puzzle cannot be resolved unless we try to go deeper into the problem of " validity ". Considering this to be a question of paramount importance, we are actually planning in Cologne an experimental study on validity. In doing so we have to take into consideration that the post-war policy in this field has not been so favourable either, the fact of being questioned by different (Allied or German) authorities having produced an air of " snooping ". Lately, the tremendous selling success of Ernst von Salomon's novel *The Questionnaire* has indicated that strong resentments of this kind are still alive in some strata of the German population. The question is to know where, i.e. in which strata precisely, this resentment is to be encountered and what its numerical importance is. As a matter of fact, we have found out in our Cologne study, " Interview on Interviewing ", that the upper income classes and the upper educational levels are in a general way suspicious of interviewing, while the lower classes in respect to income and education are much more inclined to cooperate. This in itself demonstrates a significant difference between a central European and an American population (Cf. Erwin K. Scheuch, *Ein Interview über das Interview,*

Köln 1953, manuscript, will be published shortly).   Another question is to know if the resentment is limited to the upper strata which are —as a guess—partly composed by the " elites " of the *ancien régime* of Nazis, and by people who have been in rather close contact with Nazism, or if it carries over to other strata.   Other strong inpediments are blunders of the following kind: the fact that relevant data of the 1950 Census have been given out to the revenue office; that it has been tried to check and to countercheck the findings of a small community survey by asking some people to give their opinion on other people's replies after telling them their names; that very well-known university professors have publicly opposed research procedures by interviewing, etc.   If we take into consideration the important sponsorship effect of universities in Germany, we can easily understand that statements of this kind simply must turn into a heavy liability on future enquiries using interview techniques.

So far we have insisted exclusively on the different handicaps able to disturb a planned action in interviewing.   However, there is on the other side still a noteworthy number of encouraging successes.   Though it seems that the average Swiss citizen would not answer to a personal interview we have had the satisfaction, in a research project at the University of Zurich, that nearly 77 per cent. of the contacted people (325 cases) answered to a mailed questionnaire.   This study raises a twofold question: first concerning the application of a mailed questionnaire, and secondly the problem of non-respondents (Cf. Rinaldo Andina, *Die Stellung des Akademikers in Gesellschaft und Beruf*.   Eine Erhebung unter den Doktoranden der Philosophischen Fakultät I an der Universität Zürich, Zürich 1951.)   Being aware of (1) the risks of a mailed questionnaire, we proceeded with two questionnaires, a short one and a rather comprehensive one.   As a matter of fact, the huge majority (80 per cent. of the respondents) took to the comprehensive questionnaire, while some interviewees joined long letters to the filled in questionnaire in order to give more detailed explanations.   I feel that this fact may be taken as an apology of the mailed questionnaire.   On the other side, we have to admit that the population involved was of a very special type, viz. all the Ph.D. of the Philosophical Faculty I (historical-philological section) in a period covering eleven years (1937–47).   We could reasonably assume that this population would be rather interested in our problem (the life success of a Ph.D.), since this matter had been thoroughly discussed for years and years in newspapers, students' journals, etc., before the survey started.   This accounts partly for the success of our mailed questionnaire.   But as we went into an examination of the non-respondents, we found out that this group was again composed of successes and failures alike, so that the obvious guess that only successes were inclined to answer proved to some extent to be wrong.   Furthermore, a short time ago, we were able to check this assumption as we worked on a similar study with the reverse scope, i.e. to find out about the life story of the

" failures " in academic life. Actually we are, at the University of Cologne, in the middle of a study whose main scope is to find some data about those students who left the university without taking an examination (Cf. Margret Tönnesmann. *Die gescheiterten Studenten an zwei Fakultäten der Universität Köln*, not yet finished). Before beginning the interviewing we had first to locate those students and to acquire their present addresses. Thus we sent out a short mail question-naire in order to secure some information as to whether or not they had completely abandoned university studies, or if they had simply transferred to another university. Here again 63 per cent. replied.

The meaning of these findings may be tentatively formulated in the following way: a mail questionnaire has a good chance of being efficient, provided that the population involved is of a high educational level, rather interested in the topic dealt with in the questionnaire, and furthermore, with regard to certain criteria, rather homogeneous (the latter point being related to the representativeness of the incoming answers). These conditions are obviously met by a students' popula-tion. When we now look upon the above conclusions from a general point of view, we may state that the working conditions of a mailed questionnaire are obviously the same, under certain circumstances, in the United States and in central Europe, provided that the routine rules are observed. It would, of course, be completely nonsensical if we wanted to approach a very complex population by the means of a mail questionnaire, since we would obtain an entirely distorted result owing to the fact that just one part of the population is usually inclined to answer a mail questionnaire.

This brings us to our next question, (2) the meaning of non-response in interviewing. Again, I will have to rely upon our own ex-periences. In any survey be it on the basis of a mail questionnaire or a personal interview, the non-respondents deserve our special attention. Regardless of the fact that this problem is closely connected with the representativeness of sample selection, we want first to deal exclusively with this question under the aspect of a possible indication of general resentment against interviewing techniques. We can anticipate that in central Europe as in the United States, regardless of the many deeply rooted prejudices against interviewing, the general attitude is still rather in favour of interviewing as a legitimate tool of social research. As a rule, the number of refusals is not much higher in different countries. But we have to keep in mind that the conditioning of these refusals may be different. We have also to be on the alert that most surveys in Europe, and especially in Germany, are conducted by means of a quota control sample, where the problem of refusal tends to disappear, owing to the fact that the interviewer will try to get a replacement for every refusal as long as the quota of the refusals stays within a usually experienced limit. The proper problem of refusal with its peculiarity only arises with a random sample, where at all events a rather high quota of refusals can cause a complete breakdown

of the sample. Now, if we call to mind the findings of the above-mentioned Cologne study, we may obtain some hints in this direction by the fact that the higher income and educational levels proved to be much more suspicious of interviewing techniques. When looking into the different motivations for a refusal in this study, we could easily find out that nearly one third of all the refusals could be traced back to a more or less political resentment. We were able to check this guess, since we found in our area sample a residential neighbourhood where the refusals were especially high. When we tried to determine the causes of this reserve, we learned that this neighbourhood was inhabited mainly by former Nazi Party employees. This fact is in itself of the utmost importance, as the author of the study points out, since we are quite unable to give precise information concerning the statistical data of this group. As a matter of fact, this group is much more characterised by the fact of its common attitude than by objective items. Another significant hint may be that professional workers with a university education show an overproportional tendency to refusals. The conditioning, in this case, may go back to the tradition of social sciences in Germany in general. Now, we could easily do away with this kind of refusal, if we had not to take into consideration the strong sponsorship effect of university education in Germany.

In this respect we would like to stress that the present situation, eight years after the end of hostilities, seems to be in some ways worse than immediately after the war. A recent study submitted in Cologne provides a report on the experiences during four important surveys in Germany, during the period from April 1945 to August 1949. The general trend of this study seems to show a much greater unaffectedness in the general attitude towards interviewing techniques than we might find today, at least in certain strata or groups of the whole population (Cf. Max Ralis, *Uber einige Erfahrungen aus der Praxis der Sozialforschung, Kommunikationsverhalten*, dissertation Cologne 1953, *manuscript*). A change in teaching and a general change in the predominant style of social sciences may not only create a new basis for academic discussion but also for public discussion. And here I would like to make the statement that the almost enthusiastic cooperation of the students may prove, one day, to be more efficient than the resistance of the unswerving followers of the ancient rule.

Of course we have to keep in mind that all the above-mentioned experiences have been made in Cologne, and it might well be that in other cities the findings would be different. On the other side I feel that the fact of being interviewed, in itself, may prove to be of some importance for the creation of a favourable attitude towards interviewing in the future. Thus it has been pointed out in a re-interview study, described by Max Ralis, that people reacted in a rather positive way during the second wave, four weeks after the first one, stressing the trustworthiness and kindness of the interviewers, the clearness of the questions, etc. During the field work stage of our Cologne study, we

also had a rather illuminating occurrence. One day we received a letter from a lady interviewee who was worried about the purpose of our study, since it seemed that there was a Communist programme under way for gathering signatures for one of their numerous peace petitions. The lady, in her letter, pointed out that she had liked our interviewer, and that she was now wondering whether or not he could have been connected in some way with this Communist programme. Here I must mention that our questionnaire and our interview were rather difficult and provoking, since we wanted to find out how people would react towards interviewing even under the stress of a very embarrassing questionnaire. But this lady did not mind the tenor of our interview, she just troubled herself about the possible political background of the study.

II

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

I personally feel that many aspects of contemporary research work in social sciences in Germany are essentially correlated to this fundamental misunderstanding. Thus, e.g. the predominance of " large samples " in many research projects. The large sample has originated mainly in opinion studies, and also in marketing research, where it may permit inferences about nation-wide opinion trends concerning some topics of general interest. But there is an almost general agreement that these inferences, by their very nature, cannot be very penetrating. On the other side the social scientist, while resorting to a particular research project is, as a rule, interested in getting more detailed and thorough-going information than can be procured by a large sample.

E

Thus he will generally prefer a small sample. However, the respective importance of the large and the small sample has not yet been recognised in Germany, either in theory or in practice.

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

The average definition of a probability sample points to the claim that every unit in the universe should have the same chance of being selected as every other unit (Cf. Mildred Parten, *Surveys, Polls, and Samples*, New York, 1950, p. 219). However, the most serious difficulties arise with the question of how to guarantee and to secure that every unit really has an equal chance to be selected. In other words, randomisation of a universe is not randomlike at all but proceeds in a thoroughly planned way. Here I feel in complete agreement with Paul K. Hatt's and William Goode's formulation, that a random sample " is not random but is carefully planned ". Now, in order to eliminate a probability sample of those factors which may prevent every unit from actually getting the same chance of being selected, we need what I would like to call a proper strategy of sampling beyond the mathematical theory of sampling. This strategy presupposes sometimes rather complicated detours and circumstantial considerations of a

more sociological kind, and it may happen that they prove to be of a most theoretical character. I would like to make the statement that the problem of strategy in probability samples is still highly neglected in German research projects, it could even be said that the problem as such has not yet been seen (Cf. R. König, *Sample*, in: *Wörterbuch der Soziologie*, edit. by Fr. Bülow, forthcoming spring, 1955).

This situation becomes still more complicated owing to a sometimes strong impediment to understanding, a question of language. In German, there is tendency to translate the English term of sampling with " Stichprobenerhebung ". Now " Stichprobe " would have to be translated into English with the term " accidental sample " or " off-hand sample ". This, of course, is only a particular kind of sampling which, by the way, we are rather often bound to use, especially in pilot studies. But nonetheless I feel that a precise distinction between these different techniques of sampling may be of the utmost importance, especially with regard to the above-mentioned strategy of sampling. The accidental sample, even when proceeding along mathematical lines, essentially excludes every sort of strategical planning. A workable sample design, however, simply cannot dispense with a proper strategy of sampling. Beyond that we want to stress that, of course, not all the samples which call themselves " Stichprobenerhebung " are of the purely accidental kind, and do actually dispose of a well defined sample design. But nevertheless the wording may in other cases be rather misleading. This is also the reason why I have emphasised, on several occasions, the importance of not translating the term " sample " into German (Cf. R. König, editor, *Praktische Sozialforschung: Das Interview*, Zurich and Dortmund 1952, pp. 33–34). May we point out that, in French, this difficulty does not arise since the word " échantillonage " is, in this respect, rather neutral and an almost verbatim translation without any implications which could deviate from the original meaning of the term as used in social research work. Beyond that the term sampling and its techniques are, of course, employed in other sciences as well; but since the situation in those sciences is entirely different from the situation in sociology, the problem I have pointed out in the foregoing explanations may not arise to the same extent as in sociology, or perhaps not at all.

III

The method which, under the present circumstances, fits best to German and Swiss traditions in the field of social research is, of course, the " community survey ", as may be shown by the Darmstadt study, the German " Middletown ". But even if this holds true in many cases we have to overcome many difficulties too, which may sometimes inhibit very seriously a rational action in this field. These difficulties increase occasionally to alarming dimensions. As far as I can see, based on my own experiences, there are mainly two complex reasons which may interfere with the summons of scientific research, viz.: the tradition of

the science of folklore (especially in Germany) and likewise traditional political ideas (especially in Switzerland) which try to keep community life impenetrable to scientific analysis.   The latter reason, deeply rooted in history, could be looked upon as a parallel to those prejudices which disturb the interviewing techniques in Germany.   And this again fits into a more general central European pattern, in my mind essentially connected with the post-war situation, that people simply do not want to look into the mirror of science, be it that they try to disguise themselves in view of the claims of a most general political re-orientation and of the shifting weights in Europe, be it that they are simply afraid of the expected, and more or less anticipated, insights of scientific research.   This, of course, brings forth the problem of the responsibility of the social scientist.   Incidentally, I feel that it might be important to make clear that this problem arises already with the presuppositions of knowledge, and not only with their practical applications.   Thus I would like to state that in central Europe at least, we suffer much more from a lack of incentive to know about the present situation in all its details, than from an insufficiency of knowledge in the field of social sciences.   There is a kind of inhibition, voluntary or not, which occasionally prevents every scientific action.   In a most general way the quest for security has superseded the quest for certainty.

Beyond that, we have to take into consideration (1) the tradition of folklore, mainly in Germany, which stands in the way of planned action in community surveying.   The German idea of " folk society " in contrast to the Swiss, English, French and Italian concepts in this field is still connected with the romantic prejudices of a " growing organism " which conceals its structures behind an unfathomable essence of a metaphysical character.   The only way to communicate with, and to participate in, this essence would be the mysterious " comprehension ", already mentioned above, combined with a positive refusal to accept a rational scientific approach since the subject of knowledge is supposed to be in itself of an intrinsic irrational character.   All behaviour patterns and institutional devices are thought to " grow " out of this essence, and thus to preserve their original irrational character.   Add to this that, with the intercession of the category of " growth ", one is necessarily referred to the different " stages " of growing which, for their part, are hidden in the " past ", then we will easily understand that this approach, in itself, will prevent in a most crucial way every attempt to analyse " contemporary " folk society where it still exists. Thus the science of folklore offers the most decisive resistance against the methods of community survey.

May we point out that, in this respect, the origin of Swiss folklore is entirely different from the German tradition, in so far as it does not accept the antithesis between " creative " folk society on one side, and rational or " progressive " society on the other.   Here the fundamental idea is that the progressive society, at all ages, brings about all

creative innovations while folk society chooses between the different stimuli, takes over what fits into its structures, and partly transforms the innovations into a traditional " cultural pattern " (Cf. Richard Weiss, *Schweizerische Volkskunde*, Zurich, 1946). In this respect Swiss folklore has proved to be able and willing to approach analysis of contemporary folk society in the proper sense. And this, in itself, presents most important problems because the clash between traditional folk society and progressive society grows sometimes to almost amazing acuteness, since we have on one side one of the most advanced industrial systems and on the other side, simultaneously, in Central Switzerland, i.e. in the mountain zone in general, one of the most traditionally minded populations of Europe. Irrespective of this special problem, one could say that, in Switzerland, the science of folklore has actually performed important contributions in community surveying. The difficulty, in this field, is not of the " essential " nature as in Germany but much more of a methodological character, since Swiss folklore does not present new methods of its own aside from descriptions and collections of data through " informants " and " experts " who are supposed to " know " about the folk customs and beliefs (teachers, ministers, etc.). Now, as everybody knows, the main problem is not to get experts of this kind who give, in their mind, reliable answers; the problem is rather to ascertain if the " experts " are able to have an unbiased view of the problems involved. Before collecting data with the help of informants and experts of this kind, we ought to inquire very thoroughly if they inform us (1) about the present situation, or (2) about their wishes as to how they want the present situation to be, or moreover, about (3) their remembrance of the situation in a certain field ten, twenty, thirty or even more years ago. It may be stated that, although in certain cases factual knowledge is actually furthered by the science of folklore in Switzerland, in other cases owing to the fact of more or less complete lack of information about the informants, and their attitude toward contemporary life, the results may be rather distorted, mainly in terms of the sentimentalities of the " good old times ".

Here the other factor, already mentioned above, makes itself conspicuous, viz.: (2) the tradition of certain political ideas, and ideals. Since, in sociology, the problems of folk society mainly arise with the relation of town and country life, we have to take into consideration that this factual differentiation may sometimes be also a political problem. As a matter of fact in Switzerland a kind of " ideological peasantry " came into existence under the stress of industrial evolution, the concentration of labourers, and labour unions in the big cities. We underline the ideological character of this trend of opinion, since it is not mainly promoted by peasants but also by the representatives of many other occupations, who feel rather inclined to protest in some way against industrial revolution by advocating opinions completely inadequate to their actual social situation. This trend of opinions has,

e.g., to insist on the unadulterated character of folk society in country life. On the other hand, with the contemporary evolution of industry in Switzerland, a remarkable deconcentration of industry has happened during the last forty years with the result that a great part of the non-urban areas of the " Mittelland " has been industrialised throughout this period. We once tried to summarise the sociological implications of this series of facts by the statement that, in Switzerland, the problem of urbanisation has partly become independent from the big cities. As a matter of fact country life, too, has become highly industrialised, mainly in the great plain reaching from the lake of Constance to the lake of Geneva between the Alps and the Jura. But now it is to be said that regardless of this evolution people hold fast to the ideals of peasant life, even though its ideological character has become quite obvious. This of course would not do any harm if this gap between actual life and ideological orientation were of a more theoretical nature; but it very often prevents, on the other hand, an adaptation and adjustment to new conditions of life. Also it might be said that in the average community there is a fundamental misunderstanding as to the reasons for many facets of maladjustment which are attributed to a wrong orientation of ideas, i.e. criticised in a moralistic way. Only one part of the problem, its economic side, is dealt with in a rather rational way, while people are evasive with regard to the social and cultural consequences of the given situation.[1]

No wonder, then, that the technique of community survey has to overcome the greatest difficulties, and an almost general resistance in public opinion, although the science of folklore in Switzerland has made some important steps in this direction. Because of this reason we undertook several studies of this kind, mainly a study of a suburb of Zurich which has been incorporated in 1934 (Cf. Hansjürg Beck, *Der Kulturzusammenstoss zwischen Stadt und Land in einer Vorortgemeinde*, Zurich 1952) and another one on a village community, isolated from every urban influence, though it has been intensely industrialised about twenty years ago (Cf. Hans Weiss, *Soziale Auswirkungen der Industrialisierung in einer schweizerischen Dorfgemeinde*, will be published shortly). In a third study we tried to find out how country people, immigrating into Zurich, reacted towards their new surroundings (Cf. Peter Atteslander, *Die Einwanderer in die Stadt Zurich*, Diss. Zurich, 1952, manuscript, will be published shortly).

During these studies, too, we were able to make some experiments in interviewing. Since our procedure followed more or less along the classical lines of community surveying, the interviewing techniques used were of course more of the kind of qualitative interviewing or unstructured interviewing combined with field experience, as has been successfully employed in the Elmira study run by Cornell University. Incidentally, the Cologne study on interviewing brought forth a remarkable preference of some strata of the population for open questions and/or for the cafeteria question; it may be that we have to face, in

a general way, a preference of central European populations for open-ended questions and the qualitative interview in contrast to the questionnaire with predetermined answers.   This feature would, in some way, fit together with the traditions of folklore and the almost favourable attitude towards community surveys.   This fact also has consequences for the evaluation of the data, since we can assume a general tendency towards qualitative evaluation, combined sometimes with a strong resentment against every kind of quantitative analysis.   Beyond that we have been confronted with new difficulties in our community surveys, mainly connected with the question of contacting a peasant population and getting its co-operation.

It has often been emphasised that, in research work dealing with different social classes, there is always the risk of an upper class bias in collecting data through interviewing, especially when students are used as interviewers.   Since in community surveys we can regularly expect a rather complex population differentiated in several social classes, higher and lower ones, this means, of course, that in a most general way the danger of the upper class bias must be expected to be present in almost every community survey.   This risk grows even more when we face a rural population of the European kind, since peasantry, in most European countries, is of a very different character from all the other social classes together, and of particularly difficult access. Thus we very soon became aware that the normal method of collecting data by contacting people did not work so well with a rural population in Switzerland.   First, we had to take into consideration that research in general and students as well, are looked upon by the peasants as typical products of city life.   That means, of course, that the student working in an isolated country community will have the effect of a foreign body even if he is very sociable and skilful.   On a smaller scale this holds for every community, the social scientist being looked upon as an intruder as soon as he confesses frankly the scope of his questioning.   But on the other side we still can rely upon a certain will for co-operation, at least in some parts of a more urban community, and that with the result that, after a while, our research worker has a fairly good chance to be accepted by the population even though he has, occasionally, to go through rather indiscreet and annoying questions. With a rural population, however, and especially when it is of the European peasant type, the difficulties grow enormously.   Though we had, in one of our studies the full agreement of the community president and his secretary, it proved to be a rather hard job to convince the peasants that one could look in a completely different way at their life conditions than they actually did.   It seemed especially difficult to influence them in such a manner that they began to acknowledge the scope of our study.   Purposive thinking in a rational way may be uncommon to the peasant's way of life to such a degree that he becomes suspicious as soon as he is confronted with a direct question.   Now one could easily circumvent this particular difficulty by using the

indirect form of questioning; but since it can be taken for granted that our trend of thought is entirely different from the peasant's mentality, we should fear to go completely astray with our assumptions. As Hans Weiss has pointed out in his study we have to look out in this particular situation for a new approach in order to realise a satisfactory contact. Indeed, a factory worker is much more inclined to answer an interview, especially when he is given the opportunity to express his grievances. A peasant, on the other side, has to overcome strong inhibitions even if he is asked to voice his complaints. He also has difficulties in understanding that another man, obviously a student and with that a city man, might be interested in his own affairs which are so different from city life.

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

It has often been said that it helps a good deal in order to achieve co-operation of an interviewee, to let him know that one is interested especially in his personal opinions or sentiments. On the contrary it seems to be rather difficult to convince a peasant that his ideas have meaning for other people. It may be that in former times, when the peasant actually had a feeling of his rank in society as a whole, he would have been more open-minded than he is today. With the contemporary industrial evolution, and as a consequence of the lasting crisis in agricultural life, it seems that the peasant has developed a tendency to look at himself as a minor being in social life and may be, therefore, rather unable to understand why people are interested particularly to know about his opinions and his problems.

In our study on a suburb of Zurich which had once been a community mainly composed of peasants and small craftsmen, we had an interesting hint as to the nature of this feeling of depression mentioned above. When the peasants of this community, before it had been incorporated into the community of Zurich, began to come into closer contact with city life, they first wanted to live up to the new standard by building, e.g. a new school house. This, of course, was a rather heavy investment. Now the business could have been carried

through if only they had had a long-ranged investment plan; but here it turned out that they were quite unable to find a feasible arrangement, be it only a rational form of book-keeping. Thus, quite suddenly, they felt over-powered by the demands of modern business life, and eventually resigned with a general feeling of weariness. This was the situation on the eve of the incorporation into the larger body of the city of Zurich. It seems that the inability to accept the summons of contemporary economic life, together with the extension of urban life and industrial civilisation, work together in uprooting the folk society of peasantry. And this general feeling of resignation may render social research work more difficult with a peasant population, while, on the other side, the labourer, especially the skilled worker, is thoroughly convinced of his importance in the community so that he can easily be induced to co-operate in a community survey.

NOTES

[1] Cf. for the problems of urbanisation in Switzerland, my contributions to Georges Friedmann (ed.), *Villes et Campagnes*, Paris 1953, mainly pp. 185–194.

Recent Developments in Sociological Research in West Africa

K. A. BUSIA

(Head, Department of Sociology, University College of the Gold
Coast, Achimota)

The impact of the Second World War on West Africa was immense. African troops fought overseas, and acquired new skills, and gained new experiences. Nor were civilians who remained at home unaffected by the war. Some experienced a loss of income due to the fall in cocoa prices; but others gained higher incomes from war work, or from remittances from relatives in the Forces. Though more money was put in circulation, there were fewer goods to buy; consequently inflation and profiteering on a national scale assumed proportions never known before.

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

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

Against this background, the need for sociological research was strongly felt. There was the need for enquiries into land utilisation as part of the problem of stepping up agricultural productivity to meet the demand for food; or into the special problems posed by the fast-growing towns which represented the apex of the process of indus-trialisation where unemployment, delinquency, overcrowding, family

disorganisation, the emergence of new social classes, and acute political and administrative problems called for expert investigation. The towns exemplified in more or less degree the problems that faced West African Communities generally. Studies of the movement of labour, of commerce, of family structure, of municipalities and local authorities, of occupations and standards of living, of marketing, of political structures, and the like were deemed necessary in order to provide data and information for social amelioration. Accordingly, a new impetus to research was given.

An Institute of Arts, Industries and Social Science was established at Achimota in the Gold Coast in 1943. Under the direction of Mr. H. V. Meyerowitz, the Institute sought to develop and adapt African arts and crafts to large-scale production. Dr. M. Fortes, a social anthropologist, was later appointed to the Institute from Oxford. With the help of a human geographer and an economist he conducted an Ashanti Social Survey designed to provide the information that was needed for dealing with the social problems that the war had intensified.

In order to obtain data for the planning of economic and educational development in the British Cameroons, the Nigerian Government made a grant to the International African Institute for research in that area. The services of an anthropologist, Dr. P. Kaberry, were secured. The results of her studies have been made available in a series of publications.

During the war the British Government established the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund from which money was made available for social research in British Colonies. The Colonial Social Science Research Council was accordingly set up in London to formulate plans for studies and research in the field of the social sciences in British Colonial territories. Its first Secretary, Professor R. Firth, visited West Africa in 1945 to study the social and economic problems there in order to assist the Council in planning a suitable programme of research. His report covered the major economic, political and social problems of post-war West Africa.

In 1945 the Council made a grant to the International African Institute for an Ethnographic survey of Africa. Six studies have so far (1950–53) been published on West Africa by the Institute as part of the Survey.

As has already been indicated, in West Africa, and in fact in East and Central Africa also, there has been a growing recognition of the need for the study of urban populations. At the request of the Gold Coast Government, a study was made of the port of Sekondi-Takoradi, in order that the Government may have data on the social conditions of that town.

In 1950 a West African Institute of Social and Economic Research was established at Ibadan in Nigeria, under the directorship of Professor Hamilton Whyte, an economist. Research projects in hand at the

Institute include: A Comparative Study into Yoruba Social and Economic Organisations; The Palm-Oil Industry in South-East Nigeria; A Social Study of the Enugu Coalmining Community in Nigeria; Monetary and Banking Systems of Nigeria; Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830–55.

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

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

The theoretical problem is where to draw the line, if any, between social anthropology and sociology. Africa has been traditionally a field of enquiry for anthropologists; and many of the recent studies to which I have referred have been carried out by anthropologists. When, therefore, one talks of sociological research in Africa, one must face the question as to whether one implies an enquiry different from the kind that social anthropologists have undertaken, and if so, how one draws the distinction.

One can easily distinguish physical anthropology from sociology; for the study of variation in the human family, and of human physical evolution is easily distinguishable from the study of men's group life and learned behaviour.

But the distinction between social anthropology and sociology is not so obvious. Social anthropologists have made intensive studies of non-European societies, and have developed special field methods and techniques suited to the situations they have studied. It would generally be agreed by them that they regard all human societies as being within the field of their study, but that they have concentrated on non-literate or " primitive " societies because being smaller in scale with regard to numbers, territory, and range of contacts, possessing simpler technological equipment and little specialisation of social function, and being generally more homogeneous in composition, such societies are easier to study than those of Europe; and that, as in other scientific studies, to proceed from the less complex to the more complex offered a more fruitful line of approach.

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

referring to this trend I do not wish primarily to raise here the question of integration which is itself a large and important subject on which opinions vary.

My main purpose at present is to draw attention to the fact that for students of society working in West Africa today, the question of the distinction of the two fields of social or cultural anthropology and sociology demands fresh thinking. The laboratory has changed in character with the impact of industrialisation and Western technology, and the responses in social adaptation that African communities are making to the impact.

It has been said that the distinction between the sociologist and the social anthropologist has lain in the field which each has studied and in the methods used, rather than in a difference of aim. That while the sociologist has been concerned with the structure of societies like those of Britain and America, the social or cultural anthropologist has been concerned with non-European societies. Therefore it would seem that sociologists have to justify their intrusion into the anthropologists' preserves in Africa; but in the light of recent studies anthropologists have made similar intrusions into the preserves of sociologists.

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

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

It seems to me the contemporary African scene makes it extremely difficult to maintain that social anthropology and sociology are two distinct disciplines. It is of importance for students of society working in Africa today that this question which is both theoretical and practical should be faced and clarified. It is of importance not only for the organisation of teaching and research, but also for a definition of the aims, if the two are in fact separate disciplines. I have come to the view that social anthropology has been that branch of sociology which has concerned itself with small-scale and comparatively homogeneous societies. With increasing industrialisation, such communities are rapidly diminishing in number.

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

A Community Survey of Darmstadt, Germany

NELS ANDERSON

(Director, UNESCO Institute for Social Sciences, Cologne)

It should be mentioned that between 1949 and 1953 there have been other community studies in Germany. The Darmstadt survey was the first of these and the most extensive. It was concerned with the study of a middle-sized bombed city and its hinterland.

This survey has been referred to by some as a German " Middletown ". While the Middletown books by Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd were read carefully by the Darmstadt survey team, and served as inspiration, this project in many respects is different. It was a bi-national work, the Americans serving as technical advisors. The Darmstadt project was a demonstration research and a training effort. The Darmstadt project called for considerable cooperation between the survey team and the public and with public officials. There are other differences.

Beginning of the Darmstadt Survey

This writer, then connected with the American military government and later with the High Commission, helped plan the project in 1948. It was then intended to be a project carried on in two small cities to get the trade unions to work on some of the urgent community problems of the workers. The trade unions were only beginning to reorganise after more than a decade of extinction.

A committee was formed including two trade union officials, the editor of a labour paper, the judge of a labour court and the head of the Academy of Labour of the University of Frankfurt. This committee made several basic changes in the plan proposed. The study should consider one middle-sized bombed city instead of two smaller ones. It should include the hinterland as well as the city. It should not be limited to the study of a few problems of immediate urgency, rather it should be a comprehensive survey.

It was the committee that selected Darmstadt as the city which most nearly met the agreed-upon specifications. The committee also designated the Labour Academy to assume responsibility for the work, the German sponsor of the project.

Before the war Darmstadt had a population of about 115,000. After the bombing with about 60 per cent. destruction the population fell below 50,000. It was back to 100,000 in June, 1952. For more than a century it had been the capital city of Hesse, a rôle which has been transferred to a less-bombed city. Until about fifty years ago, Darmstadt was content to be the political and culture capital. Lately it has become industrial. Darmstadt welcomed the idea of a survey.

Operation of the Project

Work on the project began in February 1949 and closed officially in June, 1952. The survey was financed entirely with American funds. The Labour Academy as sponsor received the funds, employed the staff and supervised the work. Most of the key staff workers were advanced university students as evidenced by the fact that six of the ten monographs were utilised before publication as doctoral dissertations.

The first few months were occupied with trial and error effort. None of the staff workers had had research experience. American literature was not helpful. American advisors did not arrive until four months after work started. They were Dr. Henry J. Meyer and Dr. H. Ashley Weeks, sociology professors at New York University, and Dr. S. Earl Grigsby who had been engaged in rural social studies for the United States Department of Agriculture. Dr. Weeks and Meyer came for three years during the summer months. Dr. Grigsby remained with the project until its official close. Altogether these three contributed about 56 man-months of advisory service to the project, not including considerable advice through correspondence.

According to the initial plan, the project was managed throughout as a German operation. No contacts were made for the project with the community by the American advisors. They made suggestions but took no responsibility for supervision. Actually, because of their wider experience in such matters, their suggestions were usually accepted, but not always.

The project organisation included, on the one hand, a group of inexperienced German students, proud of and sometimes sensitive about their academic traditions, who were inclined to be formal in their relations. On the other hand the Americans were less concerned about the academic than about the realities at hand, all experienced in this type of research, and they were inclined to be informal with one another. Fortunately, the Americans understood the situation and operated with caution. By the end of the second year a relationship of mutual confidence prevailed.

In order to negate any undue influence the American advisors might have on the survey, it was decided to engage German advisors as well. These were Dr. Theodor W. Adorno of the Institut fuer Sozialforschung, University of Frankfurt, and Dr. Max Rolfes of the Institut fuer landwirtschaftliche Betriebslehre, Justus Liebig Hochschule, Giessen. These German advisors assumed much of the responsibility for editing the ten monographs.

One of the chief difficulties of the project concerned the slowness of the work and the unwillingness of the staff to be exercised about time schedules. An assumption prevailed that scientific research is privileged to take its time. The dragging of the work made it very difficult to secure the final two grants of money to finish the work.

Intangible Results of the Darmstadt Survey

Even though the last of the monographs was not finished until more than a year after the project closed, and five years after the start of the project, the integrity of the work is above reproach. The project served uses in addition to the monographs that were produced. For three years the project served as a demonstration. Frequent visits were made to it by persons engaged in other empirical research projects, especially community surveys. Members of the staff were borrowed by other projects to help write schedules or to advise on research methods. There were frequent calls for members of the staff to read papers before research groups or to lead discussions.

During the life of the project more than twenty university students spent from several months to more than three years on the project staff. Some of these left the project to accept positions as research assistants. Almost all of these are today engaged in social research of some sort. Four or five at least are already becoming well known as researchers.

In terms of money costs it can be argued that the project was costly. More than 950 man-months of labour were paid for on a salary basis. This does not include a great amount of volunteer student work for which only transportation and food costs were paid.

Yet the fact remains that precisely because the staff of young people was left pretty much alone, a number of high quality researchers were developed. How much is a good research scholar worth? Whatever the answer, the Darmstadt survey should rate well on this score.

Concerning Methodology

At the beginning of the project it was difficult for staff members to feel friendly to research methods that lead the researcher into the street, the work place and the home. There was some thought that such fact-finding methods would not work in Germany, that Germans would not consent to being interviewed. These difficulties vanished after a few trips to the field.

The methods used on the Darmstadt survey, in the city and hinterland, were the usual methods employed in such research elsewhere. Very little adaptation to the German situation was necessary. No attempt was made to develop any new methodology as far as fact-finding was concerned. A look through the monographs will reveal that considerable originality was exercised in the analysis of the materials and in the presentation.

Local Cooperation

The cooperation of key persons and groups played a prominent part in the Darmstadt survey. The skill with which the staff developed these contacts and retained them may be regarded as a substantial segment of the methodology used. The staff very early described themselves as a scientific group and they managed to be accepted as scientific researchers. Being so accepted opened many doors to them. Moreover,

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the acceptance of the survey by the top Darmstadt officials, including the Buergermeister, put such a mark of approval on the effort that access was made easier to all public offices in the city and outside.

In only a few cases, surprisingly few, did individuals refuse to be interviewed. In no case was cooperation withheld by a private group or association. In but a single case did a public office refuse to cooperate but after some months that ban was lifted. What is considered exceptional, the project was able to secure the friendly cooperation of both the trade unions and the employer associations. The two newspapers in Darmstadt assisted and cooperated throughout.

At the outset of the project it was hoped that a community committee could be set up; a committee on which the churches, labour, business, government, etc., would be represented. This idea did not fit the German community pattern. The committee did not take form, but that did not prevent the project staff from getting the separate cooperation from these different groups.

The Monographs

A vast amount of material was assembled by the survey that was not used. It had been hoped that after the monographs there would be a single summary volume in German. It was also planned that there would be a summary volume in English. That is still being worked on by the American advisors. The following are the ten monographs:

(1) *The Structure and Function of the Rural Community within the Influence Area of a Middle-Size German City*

(2) *Rural Population within the Influence Area of the City*

(3) *The Part-time Farmer and his Family at the Meeting Point of Rural and Urban Ways of Life*

(4) *Youth in the Post-war Period*

(5) *The School and School Children in a Bombed City*

(6) *The Germany Family after the War*

(7) *A Group of Girls in an Upper High School Class*

(8) *Public Officials and Citizens*

(9) *Trade Unions and Works Councils in the Judgment of the Worker*

(10) *The Free Time of the Working People in a Bombed City*

Except the last-named monograph, all were completed by the end of 1953. It should be mentioned that the materials collected by the survey were carefully indexed and filed by the Academy of Labour. Those which pertain to rural life were presented to the Institut fuer landwirtschaftliche Betriebslehre of the Justus Liebig Hochschule in Giessen. Those which pertain to Darmstadt alone were given to the social science faculty of the Technische Hochschule, Darmstadt.

The Japanese Family[1]

KIZAEMON ARIGA (Professor of Sociology, Tokyo Kyoiku University)

TAKASHI NAKANO (Assistant Professor, Tokyo Kyoiku University)

KOYOMI MORIOKA (Instructor, Tokyo Kyoiku University)

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

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

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

(*c*) The property which the family holds is not considered to be the total of fortunes owned by the individual members, nor is it the property held in common by all family members; it belongs to the family as an identity in itself. It includes, in the case of the farm

family, such things as houses, house sites, arable land, woodland and hayfields, furniture, clothes, tools, farm implements, grain and other kinds of foods and cash. An individual family member is allowed, by the patriarch, to hold his own property but only to a negligible extent.

(d) Family affairs are managed by the patriarch under whose direction other family members participate. The patriarch is the priest in family worship, the manager of family properties, and the director of family production activities. Even when a family member commutes for work to another location, thus making possible a livelihood independent of the family, his cash income is included as a part of the income of the family and is controlled by the patriarch. Under his command the wife of the patriarch is charged with the consumption aspects of family life. In consequence of his supervision of family members inside the family system, to the outside world the patriarch represents the family as a group, and most significantly, the family as a single entity, since his social status *is* both equal to and the same as that of the family.

During the period he heads the family he must multiply the family property he has inherited and, in transmitting it to his successor, feels shame should it have been reduced while under his management. In the society of Feudal Japan (1192–1867), patriarchal power over individual family members was strong, but its strength was not based on the arbitrary will of the patriarch. On the contrary, the patriarch himself was controlled by the institutional demands of the family, that is to say, demands following from the necessity for the continuation of a family as an identity, and beyond the immediate needs of living members.

Nowadays patriarchal power has become remarkably weakened, for a series of changes have taken place in the character of human relations within the family and in the institutional control of the family over its members. It should be mentioned that the influence of European and American culture has promoted this trend. On the other hand, social conditions which have sustained the traditional family system have not become entirely extinct. This is especially true of the Japanese rural community, overcrowded with small farm peasant families,[2] even after the land reform programme went into effect.

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

(1) *Family members.* Since the eighth century, when the earliest census registration was recorded, the form of marriage prevalent among the public at large has been monogamy, while until about a century

ago polygyny was popular among upper class families. Polygyny was one of the devices used to show a family's high social standing. If a wife were childless the husband often kept a concubine, whose offspring succeeded to the headship of the family thus securing its continuation. When neither wife nor concubine bore him a child, custom allowed the family head, or patriarch, to adopt a successor. Thus, with other ways to provide a successor available, concubinage is not regarded merely as an institutional device for inheritance or succession.

Family members may be divided into two categories: (1) persons socially recognised as being related in the family line, *chokkei*, in which successors, their spouses, and possible successors are included, and (2) members socially recognised as being outside the family line, *bôkei*, under which all other family members, that is, relatives and servants, are grouped. The former enjoy a higher social status than the latter, and therefore even brothers are assigned status hierarchically with reference to the possibility of succession to headship.

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

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

farm families, is extremely important in illuminating the fundamental character of the Japanese family. When, with the increase in the number of offspring of these *bôkei* relatives and servants, the household life of the family becomes unwieldy, a branch family, or *bunke* is ramified from the large family.

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

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

Family continuity is so important that when there is no male heir every effort is made to adopt a son to carry it on. In many cases where the patriarch has sons neither by his wife nor concubines, the adopted husband of the patriarch's own daughter is made son and successor. When he has no offspring the patriarch often adopts both a boy as his successor and a girl as the successor's wife. Sometimes a patriarch adopts his younger brother as his successor. Such adopted sons are called " yôshi " and are considered *chokkei* relatives. They are distinguished from " yôshi " or adopted sons, who belong to *bôkei* relatives by the social status they hold within the family. Both types of " yôshi " were regarded as sons-in-law in the Meiji Civil Code, but provisions of the Code were different for both types of " yôshi ". Clearly, these provisions reflect the differences in actual treatment accorded such persons which is based on customary practices.

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

The property so donated is not, however, given to the son himself for whom the branch family is established, but rather to the *branch family* which is thus established.

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

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

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

(3) *Establishment of a new family.* The concept of relatedness which connects a new family with the older family that establishes it, is an extension of the peculiar idea of family genealogy, *keifu*, mentioned at the beginning of this paper. It should be kept in mind that no *dôzokudan* is purely a consanguineal group, because it may include *bunke* established for unrelated persons, as will be described below. The bond of relatedness between the *honke*, or main family, and its *bunke*, or branch families, is the consequence of the idea that a family continues to exist over a very long period of time. To sustain and continue the families, mutual social as well as economic assistance is maintained between the *honke* and its *bunke*, while they remain in the same locality. Co-operation during times of intense economic activities such as harvest

and planting, and formal visits of congratulation and condolence are performed on occasions determined by tradition. A group of families made up of a *honke* and its *bunke* (*dôzokudan*) also worships its own guardian god, *ujigami*,[3] which is the guardian god of the *honke* itself in many cases. Each family of the *dôzokudan* has its own guardian god and, at the same time, worships the guardian god of the *honke* as the god of the group of families.

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

(1) *Bunke* of a *bôkei* relative, the most common;

(2) *Bunke* of a servant;

(3) A family immigrating to a new community seeks the sponsorship and social and economic patronage of an influential family in the new community. In doing so, the sponsoring family assumes the status of *honke* and the immigrant family the status of *bunke* to it.

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

The third type of *bunke* occurs relatively often in the rural community. When a family immigrating to a new local community asks a powerful family there to be its patron, there arises that peculiar idea of genealogy which connects *honke* and *bunke*, between the patron family and the immigrant family. The landlord, asked to be this sort of patron, or *honke*, has a part of his arable land cultivated by the immigrant *bunke*, or employs the latter in other jobs of his household. In other ways, too, he helps the *bunke* earn a living. Some similar relationships

hold true for other kinds of enterprises. The *bunke* receives various kinds of patronage from the *honke* and in return it has to serve the *honke*. This sort of *bunke* has now come to be almost extinct.

NOTES

[1] Sources for this essay are: K. Ariga, Nihon Konin-Shi Ron (On a History of Marriage in Japan), Nikko Shoin, 1949, Tokyo; T. Nakano, " Dôgyo-Gai ni okeru Dôzoku-Soshiki " (A System of Groups of Extended Families in a Merchant Guild in Kyoto), *Japanese Journal of Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 3, 1948; K. Morioka, " Chûsei-Makki Honganji Kyôdan ni okeru Ikke-Shu (The Group of Extended Families Belonging to the Shin-Sect of Honganji at the End of the Mediæval Period), *Japanese Journal of Sociology*, Vol. III, Nos. 1 and 2, 1952–53.

[2] In 1949, 74 per cent. of all farm families in Japan cultivated lands amounting to 10 Tan or less (43 per cent., 5 Tan or less; 31 per cent., 5 to 10 Tan). (1 Tan equals 0.245 acres.)   Source: National Agricultural Statistics, 1949.

[3] *Ujigami* is a tutelary god in the earlier meaning of the word, but at the present time is used in a broad sense, the guardian god of an entire community.

Report on the Research Project on Youth Movements in Israel[1]

J. BEN-DAVID

(Research Seminar in Sociology, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

(1) Youth movements have been a characteristic feature of Israeli society since the very beginnings of modern Jewish settlement in Palestine. Although originating in the entirely different set-up of the Diaspora, where they served the purpose of preparing Jewish youth for migration to Palestine and of reorienting them from an urban middle-class way of life to work on the land within the framework of collective, pioneering communities, these movements showed surprising force of survival amongst the changed conditions of life in Israel. It is difficult to estimate the size of membership, as joining and leaving are informal. This and the propagandistic bias of the politically affiliated competing movements make youth movement statistics rather unreliable. In November 1953 official estimates put the total membership figure as high as 64,750 (out of a total of about 179,595 Jewish youths in the 10–17 age groups). Various considerations lead us to assume that effective membership was not more—and probably less—than 50,000. As, however, the turnover is considerable and membership spreads over an eight years' span, it may be safely stated that a majority of Israeli youth, apart from children of recent immigrants, does have some youth movement experience. The general significance of the phenomenon from the point of view, of Israeli society seems to be beyond doubt. From a sociological point of view the phenomenon appears to be unique amongst societies with democratic political institutions and a liberal way of life.

(2) What functions do the youth movements fulfil in the Israeli social structure ? The hypothesis, derived from the analysis of cultural data and formulated by one of the directors of the project,[2] was that such formalised age groups are found in societies where the discontinuity between the particularistically oriented family and universalistic rôle structure of the large society, which is characteristic for most present-day societies, goes together with collectivistic elements in the central value system. These characteristics seem to describe adequately Israeli society, where emphasis on pioneering service to the community, and the values of communalism and cooperation are continually being contradicted by a largely capitalistic and individualistic occupational structure.

This broad, structural-functional hypothesis, like all hypotheses of this kind, has to be proved on cross-cultural material. For the analysis of a single society it had to be translated into terms of the processes of socialisation. What is the meaning of the various fields of activity—

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

The following samples were investigated:

(1) Scouts (co-educational in Israel and non-dogmatic, non-partisan idealist socialists): interviews with 1 in 4 members between the ages of 15–17 in Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv and a few small towns, giving a total of 65 interviews. Questionnaires were filled in by 200 members of the same age group.[3]

(2) Hamahnoth Haolim (left-wing socialists): 187 questionnaires (1 in 2 sample, ages 15–17, whole country), out of which 51 cases interviewed.[3]

(3) Tnuah Meuhedeth (right-wing socialists): 94 questionnaires (1 in 2 sample in Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv), out of which 38 cases were interviewed.[3]

(4) Hashomer Hatzair (extreme left); Betar (extreme right); interviews with small samples of 30 members in each movement.

Although the planned collection of the material has not yet been completed, preliminary analyses have been made of the material of the Scouts and of the Hamahnoth Haolim and of about half of the material of the Hashomer Hatzair movements. This mainly qualitative analysis was made with a view to finding out whether there are sociologically important differences between these movements, and whether certain well-known movement types (the active leader type, the average and the non-respected types) as ascertained by their youth leaders and by the interviewers (who were well versed in the matters of the movements) correspond to certain typical motivations of the members themselves, and to types of family situations, progress in school and plans for the future.

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

As to the typology of participation within the various movements, a few distinct types seem to emerge, some of which I shall attempt to describe in some detail. In constructing this typology, mainly the following variables were considered: status in the movement, amount of participation, identification with movement, plans for the future, attitudes towards school, parents' status, parents' attitudes towards status, affective relationship between parents and child, parents' influence on child's plans for future, parents' attitude towards movement. The active leader-type in the movements—even in the fairly left-wing Hamahnoth Haolim—is not one who is in conflict with his parents, rebels against them, etc., but has very often emotionally harmonious relations with them. In one of the types there seems to be little guidance on the part of the parents (especially in the Hamahnoth Haolim), who appear to be unable and probably unwilling to serve as an ideal (either occupationally or from the point of view of values) for their children. Although there is no explicit dissatisfaction with status, there is a kind

of passive dissatisfaction, or at least lack of identification, with it. The function of the movement in these cases seems to be to provide a system of values and a plan for the future, which the family is unable to provide. The family seems to have been a successful primary social-ising agency, and also an efficient provider of material welfare and emotional security, leaving however the actual preparation of the child for adult life to the movement, often by actually directing the child to it. This type of member tends to stress the importance of his practical functions in the movement and identifies himself with its ideology. However, his identification with the movement serves only the purpose of establishing a new, broader self-identity than the one provided by the family, and there is very little merging of the self within the community as required by the left-wing movements. Those who belong to families with high identification with their status (the important variable seems to be identification with the status, and not so much the objective status itself) tend to stress greatly the non-political elements of the movement's ideology, often denying the importance of the political element in spite of the well-known facts. The practical and individualistic nature of their participation is here not only patent to the observer, but also the member himself is almost conscious of it.

Those cases, where the parents are openly dissatisfied with their status and/or where the child feels that his family is inadequate, form a separate category. To this type of member the movement appears as his most important and often exclusive reference group. He very often identifies himself more intensively with the collectivistic ideology than others, but he rarely feels himself fully accepted by his group. Few of them become leaders, and those who do are of the fanatic kind, which is more respected than liked. The fact that these members, whose beliefs conform most nearly to the official ideology of the movements, tend to be the least well adapted to them socially, shows the " institutionalisation " and change of meaning of these organisa-tions.[4]

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

This typology (which has yet to be substantiated on the full material) does not cover all the types and motives of participation, and even the material upon which the present analysis is based will have to be further analysed before quantification will be attempted.[5] However, it may be of some interest to indicate the implications of the material for the analysis of the total social structure.

The avowed aim of the youth movements is to bring about social change through transferring urban (mainly middle-class) youth to the working life of rural communal settlements, which are supposed to form the basis of a utopian socialistic community. They are intended to mean for the youth a break with the life of their families. However, our results indicate that the choice of movement itself is to a large extent influenced by the status or status security of the family. Similarly, the child's rôle in the movement seems to be, to a large extent, a reflection of status factors. This is the case not only in such near " bourgeois " movements as the Scouts (in Israel even this movement has a socialistically tinted ideology), but also in such almost expressly " revolutionary " movements as the Hamahnoth Haolim. Many middle-class parents seem to direct their children to this movement, or at least tacitly to agree to their participation in it. They regard it as a suitable agency of education for social life and the inculcation of the idealistic values of socialist Zionism. The choice of a fairly dogmatic movement reflects in these cases the parents' lack of identification with their social rôles—a widespread phenomenon in an immigrant community—and enable their children to form a logically consistent world view, which has none of their own inner contradictions.

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

It has, however, a further meaning. It has been pointed out that the movement deeply influences the child's perception of his future and his preparation for it through schooling, technical education, etc. In this respect there seems to be a definite effect: to deflect the child from gradually building up his adult rôles in terms of economic functions and to emphasise instead the fulfilment of rôles in the movement. As these (politically and ideologically oriented) rôles in the

movement organise his perception of the tasks of adult life in his formative years, they introduce the political-ideological element into his picture of the status structure of Israeli society, into his choice of a career and the way he will actually act in his occupational rôle. In this respect the probable effect of the movement membership will be to limit the orientation towards achievement of an individualistic kind, and to stress rather the service and the security aspects of the job.

Thus the dynamic motivational processes of participation in organised youth groups are relevant not only for the transmission of cultural values but have also a direct bearing on the formation of the occupational structure and on problems of social mobility.

NOTES

[1] The project is being directed jointly by Dr. S. N. Eisenstadt and the writer.

[2] See S. N. Eisenstadt, " Youth Culture and Social Structure in Israel ", *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. II (1951), pp. 105–114, and his forthcoming book on Youth Groups.

[3] Membership decreases considerably from 14 upwards which explains the small numbers.

[4] In the extreme right or left wing movements this type of member seems to be socially well adapted, which clearly shows the different social function of those movements.

[5] See J. Ben-David, " Membership in Youth Movements and Social Status " ' *Megamoth* ', *Child Welfare Research Quarterly*, Vol. V (1954), pp. 227–47 (Hebrew).

Etudes Comparatives en Ethnologie Sociale et Applications

(Enquêtes croisées multiples dans les unités résidentielles)

P. Chombart de Lauwe

(Chargé de Recherches au Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris)

Entre les monographies de communautés locales et les sondages portant sur de grands échantillons nationaux, il importe de trouver des méthodes adaptées aux besoins de la recherche sociologique et aux moyens matériels dont disposent les chercheurs. Les études comparatives menées suivant un même plan de travail dans des unités résidentielles de types différents, mais de dimension voisines, nous ont paru l'une des voies les plus fructueuses.

Dans les premières tentatives faites dans ce sens par notre équipe, le choix des unités résidentielles prises comme terrains d'étude a tenu à l'orientation générale de notre recherche, aux hypothèses de travail et aux soucis d'application pratique des résultats. L'équipe de départ s'était intéressée principalement (depuis 1949) à l'écologie et à la morphologie sociale de l'agglomération parisienne. Les premiers travaux, préparatoires à des recherches sur les comportements dans le cadre ainsi défini et découpé, ont été publiés en deux volumes en 1952.[1] Ils ont permis de situer 5 quartiers de l'intérieur de Paris et de la banlieue, retenus comme terrains d'enquêtes pour les recherches plus approfondies. Par la suite, deux quartiers de villes de province ont été ajoutés pour permettre des comparaisons avec ceux de l'agglomération parisienne. Nous disposons donc actuellement de 6 quartiers urbains pour nos recherches. Nous envisageons d'en ajouter plusieurs d'autres types et situés dans d'autres régions, et de prendre également des villages pour établir de nouvelles comparaisons.

Parallèlement aux études écologiques, nous avons mené toute une série d'enquêtes par interviews et questionnaires sur des populations restreintes déterminées par choix raisonné. Les principales ont porté sur les comportements des ménages ouvriers et des ménages de la bourgeoisie et des classes moyennes, sur les attitudes des parents envers l'enfant[2], la stratification sociale et les attitudes de classe[3], etc. . . . Un volume en préparation doit rendre compte des recherches sur les comportements des familles ouvrières dans le milieu social urbain.

D'un autre côté des études sur l'écologie des maladies mentales à Paris (Dr. G. Massé), sur l'enfant en milieu anormal (J. M. Leroux), sur la sociologie électorale (S. Antoine) sur la mobilité sociale et la mobilité résidentielle (L. Couvreur), sur les comportements alimentaires

(P. & M. Chombart de Lauwe); sur la sociologie religieuse (P. Vieille) ont été effectuées ou sont en cours dans le cadre de notre groupe.

Ces diverses études, en particulier les études d'écologie, ont provoqué des demandes nouvelles par divers services officiels, en particulier les Services d'urbanisme.   Cela nous a permis de mettre en place le dispositif plus perfectionné des 6 quartiers sur lequel nous travaillons actuellement.

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

Pour mener à bien les nouvelles études, une première série de travaux a été entreprise dans chaque petit quartier par un responsable local ou une équipe. Un plan des thèmes à étudier a été établi au départ, tout en laissant de très grandes possibilités d'adaptation pour chaque cas particulier. Il en est résulté un groupe de 6 monographies donnant des analyses locales très précises, permettant certaines comparaisons de structures sociales, de faits écologiques de pratiques et d'attitudes. L'étude dans sa phase actuelle donne surtout la possibilité d'élaborer pour l'avenir des hypothèses de travail basées sur des observations solides, et non élaborées en chambre.

L'ensemble des travaux de cette première phase doit être présenté en un volume en préparation sous le titre provisoire: " Quartiers urbains ", par P. Chombart de Lauwe, L. Couvreur, S. Antoine, P. Vieille, M. Dupire, A. Vieille, avec la collaboration de E. de Dampierre S. Gilly, J. Abescat, etc. . . .

2. *Les questionnaires et les interviews*

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

3. *Les enquêtes spécialiseés par sujets*

Nous aboutissons avec les deux types de recherche précédents à des enquêtes locales particulières à chaque quartier que nous appellerons " verticales, et des enquêtes par questionnaires oraux qui sont les mêmes dans tous les quartiers, et que nous appellerons " horizontales ". Si nous comparons les résultats relatifs à une même rechreche dans les 6 quartiers choisis (par exemple la représentation des quartiers dans les dessins d'enfants, les formes des relations de voisinage, les rapports entre les parents et les enfants, etc. . . .) nous pouvons arriver à une très grande précision pour isoler certaines variables liées au milieu résidentiel et aux conditions de vie.

Les hypothèses élaborées en fonction de la phase des études mono-graphiques verticales, trouvent une première vérification dans la phase des études horizontales. Elles pourraient être totalement vérifiées dans des études portant sur des échantillons plus vastes pour l'ensemble de la France.

4. *Le développement des enquêtes urbaines*

En tenant compte des recherches précédentes, nous pensons que les travaux d'ethnologie sociale en milieu urbain devraient se développer sur quatre plans principaux :

(*a*) Des enquêtes écologiques générales sur des villes de diverses dimensions.

(*b*) Des enquêtes par monographies comparatives dans les unités résidentielles choisies en fonction des études écologiques générales.

(*c*) Des études de comportements et d'attitudes portant soit sur des échantillons pris dans les unités sélectionnées, soit, par la suite, sur des échantillons plus larges à l'échelle nationale ou à l'échelle internationale.

(*d*) Des études orientées sur des applications précises (urbanisme, hygiène générale, hygiène mentale, criminologie, pédagogie, etc. . . .). Les enquêtes qui commencent actuellement dans diverses grandes villes ou villes moyennes françaises en liaison avec notre équipe permettront de préciser ces méthodes.

5. *Limites des enquêtes urbaines.   Milieux urbaine, ruraux et inter-médiaires*

Cependant, aussi fructueuses que puissent nous paraître les recherches d'ethnologie sociale en milieu urbain, elles ne peuvent constituer un domaine entièrement à part de la sociologie. L'un des principes premiers de la recherche sociologique nous paraît être la nécessité de s'adapter aux milieux réels de la société à étudier. A l'heure actuelle, les milieux proprement urbains ne peuvent pas être observés dans de bonnes conditions sans points de références constants aux milieux ruraux et surtout aux milieux intermédiaires des banlieues, des cités industrielles insérées dans un milieu rural, de toutes les régions où les limites entre la vie citadine et la vie rurale tendent à s'effacer.

L'étude de ces divers milieux nouveaux dans des pays marqués par des cultures différentes devra nous ouvrir, dans l'avenir, des horizons de travail correspondant mieux au développement de la vie inter-nationale.

NOTES

[1] P. CHOMBART de LAUWE, S. ANTOINE, L. COUVREUR, J. GAUTHIER et divers, direction de l'expression graphique : Jacques BERTIN, *Paris et l'agglomération parisienne: l'espace social dans une grande cité* (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1952) 2 vol., pp. XI-262 et pp. 110, photographies aériennes, planches, hors-textes. Bibliographie. (Collection : Bibliothèque de sociologie contemporaine, série B. : Travaux du Centre d'Etudes sociologiques.)

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

Divers rapports ont été rédigés sur ce sujet : voir en particulier P. Chombart de Lauwe, *Milieux sociaux et attitudes des parents envers l'enfant du premier* âge, Londres, Fédération mondiale pour la santé mentale, compte-rendu du " International seminar on mental health and infant development ", Chichester, July–August, 1952, 25 p. ronéotypées et 6 figures.

³ Voir rapport au présent Congrès dans la section Stratification et Mobilité sociales.

A Dimensional System of Human Values

STUART CARTER DODD

(Director, Washington Public Opinion Laboratory)

and

CHAHIN TURABIAN

(Research Associate, Washington Public Opinion Laboratory)

Introduction

Our value system includes all that man values in all his various institutions; it includes the philosophical, ethical and religious values as well as the economic values.

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

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

Our General Dimensional System for Studying Values

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

Our dimensional system is based on six classes of dimensions which systematise social science. (Bibliography items 1, 2, 8.)

These six basic classes of dimensions are:

Time, T, universal to all empirical sciences.

Space, L, universal to all empirical sciences.

People, P, distinctive to the human sciences.

Desiderata V, anything desired by people, anything valued, any object of value; in polls, a desideratum or a value is operationally defined by *what the respondent says he wants*.

Desiring D, any index of intensity of desiring a V, what one will give or do to get or keep a V; in polls the acts of desiring include the respondent's saying how strongly he feels about the value or what he will give or do to get it.

Attendant Social Conditions, C.

Thus we have the three forms of the actance formula:

Verbal form in general	The Actance or social behaviour to be predicted	is defined as the product of indices of	People or Valuers	Their Desiring, or Valuing or Acting	and Desiderata or Values	Their Timing	Spacing	and other known Conditions
Dimensional form	$[$ I_A	$\overset{\text{def.}}{=}$	P^p	D^d	V^v	T^t	L^l	C^c $]$
Interrogative form	What activity?	results from	who?	desiring or doing what?	Why?	When?	Where?	How?

A dimensional formula in physics and in sociology is a formula in which (1) the variables are factors combined by some kind of multiplication so that the actance I is their mathematical product, and (2) the six variables are each weighted by an exponent. A dimensional formula is defined as " a sum of products of powers of basic factors " without regard to the absolute size of the units.

The whole of Project Revere, " testing message diffusion from person to person " for the United States Air Force as part of their leaflet dropping operations in psychological warfare, is an example of a research programme testing the interactance system as a case of our actance system.

How to Define Values

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

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

We have used formulas of statistical moments to define important human values in measurable terms and proposed them for scientific purposes of prediction and control. (Bibliography item 6).

We have also developed formulas to express all moments as percentages of their maxima, hence making them easily interpretable.

The entire sociological theory of social processes can be deductively derived thus from our system. (Bibliography items 1, Ch. 9; 2, Ch. 9.)

How to Observe Values

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

Polling is itself a major scientific technic for observing the validity of the valuations of a population. As demoscopes or complete scientific polling improve their six subtechnics of designing, questioning, sampling, interviewing, tabulating and reporting, they can measure with increasing accuracy the values of a public expressed in verbal statement.

We have outlined a set of forty dimensions of excellence of polls by which the quality of any demoscope may be evaluated, and we have restated the chief principles and technics for improvement of predictions from polls and established a set of twelve rules by which such prediction may be operationally improved.

During the war, working in occupied territories, we developed new technics for measuring falsehoods in polls.

How to Classify Values

We assume that a suitable classification can improve prediction. The purpose of dividing phenomena into pollable classes and subclasses in successive levels of classifying is to find relevant and homogeneous subclasses.

Homogeneous classes here mean classes which correlate highly with the valuing behaviour and thus can be used to predict it. Valuing behaviour will vary little within a homogeneous class and will have most of its variance between such classes.

We further assume that the more universal classes should have priority in research. This implies studying first the values or desiderata which are greatest when distributed along each of the six major dimensions of our values system.

Then we subclassify human values by the chief social institutions which represent the organised striving of most people for values of most kinds and amounts, which are most desired, at most times and places.

Subclassifying is, however, in itself an inadequate technic for bringing order out of the diversity of values. Cross-classifying in matrices is a more inclusive and adequate technic.

How to Measure Values

The technic is to measure the intensity of desiring, a value V.

We propose that indices of desiring, D, be expressed in standardised terms. Thus we use eight indices of Ds. (Bibliography item 5.)

The more indices become scaled and standardised, the more accurately they will measure the desiring.

Our eight standards of valuing would be progressively interlocked into a unified scale of valuing.

How to Scale Values (Bibliography item 4)

To this problem of precision, our dimensional system contributes a technic which synthesises current ways of dealing with qualities and quantities, classes and variables, as well as with quantities varying in precision from all-or-none through ordinal to cardinal.

The scaling of desiderata V and intensities of desiring D has been done for 37 questions out of the 50 evaluating questions, for example, in our National Security Poll which scales values of national defence in the United States.

How to Correlate Values (Bibliography item 1, Ch. 6; 2, Ch. 8)

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

How to Predict Values

We have technics for predicting public behaviour from a poll, which may include:

(1) Estimating in the population, or inferring a parent population's behaviour from a sample's behaviour.

(2) Forecasting in time, or inferring future behaviour from past behaviour, measuring accelerations, etc.

(3) Validating in culture, or inferring life behaviour from poll behaviour.

(4) Eventually combining the three steps above would lead to predicting via regression equations what values are likely to be held with what intensity under given conditions.

Once again the n-matrix offers a powerful technic to aid prediction.

How to Validate Values

The validity of a poll is the degree of agreement between speech and action, between poll responses and other relevant life responses.

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

How to Experiment on Values

All the above system can be submitted to the test of empirical experiences. We have begun this in a dozen experiments upon increasing a social value in Project Revere in our Public Opinion Laboratory.

An Air Force contract set us the desideratum " spreading a message in a target population by leaflets dropped from planes ". The airmen have dropped billions of leaflets and need to learn more about how many people are reached, in what areas, in what time, under specified conditions.

One value to the Air Force is to get " the maximum number of knowers of a message ". To maximise this desired public response, we studied the stimuli or conditions which could be set up and which would be desiderata to the target population, causing them to respond by learning the message.

These controlled experiments are but a foretaste of the possibilities we see in developing experimental sociology, including the value system of people, as an increasingly exact science. For these ends our dimensional models and demoscopes for empirically testing these models are powerful means.

How to Combine Values in Tension Systems

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

Tension measures how much of a value one wants and how intensely he wants it.

The ratio D/V of an index of intensity of desiring D to an index of the amount of desideratum V defines a " tension ratio " or a " valuation ".

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

Our system of human tensions is expected to apply to such universal tensions as: international tensions culminating in war, inter-racial tensions breaking out in a riot, industrial tensions reaching the strike point, marital tensions reaching their limit in divorce, intrapersonal tensions splitting a personality in insanity.

A larger application of our tension theory may be made to UNESCOs research on " tensions affecting international understanding ".

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The Research Project on
Leadership, Mobility and Communication

S. N. EISENSTADT

(Research Seminar in Sociology, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It also seems possible to connect at least some aspects of processes of social mobility with the various problems analysed above—although there are still many unexplored problems in this context. Mobility usually involves the development of new reference groups and standards and attempts to attain new positions. It does necessarily involve a revaluation of one's membership groups and general position within the society. It also involves communication and contacts with new groups, and may also involve the selection of new leaders. The extent of success or lack of success of mobility—aspirations, and of the

relations between the membership groups and new positions has been proved to be an important determinant of conformist or deviant tendencies.[1] It may thus be seen that the process of mobility is directly related to the problems analysed in this outline, although their exact relations have yet to be investigated.

This is the main theoretical framework of the research. It is within this framework that many specific hypotheses have been and are being continuously developed. Some of them have already been published, some are still being " worked out ".[2]

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

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

(1) Investigation of a sample of local communities among old and new immigrants in Israel, focused on : internal cohesion ; main value-orientation ; participation in general associations, etc. ; identification with the country's types of leaders and leadership selection, relations between leaders and communities.

(2) Investigation of various types of " ethnic " groups of immigrants, from the same points of view and especially in relation to the development of " particularistic " identification.

(3) Investigation of the main types of associations, civic, cultural, political, etc., their membership, values and leadership.

(4) Investigation of the composition of the various types of leadership and elites within the country.

(5) Investigation of the main agencies and processes of leadership selection among the new immigrants and their influence on their groups of origin.

(6) Special intensive investigation among immigrant youth (parallel to the general research on youth movements) so as to elucidate the formation and development of reference group behaviour and orientations.

(7) Intensive investigation of special situations of lack of communicative receptivity and of deviant types of behaviour.

NOTES

[1] See beforementioned report to the Congress, *Transactions*, vol. II.
[2] See, for instance, S. N. Eisenstadt, in the *American Journal of Sociology*, November 1951, and in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Spring 1952, as well as several reports in Hebrew.

Types of Formal Leaders:
Their Rôle Perception and In-Group Contacts

URIEL G. FOA

(Executive Director, The Israel Institute of Applied Social Research)

This paper presents some findings of two studies which seem to offer insight into the nature of leadership and which suggest an objective classification of certain kinds of leaders. The results are based on a novel type of relationship found to exist between (*a*) the degree of contact between leader and group members and (*b*) the leader's perception of his rôle. It appears that these two criteria may both be related, each in its own way, to the leader's ratings of group members. It has been possible to discover these relationships (which are of a kind perhaps unfamiliar to many research workers) on the basis of the theory of the principal components of scalable attitudes.[1]

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

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

In general there is an explicit end to leadership[2]: the leader is supposed to lead the group toward some goal or several goals. Thus the goal of the foreman may be to produce certain types of goods or services in the most efficient manner. The school teacher is likely to strive to instil into each of his pupils certain types of knowledge, values and also patterns of behaviour; but the teacher may also believe that his rôle is to help the most promising pupils even at the expense of

the others. Thus the leader's rôle *as perceived by the leader* is not necessarily identical with the formal rôle of the leader. We are concerned here only with the leader's perception of his rôle; the relationship between leader's perception and official group rôle is an interesting, but separate, problem and we are not dealing with it here.

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

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

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The first study deals with a group of 131 office workers each rated by his own supervisors.[3]

Each worker was rated on a series of scalable areas (in Guttman's scalogram sense) on aspects of job performance such as: understanding of job, interest in job, independence of job performance, nervous stability, and the like. Each worker received a scale rank on each scale of job performance. At the same time each supervisor was asked three questions about how well he knows each of his workers. These items also proved to be scalable, and gave rise to seven ranks of knowledge of workers.

Now, for each worker we have a score (rank) indicating his rating on any of the several rating scales, and a score (rank) indicating the degree to which the same worker is known to his supervisor. By cross-tabulating the two scores it is possible to find out whether there is a relationship between rating and degree of acquaintance. It seems that well-known workers tend to be rated either *very positively or mildly negatively*, while little known workers are rated *mildly positively or strongly negatively*. This is equivalent to saying that the supervisor is well acquainted largely with the *top workers and not-so-good workers*, while the very *poor and somewhat good workers are rather unknown to him.*

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

between rating and knowledge of the workers ? A conclusion of this kind would have been tempting before the development of the psychological theory of the principal components of scalable attitudes. But, *when planning this piece of research it was hypothesised that the supervisor's degree of acquaintance with the worker would be closely related to the third principal component of the supervisor's rating of the worker.* This preliminary hypothesis was made *before* the data were gathered and indeed was the reason for inserting the area about acquaintanceship into the research. The hypothesis was based on what is known of the general psychology of the third component in other attitudinal areas. Now, the regression of the theoretical third component on content is a curve with two bending points, just like the one that has been observed in the data. Therefore the empirical findings confirm the hypothesis that acquaintance with the worker and rating of the worker are related essentially by the third component-content type of dependence[4].

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

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

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

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Now let us consider a different group where each member is well known to the leader, in consequence the ratings indicating lack of acquaintance do not occur[5]. Furthermore, in this group the leader's rôle consists in training each member separately, and not the group as a whole. In the particular empirical example below it appears that the leader's focus is reversed, centring on the most unsatisfactory and on the *mildly satisfactory* members of the group.

This group is composed of 82 recruits of the Israel Defence Army being given preliminary training before being sent to permanent outfits. The purpose of the training is *not* to weld the recruits into a unit, since they were to be split up anyhow among different outfits, but rather to transmit to each recruit certain elements of military knowledge and values.

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

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

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

There is a further difference between the worker and the recruit group. All the recruits are at least quite well known to the rater, hence no recruit gets a rating which is theoretically appropriate to relatively unknown group members. Therefore the fact that all the members are known to the leader has the effect of introducing a sudden discontinuity in the range of ratings.

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

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

Again, if everybody is known to the leader, certain ranks of rating do not appear.

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

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

NOTES

[1] Stouffer, Samuel A., and others, *Measurement and Prediction*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1950, especially chapter ix.

[2] Stogdill, Ralph M., Leadership, Membership and Organization, in Cartwright, Darwin, and Zander, Alvin. *Group Dynamics, Research and Theory*, Row, Peterson & Co., Evanston, Ill. and White Plains, N.Y., 1953.

[3] See Foa, Uriel G., *Rating the Worker*, to be published.

[4] See Guttman, Louis, " The Principal Components of Scalable Attitudes ", in Lazersfeld (Ed.), *Mathematical Thinking in the Social Sciences*, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1954. See also Foa, Uriel G., Higher Components of Dyadic Relationships in White Riley, Matilda, Riley John Jr., Toby, Jackson and others, *Sociological Studies in Scale Analysis*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N.J., 1954.

[5] Werba, Moshe, *Observations on the Third Component*, to be published in Hahinuch (Hebrew).

Ton Affectif et Mécanismes Psycho-Sociaux

ROBERT PAGÈS

(Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris)

Plaisir et souffrance, joie et tristesse, bonheur et malheur forment le *ton affectif* (*t.a.*) des individus et des groupes. Relions ce concept à quelques autres et tâchons d'éclairer quelques aspects de son rôle.

I. La motivation affective

Les sciences humaines " psychologie " ou " sociologie " sont des sciences du comportement, en ce qu'elles ont de plus spécifique, et leur problème est l'explication de la détermination des comportements. L'insuffisance et l'ambiguïté du concept durkheimien de *contrainte* en ce sens est depuis longtemps apparue. La notion de *motivation* joue un rôle croissant comme concept souvent central en psychologie sociale (cf. le traité de *Krech & Crutchfield*). Après une insistance trop exclusive sur les déterminants externes, ce sont les déterminants internes qui sont accentués, *sans que l'articulation entre les deux ensembles de déterminants internes et externes soit suffisamment étudiée.* Or cette articulation se fait nécessairement dans une large mesure par la perception (cf. *Guillaume* sur l'apprentissage). Mais la perception n'est pas neutre ou objective : il ne faut pas l'abstraire de la " *sensibilité* ", c'est-à-dire des aspects " *thymiques* " ou de *t.a.* qui en forment le fond peut-être rudimentaire, mais sûrement important. La façon dont je " ressens " mes états ou mon environnement n'est pas aussi bien étudiée que la vue ou l'ouïe. Mais ce n'est pas une raison pour établir des modèles de la perception et par suite des mécanismes du comportement d'où la sensibilité thymique soit exclue. Elle constitue un *système de signalisation* comme tous les systèmes sensoriels. Il n'est pas possible de réduire la motivation des conduites à un schème mécanique direct d'équilibration (*Lewin* ?) du type de l'homéostase parce que justement les *conduites humaines se distinguent de l'homéostase automatique en particulier par l'intervention de signalisations thymiques régulatrices.* Cette insuffisance probable des théories de la conduite élémentaire se manifeste également dans la théorie des séquences de conduites (*apprentissage, loi de l'effet*) où les notions de plaisir ou de malaise, peut-être sous l'influence initiale de la psychologie animale, tendaient à disparaître.

Or c'est un spécialiste des motivations alimentaires chez les animaux, *Young*, qui souligne chez eux " le rôle des processus hédoniques dans l'organisation du comportement ". L'A. montre, dans une série d'expériences, qu'il n'y a ni parallélisme exact, ni coïncidence temporelle entre les états de déséquilibre ou d'équilibre au niveau des tissus d'une part, et les conduites d'autre part. On constate le manque à choisir

spontanément des rations favorables malgré les carences correspondantes jusqu'à ce que, semble-t-il, leur effet bénéfique soit ressenti, la persistance alors à choisir ces rations malgré la disparition des carences, le fait que des rats déficients en magnésium évitent les rations contenant du magnésium lequel aurait un caractère en quelque sorte dégrisant; on remarque la capacité générale du plaisir préliminaire de motiver à lui seul les activités sexuelles.

Le " code thymique " constitue un intermédiaire dans lequel une partie au moins des états d'équilibre doit se traduire avant d'affecter la conduite. Seule une théorie trop optimiste de la personnalité-monade, " fonctionnellement intégrée ", peut laisser croire à une harmonie préétablie qui permette de négliger ce relai de traduction. (En vérité, la notion biologico-statistique *d'adaptation* nous fait prévoir que les propriétés " fonctionnellement intégrées " chez l'individu sont plutôt du côté de l'hérédité que des propriétés culturelles dans leur milieu historique instable.) C'est pourquoi il importe de décrire les mécanismes de régulation des conduites culturelles, notamment les phases thymiques, sans pouvoir les traiter par prétérition ou interpolation selon un préjugé finaliste masqué.

II. *Le ton affectif réel et le ton affectif joué*

On trouve de temps en temps dans les sondages d'opinion publique des résultats du type suivant: en Australie, 52% des gens se déclarent " très heureux ", 41% " assez heureux ", 3% " pas très heureux ". En France, 11% seulement " très heureux ", 52% " assez heureux ", 33% " pas très heureux ". Les électeurs du Mouvement Républicain Populaire (chrétien) se disent beaucoup moins souvent malheureux que les électeurs communistes. (*Sondages*, respectivement 1949, p. 58, et 1948, p. 223.)

Nous postulerons qu'une composante importante de ces réponses est le *t.a.* Par quoi nous proposerons de désigner une résultante cumulative des affects antérieurement éprouvés par le sujet (variable avec l'hérédité et l'évolution personnelle) et fonctionnant comme cadre de référence dans l'anticipation et la perception des affects momentanés. Il s'agit donc d'un fond lentement variable des affects. Des observations courantes nous suggèrent que le *t.a. tend à jouer, par rapport à des systèmes de motivations concernant des systèmes de situations, le même rôle régulateur que les affects momentanés jouent à l'égard des motivations segmentaires et des situations à petite échelle.* Du point de vue des conduites globales que sont la migration, l'activité militante ou l'arrivisme en rapport avec des " régions " complexes de l'espace social telles que les pays, les syndicats ou les rangs sociaux, le *t.a.* aurait le rôle d'un informateur plus ou moins fidèle sur le rendement massif de ces conduites pour l'individu. D'où l'importance que nous attribuons au *t.a.* pour " corriger " des concepts pseudo-objectifs, tels que celui de *niveau de vie* ou de bien-être (*welfare*) en usage chez les économistes.

Nous appliquerons également à ce concept global un schéma concernant le rôle de la perception du t.a. d'autrui dans la détermination des conduites de celui qui en observe l'expression, ce qui appelle la distinction entre le *t.a. senti* (de x) et le *t.a. perçu par y* (de x).

Or, si le *t.a.* est l'une des composantes du " bonheur déclaré " aux sondeurs, ce n'est pas la seule. Les déclarations verbales directes de ce type ne sauraient être prises au pied de la lettre quant à leur correspondance avec les conduites ou les sentiments. Mais alors, *une méthode d'exploration indirecte même verbale, doit nous conduire à des résultats différents de ceux que donne l'exploration directe: l'on peut supposer que cette dernière subit plus que l'autre une socialisation par ajustement à des normes* relatives aux rôles attendus de soi par autrui.

Dans le cadre de recherches d'ensemble sur le *t.a.*, on porte sur une même échelle, pour les rendre comparables, les déclarations directes du type ci-dessus et des déclarations indirectes obtenues de l'interrogé et nécessitant un calcul de l'enquêteur pour en tirer la signification globale sur l'échelle; (*a*) on demandait à l'enquêté de se coter sur une échelle à 7 points de " très heureux " à " très malheureux ", d'après ses souvenirs du mois écoulé; (*b*) sur la même échelle, on demandait à l'interrogé de porter à chaque échelon le nombre de jours du mois écoulé qui lui paraissait y correspondre. On appelle b la première autocotation, b_m le médian, sur l'échelle, de la distribution par échelon des jours remémorés, (deuxième autocotation).

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

Pour éviter de " quantifier " une échelle ordinale on a préféré ne pas tenir compte des différents échelons et vérifier seulement par une épreuve de χ^2 si b était plus souvent supérieur à b_m. Cependant, *l'hypothèse a été très significativement vérifiée sur l'ensemble de 304 cas tirés de trois enquêtes différentes.* (Somme des $\chi^2 = 79$, 4. Prob. aléatoire de $\chi^2 \ll 1/10^5$).

Sur 304 personnes, on a 195 différences b – b_m non nulles (donc d'un échelon supérieur au minimum). 51% du total, soit *plus de 80% des différences non nulles, sont positives.* Encore qu'on ait ici un groupe de villageois, un groupe de " primaires " d'origine majoritairement ouvrière et un groupe de " secondaires " d'origine majoritairement classe dirigeante, il n'est pas apparu de différences significatives entre les groupes.

Sur 134 élèves-instituteurs (Douai), garçons et filles, $81 \cdot 3\%$ croient qu'on les trouve plutôt gais, 75% d'entre eux se déclarent plutôt

heureux[1]; (la différence 81—75 n'est pas significative.) *Mais la conscience de présentation thymique positive est nettement établie pour ce groupe.*

Des *entretiens* ont montré qu'en outre de cadres probablement inconscients, des normes conscientes régissent parfois le jeu thymique.

D'autre part, quelques essais de cotations mutuelles du bonheur à l'intérieur de groupes (Douai) ont suggéré directement la faiblesse des corrélations entre le *bonheur declare* et le *bonheur apparent* pour les autres. Le développement opérationnel et métrique de ces notions doit trouver place ailleurs.

III.   Schémas hypothétiques de mécanismes sociaux

Les notions esquissées suggèrent que ce n'est pas *la* distribution sociale ou géographique du *t.a.* réel qui joue le rôle direct de signalisation pour autrui des sources de satisfaction. Ce sont *les* distributions du *t.a. perçu* (ou du *t.a. supposé*, par extrapolation, notamment, d'expériences propres.)

La notion nouvelle à introduire à ce niveau c'est que le *t.a.* n'est pas un phénomène proprement individuel en ce double sens (*a*) qu'il se constitue à travers des interactions et communications entre individus, et (*b*) qu'il se constitue en *ambiances thymiques* dans les groupes. Il est perçu à travers des percepts façonnés dans les groupes et souvent transmis sous forme de *clichés.* Il y a ainsi un cliché de la tristesse nordique et de la gaîté méridionale qui semble fonctionner . . . à l'intérieur de chaque pays (peut-être même en Suède), en liaison avec un système d'oppositions Nord-Midi.

Le jeu thymique est de même élaboré en groupe à travers des sortes de rituels liés à des idéologies ou à des mythes (pessimisme et optimisme, " vallée de larmes ", et " paradis terrestre ").

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

Soit A un *groupe défavorisé*, B un *groupe favorisé*, avec des t.a. correspondants, quelle que soit d'ailleurs la nature des ressources écologiques ou sociales qui privent A et satisfont B : nous symboliserons les *situations* correspondantes par S_a, S_b.

Supposons A et B " en vue " l'un l'autre. La perception de B doit pousser A à tenter de reproduire S_b, soit par attrait direct de S_b, soit à défaut ou complémentairement, à la vue de la satisfaction de B. Cette *reproduction de situation* peut se rechercher plus ou moins rationnellement, soit par une *imitation* sans empiètement sur la région de B (R_b), (s'agissant d'ailleurs de régions en un sens topologique abstrait); soit par un *rapprochement* à l'égard de B; (il peut ne se manifester que par une sorte de mise de B en vedette sociométrique: *attrait des heureux.*)

Mais ce rapprochement peut donner lieu à des *empiètements* ou à des menaces d'empiètement sur R_b. Dans ce dernier cas, il y a deux

hypothèses : ou bien, du point de vue de B, R_b n'est pas saturé de population, et dans ce cas B peut, sans compromettre S_b, laisser libre accès à A; en particulier il n'a aucune raison qui le porte à réduire la motivation de A en direction de R_b. Il peut même désirer attirer A, par exemple en tant que main-d'œuvre, et faire de *l'euphorie publicitaire*.

Mais si B trouve que R_b est saturé, et que S_b serait menacée par toute " immigration ", et peut-être même par toute imitation qui risquerait de devenir compétitive, la situation est différente. Limitons-nous au cas où seule l'immigration en R_b est indésirable pour B. Dans ce cas, deux hypothèses concernent les *barrières*, de quelque nature qu'elles soient, entre A et B (frontières sociales ou géographiques, p. ex.) : ou bien elles sont fortes et, dans ce cas, B n'a pas de raison de renoncer à l'apparence d'un *t.a.* élevé; il peut au contraire y trouver une source d'élévation de son *t.a.* par *contraste perceptif*. Mais si les barrières sont basses alors le jeu thymique collectif peut s'élaborer et même s'institutionnaliser de façon à montrer une situation malheureuse. Écoutez Tartuffe, " le pauvre homme "—criant à la cantonnade : " Laurent, serrez ma haire avec ma discipline ! " Ainsi se protège-t-on de la jalousie vindicative des dieux et des hommes, par une *dysthymie ostentatoire*, comme celle qui vise à prévenir le " *mauvais* œil ". Inversement, la publicité utilise l'image réjouie d'un expert universel comme signal des sources onéreuses de *t.a.* élevé.

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

La présente esquisse, assortie de corrections, notamment en rapport avec les effets de la distance sur la perception mutuelle, pourrait peut-être servir aux différents niveaux de recherche micro- et macro-sociologique.

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NOTES

[1] Ou a inclus dans les " plutôt heureux " 50% des neutres.

Report on the UNESCO Study "Attitudes of the German Youth Toward Authority"

KNUT PIPPING

(University of Åbo)

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

In the space at my disposal, I intend to discuss at some length the methods we used, because I think that they were, in a way, rather unorthodox, and because—as you will see—knowledge of our methods is essential when judging the validity of our results.

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

When we began our work we were not convinced about the validity of all theories and hypotheses set forth in Horkheimer and Adorno's *Autorität und Familie* and Adorno's and his associates' *The Authoritarian Personality*. We had the impression that too little was yet known about the psychology of authority; so, instead of setting up a limited number of explicitly defined hypotheses to be tested, we decided to design our study as an exploratory one, whose main objective was to find out which factors play a rôle in the formation of authority attitudes of young people. Thus the area of investigation became rather broad, as it was necessary to include questions about every authority figure which a young person is likely to encounter.

Because we wanted to learn new facts about the youngsters' relationships to authority, we had to formulate our questions in a way which was likely to elicit unforeseen data. Thus we could not well use scale items only, as they are apt to test previously formulated hypotheses.

Moreover, our intention to interview youth of all degrees of intelligence and education, forbade the exclusive use of attitude scales, as it is evident that a certain level of education is necessary before an interviewee can give meaningful answers to scale items of the usual kind.

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

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

These interviews required from one to three hours to complete, depending upon the vivacity and intelligence of the interviewees, and another two hours to write down. Thus one interviewer could hardly manage more than three interviews a day. As our funds were restricted, we could not afford to take more than 500 such interviews, which upset the original plan to interview a sample of the entire West German youth. To get at least some generality for our findings, we decided to establish three experiment groups, one in Northern, one in Central, and

one in Southern Germany. We formed three areas, containing one large city, one small town, and two rural counties, from which we drew probability samples of the youth population. From each city or town we took 50, from each county 24 interviewees, which makes 148 from each area, or 444 in all. The places chosen were: the cities Hanover, Wurzburg and Freiburg i.B., the towns Luneburg, Schweinfurt and Konstanz, and the counties Rotenburg, Soltau, Kitzingen, Hofheim, Buhl and Stockach. A comparison of some characteristics of the sample with the population parameters shows a high degree of similarity. Thus, even if our sample was not representative in the true statistical meaning of the word, it was at least characteristic.

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

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

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

Since the parents undoubtedly are the most important authority figures, much attention was paid to the interviewees' description of their parents. By asking the interviewees to characterise their parents, we obtained fairly extensive descriptions of them as their children saw them. All simple character traits of the parents were coded, and later grouped into nine main categories, which we called " personality factors ", each of which consists of one positive and one negative pole. They are: *Dominance*—Strictness and Lenience; *Temperament*—Sedateness and Liveliness; *Self-discipline*—Self-control and Laxity; *Emotionality*—Warmth and Coldness; *Achievement*—Success and Failure; *Horizon*—Narrow-mindedness and Broadmindedness; *Endowment*—Talent and Untalent; *Nervous condition*—Irritability and Quietness; *Justness*—Fairness and Unfairness.

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

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

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

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

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

All details about attitudes toward job, employer, friends, church, politics, etc. we put together into 31 categories which seemed to bear upon the problem of authority, and then we compared some interviewee groups with respect to these categories. Our main findings may be

summarised as follows: among the boys, striving for dominance and independence often result in conflicts with authority; the girls are more interested in human and emotional relationships, and identify themselves more easily and strongly with moral and conventional rules. If we compare Catholic with Protestant boys, the former show more outer submission under authority, but more inner independence. The latter are more prone to internalise moral principles, but they also show more strivings for dominance and conflict proneness. The Catholic girls, who are very strictly brought up, show strong emotional ties, and are, at least externally, very dependent. In comparison, the Protestant girls are very active, dominant and energetic; they seem to be very independent, critical toward themselves and the rest of the world but they suffer from feelings of inferiority and show few signs of emotionality.

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

Une Nouvelle Méthode en Sciences Humaines: l'Étude des Actes Notariés

JEAN PAUL POISSON

(Paris)

Dans la recherche de faits susceptibles d'une étude scientifique qui est l'une des dominantes de la sociologie contemporaine, l'attention a été attirée ces dernières années en France sur un domaine qui semble devoir être d'une particulière fécondité, celui de l'étude des actes notariés. Ceux-ci n'avaient guère intéressé jusqu'à présent que les historiens soit d'histoire générale soit plus spécialement d'histoire du droit, qui y cherchaient des documents d'archives pour éclairer tel ou tel point particulier concernant les époques révolues; ils ne travaillaient d'ailleurs que sur ceux des actes notariés qui avaient été transportés dans les bibliothèques et archives publiques, c'est-à-dire sur des actes très anciens; la possibilité de travailler sur des actes plus récents et de les utiliser pour des sciences autres que l'histoire n'avait pratiquement jamais été utilisée.—Or il est apparu que même et surtout pour la période contemporaine, l'étude des actes notariés pouvait être d'un grand intérêt pour les sciences humaines, notamment la sociologie juridique, la démographie, les sciences économiques, la psychologie sociale. Nous voudrions le signaler brièvement dans cette communication.

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

Nous voudrions analyser brièvement dans cette communication quelques uns des travaux entrepris ou publiés ces dernières années en France et utilisant l'étude des actes notariés comme une nouvelle méthode en sciences humaines. S'agissant d'un domaine encore extrèmement neuf, l'objet de ces travaux a surtout été d'attirer l'intérêt sur lui et de préciser les premiers linéaments d'une méthode efficace. Le seul point sur lequel ce stade préparatoire ait été dépassé, celui de la sociologie de la famille, a déjà permis de remettre en question une théorie qui paraissait pourtant bien établie, celle d'une évolution récente et profonde qui aurait pratiquement affranchi l'épouse dans le mariage; l'étude sociologique des actes notariés, portant tant sur les régimes matrimoniaux, en particulier par l'analyse statistique des contrats de mariage, que sur le comportement de l'épouse dans d'autres actes, semble montrer combien faible reste cette évolution de la situation de la femme dans la famille moderne.

Dans " Actes notariés et Démographie ", in " Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris ", année 1951, nous avons étudié les contrats de mariage à Paris pendant la première moitié du vingtième siècle. Nous avons pu tracer une courbe d'évolution du nombre des régimes de séparation de biens par rapport aux régimes de communauté. (En France les régimes de séparation de biens entraînent la complète séparation juridique des patrimoines du mari et de la femme et l'indépendance totale de la femme; les régimes de communauté entraînent la mise en commun de tout ce qui a été acquis pendant le mariage, et souvent de la plus grande partie des autres biens des époux, ainsi que le droit exclusif d'administration et souvent de disposition du mari tant sur les biens de la communauté que sur les biens propres de sa femme.)— La proportion des couples choisissant le régime de la séparation de biens de préférence aux régimes de communauté passe de 14, 80% pour la période 1900–1904 à 66, 10% pour la période 1945–1949.—Mais cette courbe n'est pas représentative de l'attitude des jeunes couples français devant le régime juridique à choisir pour leur union, car les chiffres bruts contiennent une proportion croissante de mariages d'étrangers et de remariages de veufs avec enfants et surtout de divorcés. En éliminant ces remariages perturbateurs, on obtient une courbe de croissance des contrats de séparation de biens beaucoup moins rapide; dans la période 1945–1949, il existe encore une majorité de jeunes couples choisissant volontairement un régime de communauté.

Dans " Analyse Sociologique du Contrat de mariage " (in Compte-Rendu du Congrès de Biarritz de Juin 1953 sur le " Statut juridique de la femme mariée ", pages 117 et suivantes) et " Analyse statistique du Contrat de mariage " (à paraître en 1954 dans le " Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris ") poussant plus à fond que dans l'article précédent l'étude des régimes matrimoniaux, nous examinons l'attitude des jeunes couples français après la dernière guerre devant le choix d'un régime matrimonial. Ces travaux confirment la fidèlité des jeunes

époux aux régimes de communauté, la séparation de biens apparaissant au contraire comme le régime des vieilles générations (voir notamment les grosses différences des âges moyens et médians entre les deux genres de contrat), et semblent par ailleurs montrer que sont surtout touchés par l'extention du régime de la séparation de biens les milieux commerciaux, les seuls des jeunes générations où ce régime soit réellement fréquent. Ils ouvrent la voie à toute une sociologie différencielle des attitudes devant le régime matrimonial basée tant sur l'âge que sur le milieu professionnel. Voir aussi sur les mêmes sujets nos autres études : " Observations sur l'évolution de la condition respective du mari et de la femme dans le mariage ", dans le Compte-rendu du Congrès de Biarritz précité, et " Les Régimes matrimoniaux en 1938 et en 1952 ", à paraître en 1954.

Dans " Les Sciences humaines et la statistique notariale ", in " Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris ", année 1952, nous avons étudié quels renseignements la sociologie économique pouvait tirer l'étude des actes notariés de prêt (étude des taux d'intérêt et de leur évolution dans les prêts entre particuliers beaucoup plus révélateurs parce que moins soumis à la pression des pouvoirs publics que les taux bancaires ; étude de la durée et de la fréquence des prêts, révélatrices de la plus ou moins grande confiance du public dans la solidité de la monnaie et de son pouvoir d'achat) et de vente (étude des transferts de fortune de région à région, de Paris à la province et inversement, de classe d'âge à classe d'âge, de classe sociale à classe sociale, d'un sexe à l'autre ; de la durée moyenne pendant laquelle les biens restent entre les mains d'une même personne, des variations de cette moyenne selon le sexe, la profession, l'habitat et la manière dont le bien est parvenu dans le patrimoine de l'intéressé).

Dans " Introduction à une étude statistique de la propriété immobilière ", in " Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris ", année 1953, nous avons procédé sur un exemple limité à une étude de la propriété des immeubles dans Paris selon les quartiers riches et pauvres ; de leur répartition entre personnes physiques et morales, sexes, domiciles des propriétaires (dans l'arrondissement de la situation de l'immeuble, autres quartiers de Paris, banlieue, province) ; et de l'évolution de cette répartition de 1900 à 1939 ; le tout au moyen des renseignements contenus dans les actes notariés de vente d'immeubles.

Signalons aussi parmi les travaux en cours l'étude de la natalité et du divorce en fonction du contrat de mariage, ceci afin de vérifier l'hypothèse de l'existence d'une corrélation positive entre le choix par une partie des jeunes couples du régime de la séparation de biens au moment de leur union, ce qui peut apparaître chez certains comme une restriction de leur engagement dans le mariage, d'une part, leur moindre fécondité et la moindre réussite de leur union d'autre part.

Voir également l'utilisation des actes notariés en sociologie juridique qui est faite dans notre article à paraître dans le prochain numéro des " Archives de Philosophie du Droit " : " Un nouvel aspect de la

limitation de la liberté des contractants dans le Droit Civil contemporain; l'extension du contrat d'adhésion ".

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

Sociological Aspects of Radio-Music[1]

ALPHONS SILBERMANN

(Australian Institute of Sociology)

In June 1951 we were asked by the *Centre d'Études Radiophoniques* of the *Radiodiffusion et Télévision Française* (RTF) to conduct a research group with the purpose of enquiring into the sociological aspects of radio-music, so as to arrive at practical results, which would assist the RTF to elaborate and improve upon their musical programmes and to devise projects for the future. The Centre d'Etudes propounded a number of desiderata for research and investigation, which we framed into the following working-plan:

Production

    i. Radio as patron (Maecenas).

    ii. Æsthetic value of reproduction.

    iii. Works of art and musical illustration.

Consumption

    i. Radio-Music as agent of entertainment or as agent of amusement.

    ii. Penetration into villages and hamlets of the musical culture of big cities.

    iii. Evolution of the disparities in regional and national musical preferences.

    iv. Radio as guide to the uninitiated into a new world.

    v. Efficiency of musical education by radio.

    vi. Homogeneity of groups as augmented or diminished by similar or differing stimuli.

    vii. Influence of radio on musical knowledge.

    viii. Position of " popular " music on the radio.

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

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

(*a*) its function in relation to the group which we briefly designate " musicians "; (*b*) its function in relation to society as a whole; (*c*) its function in relation to music *per se*, which runs parallel to, and unifies, functions (*a*) and (*b*).

It has been found that with every radio organisation these three functions are consistently and perpetually intermingled, usually delegated to one and the same person. Such treatment leads to a propensity for most confused and precarious maladministration. We therefore divided each function most meticulously, first finding and circumscribing the functions of the socio-cultural institution in relation to the " musicians ". The tendency of the institution to identify itself with these functions has led us to the conclusion that radio is: (*a*) Maecenas, (*b*) composer, (*c*) musical educator, (*d*) musicologist, (*e*) impresario, (*f*) programme compiler, (*g*) tonetechnician, (*h*) musical penetrator, and (*i*) interpreter.

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

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

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

Proceeding from the assumption that culture (in this connotation, music) cannot be measured in its reactions, we dispensed with the familiar methods which, for purposes of identification, group the listeners according to age, sex, education, habitation, etc. We concentrated upon the discovery of a possible grouping which would be putatively independent of emotive qualities. For this purpose we conducted detailed field research in concert halls, dance halls, familial groups, etc., and found that, quite independently of emotional, rhythmical, economic, social, political or other well-known group characteristics, there exist group formations which centre around the congenital sonority of the individual human ear. Preference for a certain tone

level always springs from the tone level of the individual listener's own voice. We call these groups " Sonority Groups " and we established them following upon demographical findings, thereby excluding only musicians and " snobs ".

A detailed door-to-door system of interviewing proved to us that the primary (one might almost say the instinctive) reaction to radio-music comes from the tone level and is firstly determined and subsequently directed by the sonority of the listener.

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

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

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

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

NOTES

[1] This is a summary of research carried out for the Centre d'Etudes Radiophoniques of the Radiodiffusion et Télévision Française, Paris.

Pilot Study of a Rural Community in Western Germany*

G. WURZBACHER

(UNESCO Institute for Social Sciences, Cologne)

The UNESCO Institute for Social Sciences is happy to accept the invitation of the International Sociological Association to report about its pilot community study which has been in progress for more than one year. We hope that this report will lead to stimulating discussions and will establish a closer contact with similar studies conducted in other countries in order to help us progress toward international comparative studies which are the final objective of the Institute.

From the preliminary report sent to the International Sociological Association stating aims and methods of this first study, you will have learned its topic, which was formulated by the Governing Board: integration and stratification of population investigated by comparative community studies.

We started out studying a rural community in Western Germany. A small community seemed to be a most suitable beginning because of its surveyability which is a necessary requirement for a pilot study. By " community " we mean in this connection the formal administrative unit defined by public law which bears the official name " Gemeinde ". This administrative unit seemed to be the most appropriate starting point also for a sociological structural analysis of the community as a social system, because it is that area where public opinion in relation to political questions of self-administration originates. The administrative unit community comprises in our case 48 small villages separated from each other by woods and farm fields. There are 5,000 inhabitants distributed mainly among hamlets and small villages of 33 to 285 inhabitants and among three larger villages of 450 to 600 inhabitants. These sub-units have always called themselves " Nachbarschaften "—" neighbourhoods ". The community comprises two Protestant and two Catholic parishes. It is divided into seven school districts. Co-operatives, clubs, professional organisations and other more or less formally organised institutions and enterprises are related to the community as a whole or to definite geographical parts thereof. About 100 years ago all the individual villages presented the same picture of an occupational structure composed of small farmers and peasants. They were relatively isolated culturally and also as to communications.

Economically they produced mainly for their own needs. Through contact with the industrialised society which increases steadily up to the present this closed social self-sufficiency of community life is being broken up and opened. Only 41 per cent. of the gainfully employed are occupied in farming at the present: 57 per cent. of those not occupied in farming are commuters. These commuters are mostly individual labourers, to a smaller extent officials, employees and self-employed people. Thus the individual is no longer an integral part of village life in all his activities and with his whole being as he was before. Today he is subjected to the influence of an ever-growing number of institutions external to the community. In this way the villages themselves, the community as a whole with all its organisations, are becoming the field of influence and action of very different, often even contrary, forces originating outside of the community. The individual villages were influenced differentially by this development. Thus we can now find in this community all those types of rural village structures which were conceived by German rural sociology. Therefore the community studied is representative for the transition from mainly pre-industrial to more industrially determined social forms, which is characteristic for the German rural population.

For more than 100 years this collision between rural and urban culture has been dealt with in the international sociological literature, mostly in categories which described the process as disintegration and disorganisation. It was designated as a condition of anomie, to speak with Durkheim, or apostrophied—to cite F. Tönnies—as the exit of man from the system of community to that of society.

Our study has to inquire which social processes this transition has caused in our community, and especially to investigate the problem whether new integrative processes can be recognised besides those disintegrative processes already known.

For this short report we select the family, organised leisure groups and political parties from among the social institutions studied. In these areas it will be shown how the characteristic social structure of this rural community is formed on the one hand by the way in which the individual is integrated into the family, the clubs, the political parties and society as a whole and on the other hand by the interaction between these social systems.[1]

Let us start with the family:—

Here we observe that especially since the first world war the right of self-determination is being demanded increasingly by the individual in relation to the family and by the family as a whole in relation to those groups which like relatives, neighbourhood and church were the main determining agencies before. This freedom of self-determination is being granted to a successively greater degree. More concretely this means, e.g., for the marital relationship greater freedom in the choice of the partner, a nearly general acceptance of the practice of divorce —even while divorce is in fact very rare in the community.   The

acceptable reasons for wanting a divorce given by the interviewed men and women were closely alike. Closely alike too were the stereo-types about the ideal behavioural patterns for a " good husband " and a " good wife " as well as the ideas about sanctions to be used in case of deviance from these norms. Expressed opinions and observations show how the husband no longer manifests that patriarchal stiffness of the family head which is still obvious in the monographs about the generation of the grandparents. At that time the father determined the life of his family so to speak as the representative of propriety, justice and religion, the forces of social order. Today he is more the partner with whom together one earns the family living, plans, educates and keeps house and whose time and concern one can successfully demand and occupy. This attitude shows clearly in the opinion expressed by married women that " a good husband " should be home-loving and devoted.

There are of course still numerous remnants of the old patriarchal attitude and behaviour patterns besides this new tendency working towards a partnership of equally valued individuals, but where they come out drastically and are demanded rigidly this behaviour and attitude is rejected by community opinion.

The increasing freedom for self-determination shows in the present parent-child relationship, particularly in the widely expressed demand by young people for a good occupational training, which is generally accepted by the parents. This means a revolution for the small farmer and worker families of our community. Up to the First World War they were, because of their poverty, largely dependent upon the early help of their children. The children had to start earning money and hand it over to the parents as soon as they finished the village school at fourteen years of age, and in many cases even before that time so that they had to miss school.

The small farms call for early help by children even today of course, but rare and generally objected to is the case where a child who is not the heir is prevented from occupational training by keeping him on the farm after he has finished school: 24.2 per cent. of all interviewees of a random sample of the population want to leave choice of friends, occupation and marital partner as well as disposition of all earnings entirely to the children. 63.2 per cent. of this sample also decide in principle for the independent training of children, but point in addition to the parental responsibility for advising children. Only 8.2 per cent. stress strongly the right and intention of primarily parental decision about the way of life of the child. This completely changed position of the child has also changed the parental attitude towards the number of children. Here the point of view of a planned family with the ideal of two children has gained pre-eminence.

As stated already above, the external relations of the family are characterised by a growing demand for self-determination in family matters as well as by the increasing acceptance of this demand by

relatives and neighbourhood. The majority of people keep in close contact with relatives and neighbourhood in spite of this emphasis on preserving a familial sphere of intimacy. However, for a smaller number of people—one fifth to one third according to different criteria of evaluation—this tendency towards individual and familial independence has led to a conscious keeping of social distance. Increasing availability of money and modern equipment for the present generation have led to a greater economic independence from neighbourhood help when compared with the parent and grand-parent generation. This independence becomes the ideal pattern for neighbourhood relations for those more isolated people. In principle they want no neighbourhood contact so as not to be under an obligation.

It is significant that this group of people consciously maintaining distance is distributed nearly evenly over all sections and strata of the population. This fact shows up the process of individualisation even in those groups of the population such as the farmers which were clear exceptions in former times.

Our investigation thus proves for the rural community the same process of change for the family structure as recent studies have shown for the family in Western Germany. This change leads towards a family structure which is characterised by a larger area for self-determination and self-expression of the family members within the family as well as of the family itself within society at large, while at the same time the familial sphere of intimacy is more acutely sensed, stressed and consciously formed. This process of change is often interpreted as a disintegrative process compared to the former kind of relationship. However, the change which took place within the society at large as well as the increasing interdependent relationship between rural life and this society must be taken into account. In this case the change seems a reactive process of the family to the growing social demands upon the individual. The individual is more than ever a point of intersection for manifold influences external to the family as well as to the community. Thus he is thrown back upon his own resources and forced to make decisions for which he has in many cases no longer the requisite traditional norms and patterns. Even the rural family therefore strives for an early independence training. Where this is lacking, where the husband commands the wife or the parent his child in an outmoded fashion, conflicts will ensue.

Adjustment to the demands and condition of the social system on the one hand, conscious and voluntary acceptance of, and care for, a familial sphere of intimacy on the other hand must, in our opinion, be viewed as a new and very complex process of integration working between individuals, families and society. It can help substantially to harmonise these inter-relationships as well as to stabilise the structures of personalities, families and society. The family assumes the function of protecting the individual against overly extensive demands put upon him by society and establishes in this way a new equilibrium.

But at the same time the fulfilment of this function entails the danger of increasing the family's isolation from the whole of society as can be seen in our community, too. Among the newcomers who generally tend more into the direction of family individualisation it is especially the refugees as well as the small group of intellectuals and high-ranking professionals who show this tendency. The latter group especially has a certain disintegrative influence on the community since its members live according to this typically urban pattern of limiting themselves to mere familial and occupational interests, while as occupants of positions with high social prestige they act as influential models. With honorary community officials one meets therefore frequently with the feeling that one is actually stupid to sacrifice one's time for public affairs, thus subjecting oneself to public criticism and decreasing one's spare time which could be used to cultivate familial and occupational interests. The gain of prestige which was formerly always connected with these " honorary " posts—as the name itself indicates—is being diminished by the contrary attitude of families with high occupational prestige.

As yet, however, the process of family individualisation does not dominate the picture. The contrary behaviour patterns are still strong and lead to the conscious rejection of those who keep themselves isolated and to blaming them for being too " class conscious ". Conscious emphasis on and work for the common cause of the village community are still frequent. This attitude shows itself particularly when many inhabitants of the central village complain about the small unity and coherence of its population and when they try to integrate the village more strongly by arranging village festivities and by founding organisations. For the same reason the inhabitants of other villages often look down upon the central village because they themselves still possess a greater local coherence. It is significant that the decrease in the number of so-called old families and the predominance of newcomers in the central village is named as cause of its weak social unity. Thus we come to notice an important integrating function of the family especially in rural communities, namely the function to sustain a locally important group of old inhabitants. This group would buy the inheritance of land and house, make certain that family members and relatives stay bound to the community to a larger extent than in urban communities. These people develop a lower occupational mobility, they do not leave the community in the first place or return in substantial numbers when they are pensioned or when they in turn fall heir to an inheritance. Their knowledge about each other stretches back for generations and in this way they educate also the coming generation to being relatively well informed about each other and thereby to be ready to participate and to have a strong, locally anchored consciousness of home. This works even with the present, occupationally and educationally so much more differentiated youth. In this way the individual person becomes more ready to accept honorary posts even

if he knows that these positions bring much work and little official recognition. So it comes about that we meet among these small farmers, artisans and workers, who are bound to home and property, an important number of personalities who are recognised as authorities, partly formally because of their honorary posts, but mostly informally in the daily life of the community. These leading persons are called upon to give advice, to settle controversies arising within the neighbourhood, among relatives and even in families. They are generally trusted and respected because of the way they lead their lives, also because they have experience and knowledge above average. Manifold participation and willingness to help mark these persons. The formal authorities seek contact with these people who stand out because of their personal qualities. Thus arises the high degree of congruence between formal and informal authorities which characterises our community. With this fact of congruence of formal and informal authority we have discovered a process of democratisation and a new process of integration which shows up in its remarkable features only by a comparison with the traditional power and authority structure in the community. This former structure was marked by the fact that the formal positions of authority were almost exclusively in the hands of the propertied and occupationally privileged group. The termination of the three-class-voting system in 1919 and the reaching of a higher standard of living through growing earning possibilities in full or part-time industrial jobs made the important change possible.

A growing distance between newcomers and old families is an unavoidable secondary effect of the preservation of a group of the latter. This applies particularly to the evacuated population and to the refugees who brought about a population increase of 30 per cent. within the community. Institutions like family, relatives and neighbourhood cannot alone succeed in the task of integrating this enormous number of people into the community. The structure of these above named institutions is necessarily tending towards closure and strict limitation. Thus they hinder the absorption or inclusion of the new groups. Therefore the necessity of having differently structured social institutions to cope with this task is apparent.

There exist a number of relevant institutions from which we want to select political parties and organised leisure groups (called " clubs " for short from now on) in order to show how these modern organisations enter into community life which previously was rather informally structured. They supplement those formerly all powerful social groups of the family, relatives, neighbourhood and church.

Both organisations will be treated together because the space in this report is limited. Only those features will be pointed out which, being common to both clubs and parties, are particularly relevant to the specific structure of this rural community.

The existing clubs were founded between 1907 and 1951. The founders' initiative originated almost exclusively with newcomers or

such native inhabitants who had acquired experience with these organisations while employed outside the community. Official authorities too sometimes took the initiative.

The existing political parties were founded by old inhabitants between 1946 and 1952. Partly old pre-Nazi party membership was simply renewed, partly these new founders fell back upon behaviour patterns and forms of organisation which had become well known and habitual between 1919 and 1933. As the clubs were influenced by forces outside the community, so were these party groups of the twenties. Both forms of organisation substitute a more formally and rationally constructed organisation for that former kind of intermittent and informal activity which rested only on chance constellations within the neighbourhoods. Now the groups come to be more sharply delineated, their activity becomes continuous, their membership is disciplined. These groups focus upon certain special interests of the individual person; however, they are open for everyone who wants to enter or leave them.

The smallness of the individual villages ensures that this openness remains. The coherence and social control within the neighbourhood groups would not tolerate the formation of closed groups. The groups themselves would not have sufficient members were they closed. Therefore we find represented within these organisations of the political parties and clubs all social groups of the population, Catholics as well as Protestants, workers and farmers, artisans and public officials, newcomers and old inhabitants, commuters and those working within the community. Of course these groups are not all represented proportionally. Refugees as well as professionals with a high educational standard are under-represented. Another characteristic of both clubs and political parties is that they are oriented towards the community or certain of its geographical sub-units—single villages or clusters of villages and hamlets. Founded to represent special interests they are nevertheless unavoidably drawn into the daily affairs of these localities. Since both organisations constitute gathering points for socially active inhabitants, the community population calls upon them to regulate public matters, to arrange festivities within a village and sometimes even within a family. This local orientation again is the reason why the outstanding members of these organisations experienced in public affairs leadership, are called upon to occupy leading posts within other organisations of village and community self-administration. The support they have from club and party members is an important factor for calling them to these posts.

Thus political parties and clubs become important instruments of social integration. They are open and can therefore lessen the tension existing between different groups of the population. They constitute fields where influences from within and without the community meet, exchange and come to an equilibrium. Their local orientation makes them integrative factors. They act as centre of attraction and area of experience for socially active persons. Their leading positions are

often occupied in personal union with those of other community organi-
sations, thus again integrating those various social structures. Through
institutionalisation they bring continuity and discipline into community
life. In this way they act to neutralise an excessive rate of mobility and
individualisation which threatens even rural communities, especially
when occupations and interests become differentiated and commuters
increase in proportion.

In conclusion we may summarise the results of this study. Many
of the functions of integration served by the family, political parties
and clubs are specific to the rural community. The rural community
in turn is characterised by the possession of fields and house property
by most families. Through inheritance of property only the powerful
group of old inhabitants is preserved. Even if the population is
occupationally highly differentiated their part-time work on the soil
constitutes an important area of common experience. This again
strengthens the neighbourhood ties for the majority of people. It is
the characteristic smallness of rural villages and clusters of villages
which makes possible many of the integrating functions. Only in this
way is it possible that the extensive knowledge about generations of
forebears can be kept alive and active. Only because of this smallness
too is the high degree of congruence between formal and informal
authorities possible, as well as the personal union between many leading
positions which lessens isolation and tensions. The same reason guaran-
tees the continued openness of political parties and clubs so they can
be means of integration and not of disintegration by leading to the
formation of classes and cliques.

In larger communities important posts can be left to officials of the
public authorities or of commercial enterprises, but our small com-
munity with its relative poverty—which of course has its tremendous
disadvantages too—is forced to help itself. Honorary participation
in self-administration is here called for and this again lends to the high
degree of congruence of formal and informal authorities which is in
its integrative consequences one of the most important results of our
investigation. The smallness of the community causes the local orienta-
tion of organisations and preserves neighbourhood coherence and
unanimity as an ideal pattern for managing community and village
affairs.

So we see that the villages and clusters of villages of our community
are relatively highly integrated compared with cities. This comes about
not by isolation from society but through adjustment and by the
constitution of an equilibrium between influences from inside and
outside the community. Comparative studies about integration of
the city population are still under way. But we can judge from partici-
pant observation that the city shows a significantly lower degree of
social integration. Some available figures lend support to this opinion.
Participation in the community councils elections in 1952 was 69.5 per
cent. in our geographically dispersed community. In the larger villages

participation reached 74 to 80 per cent.   The figure for the small community in Hessen is even 82.5 per cent. as against 65 per cent. for the large urban community in Hessen.   In the metropolis of Frankfurt election participation for the city council was only 57 per cent.   For Bavaria the figures are similar: 53 per cent. of the voters in rural communities used their right to change the sequence of candidates on the voting list as against 21.5 per cent. in the towns and a mere 7.2 per cent. of voters in the large city.

These figures may justify the supposition that the sociological statements made about the structure of the community studied hold true also for many Western countries.

The modern rural community seems to be able to show a hopeful way for ordering our industrial society by synthesising the principles of individual freedom and social interdependence.   This synthesis can be valued positively when compared to the highly centralised urban agglomeration with its enormous disconnectedness where individuals are joined mainly functionally and not personally.

NOTES

[1] Following roughly a definition by Talcott Parsons, we mean by integration that kind of interactive relationship between the units of a social system which sustains the stability of this system and promotes its functioning as a whole.   In the reverse we mean by disintegration that process which weakens the stability and the functioning as a working whole.

Recent Developments in Sociological Research: A Report on the Discussions*

D. G. MacRae

(Reader in Sociology, London School of Economics)

The third section of the Second World Congress of Sociology, on "Recent Developments in Sociological Research", met at Liège on Friday, 28th August, 1953. The chairman of the section was Professor A. N. J. den Hollander, of the University of Amsterdam, and the *rapporteur*, Mr. D. G. MacRae of the London School of Economics and Political Science. At the time of the meeting 24 papers were available in bound form to the members of the Congress, and three other communications had been made available separately. The session was, however, markedly different from those of the other sections in that discussion and contributions clung far less closely than elsewhere to the actual material submitted in advance. Much of the strength and interest of this section was due to this fact, and the range, variety and quality of the discussion proved most stimulating to all the participants. It is particularly unfortunate, therefore, that this report cannot fairly and fully represent the discussion owing to a series of technical failures of the recording apparatus throughout the session. As a consequence of these failures the transcriptions of the discussion are fragmentary and misleading, and not even all the names of those who spoke are available. The *rapporteur* apologises for inevitable omissions and failures on this account, and hopes that at least something of the spirit of the affair survives.

It was clear from the first that this section represented what might be called a "residual category". Professor Parsons has long ago taught us that it is just in such categories that the strengths and weaknesses of a subject may be found, and one may perhaps feel that this was borne out in the proceedings of this section. Theoretically, no doubt, this section should have represented a cross-section of what is going on in Sociology throughout the world, but this was not achieved. On the one hand, separate sections of the Congress were devoted to "Social Stratification and Social Mobility", "Intergroup Conflicts and their Mediation", and "The Training, Professional Activities and Responsibilities of Sociologists". Research in the first two of these sections is today at its height throughout the world so that between them they occupy a great deal of the present content of sociological study. The last of these sections is one which must by its very nature always be of profound interest to those engaged in this discipline, and conceals within itself problems which are not only ethical, but which

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are profoundly bound up with matters of practical research. If only for this reason, then, the section on recent developments could not be representative.

But there were additional reasons. Inevitably these papers, collected at random, could not be representative of the total sociological situation: only a carefully designed and commissioned selection of papers could achieve this. One might feel that the omissions were mainly of two kinds: in this section, American, English and French sociology tended to be under-represented; and, secondly, certain topics of great importance were conspicuously absent. For instance, questions of sociological theory—a topic inadequately represented in the Congress as a whole—and also the comparative neglect of the border area between sociology, social policy, and social philosophy. As will emerge later in this paper, the actual Congress at discussion did something to remedy all these deficiencies. Nevertheless, in one day devoted to many topics, only a little could be said, and much that one would wish to have elaborated was passed quickly over.

This was perhaps particularly marked in the aspects dealt with by Drs. Busia and Eisenstadt, from the Gold Coast and from Israel, Mrs. Bryce from Agra, and by Professor Maiti from Patna. The problems of societies whether ancient or modern, which are undergoing rapid technological change, violent urban expansion, the impact of alien cultures, and in addition have to deal with massive population shifts, are of a kind to which, it was alleged, the techniques and ideology of social anthropology are unsuited, while the techniques of sociology are too little applied. Such areas are growing in number and importance in the contemporary world, and raise problems of practical urgency and great interest for sociological theory—especially for the analysis of social change—and issues that inevitably bring the sociologist to the urgent consideration of questions of value. These questions of value are of three main kinds: problems of dealing with divergent values as social data; problems of discriminating between values; and problems of what values should be involved in policy.

This enormous and fascinating subject inevitably aroused great interest and was left with reluctance. In its importance, interest and brevity of appearance at the conference, it may stand as typical of the diverse themes discussed. It is desirable that, as the chairman, Professor den Hollander, said in his opening remarks, " this section should become one of the permanent sections of subsequent congresses of the associations "—if only to allow some glimpse of those topics which, however important, might not publicly be raised in the sterner, more restricted, sessions of the other highly specific sections. In this way, too, gaps of subject or of national representation may be filled by those engaged in the responsibilities of planning the programmes of future ISA meetings.

The course of the discussion may now be briefly outlined and the content of the papers examined.

Professor den Hollander welcomed his colleagues. He announced that he would not generalise from the impressive but heterogeneous material before him. Nevertheless, he felt, it was striking how the subject was becoming more and more one in which research was corporate rather than individual. He went on to consider topics raised in the papers and to make a number of observations already incorporated in this text. He was followed by the *rapporteur* who examined the papers in more detail and made an attempt to group them in terms of their subject matter and interest.

The first speaker was Professor Dodd of Seattle who argued that, if sociology were to advance, then the researches carried out in the different countries of the world must be comparable. In 1954, as an aid to this, he hoped to see the publication of a world manual of " polling " techniques, operationally defined. Such a work will require annual revision and volunteers from many nations—volunteer helpers should establish contact with either Mrs. Myrdal or with Professor Dodd at the University of Washington.

Professor R. König, of the Sociological Seminar of the University of Cologne, decided not to read his paper, but to comment on certain points raised earlier at the Congress and by the *rapporteur* of this section. He was deeply concerned with a problem perhaps more properly belonging to another section—the problem of how to teach a discipline at once theoretical and practical. Should we treat sociology as one discipline or as many ? The relations of disciplines separated by university faculty frontiers raise a problem perhaps insoluble. As will be seen, the session was to return repeatedly to these matters, and Dr. Busia who spoke next felt that his experience in Africa suggested a return to the problems of the pioneers of sociology and a deliberate re-encountering of questions of philosophy and *weltanschauungen*. We should not teach sociological method separately from other studies, for method is an integral part of all sociological work.

Dr. Eisenstadt, on behalf of his Israeli colleagues, deplored the limitations of staff and resources for research, with which the rich Israeli scene is confronted. Out of such richness selection of appropriate topics must be a matter of governmental and public need: even so the best research is " fundamental research ". Professor Dodd then discussed the paper he had contributed to the session on the study of values and the next speaker, Dr. Pipping of Abo turned to a question which involved basic questions for sociology, social anthropology, and social psychology: the problem of the socialisation of children and their adult personality structure—a problem more complex than is usually thought, if only because the attitudes of any two parents are not themselves necessarily consistent.

Mrs. Bryce returned to the subjects raised earlier by Dr. Busia and Dr. Eisenstadt with special reference to the problems to be faced by Indian sociology.

Dr. Wurzbacher of the UNESCO Social Science Institute at Cologne agreed with Dr. Eisenstadt about " fundamental research " and illustrated his argument by reference to his paper, showing how some of the basic theses of Tönnies were today being validated.   Dr. Karsten of Helsingfors spoke on the sociology of old age, and suggested that " old age " itself was a social concept which correlated with differences in social structure.   Mr. Dampierre followed on behalf of Mr. Chombart de Lauwe (both of the Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris) and commented on the latter's paper.

Mr. H. Friis of the Danish Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs gave an account of the recent development of sociology in Denmark and the way in which this ministry had moved from the employment of economists and statisticians to the utilisation of sociologists, especially in the study of youth.   He illustrated the importance of case-work methods and follow-up inquiries in the field of delinquency studies.

Professor Maiti brought the session back to questions which had arisen earlier; he gave information on the Indian contribution to the UNESCO Tensions Project, and explained how the attainment of dominion status by India in 1947 had resulted in greater government aid for the social sciences.   Simultaneously the new freedom of India had encouraged a new scientific interest among young Indians in social science.   He illustrated all this with references to refugee problems, marriage, birth control and population questions, tribal problems, the attitudes of industrial workers, and so on.   In all this work of education and research a constant problem had been the absence of adequate textbooks: perhaps time would remedy this.   One point of particular interest made by Professor Maiti was that the middle castes are enjoying a steadily rising prestige as their economic importance grows.   This alteration of prestige is recognised even among Brahmins.

Dr. N. Anderson of the UNESCO Institute at Cologne gave an account of the Darmstadt survey and was followed by Professor F. Pollock of the revived (1950) Institute for Social Research at Frankfort, who stressed the need for socially minded administrators and suggested that the objects of the educational programme at the institute were to produce men who read Hegel, understood Heidegger, and who could use American empirical technique.   He also described the attempt to construct an index of " social morale " in Germany in empirical terms.[1]

Mr. Pagès of the Centre of Sociological Studies, Paris, discussed his paper on *ton affectif*, and was followed by Mr. Celestin on the work undertaken by the French Centre " Economy and Humanism "—an account of which formed the eighteenth paper of the session.   This speaker was particularly concerned with the problems of the standard of life.

Professor M. Ginsberg of the London School of Economics and Political Science began by referring to the problems of " pioneer countries " raised by Doctors Busia and Eisenstadt, and suggested that

sociological education in such countries might well begin with the consideration of the particular society in which the teacher worked. " That of course involves ", Professor Ginsberg went on, " that, in a place like the Gold Coast, for example, there would have to be a number of studies, which I think have not yet been made, of the social structure on the particular area. And there is also, I think, a very remarkable and extraordinary fact: that we are not in possession at present of books dealing with the structure of such units even in regard to the more developed countries. For instance, I know no book that will inform you fully about the social structure say of contemporary England or of contemporary France or contemporary Germany. These books do not exist. I am sure that they could exist, that in these cases there is in existence sufficient material—demographic and every other kind of institutional material—which needs only to be brought together through some sort of consultative scheme. I don't mean that these books in question should be identical, for each country must have its own of course. . . . " Out of such resources we might hope to see the rebirth of comparative sociology. Dr. Busia had raised the question of social philosophy: " Well, I have always thought you cannot teach sociology or indeed any social science effectively, without a parallel course in social philosophy. It's necessary to keep these two distinct not to mix one with the other, but it is necessary to have them both. The problem really is what this social philosophy should contain. This is a really difficult question because while in European countries, students in some countries may be presumed to have some general knowledge of philosophy, especially in those universities where the study of philosophy is compulsory for everybody, it is I think becoming more common for students to have no philosophy at all. It is, for example, perfectly possible for a student to have a degree in economics or international law or any other subject without studying philosophy." Methodology, the epistomology of the social sciences, can best be taught incidentally, as an integral part of concrete studies.

More important is the problem of values. Undergraduates in sociology are unavoidably naïve and, once they have received instruction in some general theory of value, they should have demonstrated to them the problems of value which are raised by different institutions such as class, property, the family, etc. A constant, and difficult, objective is to teach students how to distinguish questions of fact from questions of value.

Dr. Brodersen of the New School for Social Research, New York, expressed agreement with Professor Ginsberg's comments on social philosophy, and deplored our lack of knowledge of world society. Not only do we know too little of " pioneer societies "; we are ignorant of important matters affecting the most advanced countries. Despite such works as Carr-Saunders' statistical account, we lack proper sociological analyses of any major society. The difficulties of such an analysis

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must prove great, but they can and should be overcome, if only because such information is becoming more and more vital for the shaping of world policy.

Professor Maiti returned to the problem of textbooks. Not merely analysis and description are needed; we must " try to show in our textbooks how certain primary value attitudes and derivative value attitudes " are involved in social interaction. From the primary values of one's own country one can proceed to international comparison and understanding.

Dr. O. Friedman, London, spoke on the need for students being instructed in psychology, particularly " the relationship between individual motives and the general development of society ".

The *rapporteur* referred to the importance of descriptive sociology, and said : " It seems to me regrettable that in the growth of modern sociology we have become so afraid and ashamed of mere description. To describe is regarded as a very unimportant and essentially unscientific activity. I suggest that the making of such descriptions is as truly research, is as truly valuable, as are any other activities in which sociologists may be engaged. We need not merely descriptions of the frontier nations, as Dr. Busia called them, but, in all our respective societies, really first-class descriptive works. Certain attempts, I know, have been made very recently. I should be very interested to know what has become of the series of works sponsored two, or possibly three, years ago by UNESCO, some of which I read in manuscript. These were volumes which consisted very largely of descriptive accounts by one author or by a team of authors on the social structure and the social life of some 20 nations. Among these volumes I remember with particular pleasure the work—unpublished, as far as I know—of Professor Gabriel La Bras on France, which seemed to me to make a very real advance on any descriptive writing I've seen hitherto by sociologists ".

Dr. Busia illustrated the problem of conflicting values for people in " frontier nations " by an illuminating anecdote of his own youth and a conflict between the European valuation of time and the African valuation of ritual courtesy.[2]

He was followed by Dr. Bergsma of Amsterdam, who explained the long tradition in the Netherlands of human geography. Professor Max Sorre had said, in Liège in 1952, that it was time that geography discovered sociology. In Holland something of the sort had been achieved. It is necessary that the scope of sociology be restricted if works of the kind desired by Professor Ginsberg are to be written; one way of doing this is by concentrating on sociography. He had learned that in Frankfurt there are two distinct bodies : the Institute for Social Research and the sociographical institute. From his own standpoint in Amsterdam he found this division difficult to understand. Dr. Pollock replied that the two bodies in Frankfurt *did* work together, but that sociography was there interpreted in a rather statistical way.

The Institute of Sociography asked "What?", while the Institute for Social Research asked "Why?"

Mr. Posioen argued for a reconsideration of both sociological theory and research methods so that nothing, not even the most subtle values, be lost sight of. Mr. Pagès closed the discussion,[3] and Professor den Hollander expressed his thanks to those who had taken part.

NOTES

[1] From this point onwards the recording proved almost completely valueless.
[2] No more can be said here of Dr. Busia's contribution—one of the most interesting of the session—owing to the faulty recording apparatus.
[3] ·Here the record is entirely missing.

PART TWO

THE TRAINING, PROFESSIONAL
ACTIVITIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES
OF SOCIOLOGISTS

Introduction

The Responsibilities of Sociologists

MORRIS GINSBERG

(Professor of Sociology, London School of Economics)

The problem of the social responsibilities of sociologists is clearly a part of the more general problem of the ethics of knowledge. Two principles are involved. First, truth is intrinsically valuable and is worthy of pursuit for its own sake. It is true that some thinkers, and in particular some theologians have thought that not all knowledge is intrinsically good, that only the knowledge of God, as they put it, is its own justification and that the knowledge of " created things " is only good in so far as it serves good ends. In general, however, it has been widely held that knowledge as such is good, that there is genuine satisfaction in fulfilling the natural impulse of curiosity, in overcoming intellectual obstacles and in clear vision for its own sake. Second, knowledge may be good as a means because it gives power, and this carries with it the obligation to use this power to further well-being. The matter can hardly be put more vividly than in the words used by T. H. Huxley in defining the aims of his own career as a scientist: " To promote the increase of natural knowledge, to forward the application of scientific methods of investigation to all the problems of life . . . in the conviction . . . that there is no alleviation for the sufferings of mankind, except veracity of thought and action, and the resolute facing of the world as it is, when the garment of make-believe, by which pious hands have hidden its uglier features, is stripped off ".

These two principles carry with them important consequences and they also raise difficult problems. The ideal of truth has its own structure and imposes its own norms. It implies a certain discipline of the mind, steadfastness and devotion, detachment and impartiality, the power of distinguishing between subjective and objective factors of belief, the willingness to abide by the evidence, however unpalatable it may be; in short, scientific integrity. But, further, the discovery of truth and its dissemination are closely connected. Truth is no private affair. It appeals to standards that others may use and verify for themselves. It depends for its cultivation and growth upon mutual stimulus and friendly and open interchange of views and discoveries. Integrity and goodwill are thus essential to science, considered as a search for truth for its own sake. They are no less essential if science is to be used effectively to promote human good. In this connection, too, it is " veracity in thought and action " and the readiness to face

realities, that count in the long run; and a necessary condition of success is frankness, friendliness and equality. No wonder the ideal of truth has often been taken to contain the whole of morality within itself.

While these principles have won wide acceptance in liberal societies, they nevertheless raise difficult problems in practice. To begin with, the intrinsic and instrumental values of truth may conflict. The pursuit of scientific truth for its own sake may lead to discoveries which can be used for evil purposes, or for a mixture of good and evil whose ultimate value may be very difficult to estimate.

The difficulty may be illustrated in the first place from the problems with which physical scientists are confronted. Consider the situation in which physicists working on nuclear fission find themselves. They are engaged in work which may result in the death of millions of innocent people: are they to consider themselves responsible for the use that is to be made of their discoveries or is this something which they must leave to the statesman? Few will be satisfied with this over-simple division of functions. The scientist is a member of society and shares the responsibility for political decisions. And his share is greater than that of others. He knows more than others about the powers that scientific discoveries make available and he is rightly expected to take a leading part in forming public opinion about their use. It is above all important, it seems to me, that scientists should not adopt the fatalist view that the will of individuals does not count and that historical processes are the result of impersonal forces independent of human will.

The moral problems of science are not confined to those arising from its possible use for destructive purposes. The beneficent powers of science raise problems of their own. This was brought out vividly by Professor A. V. Hill in his presidential address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science last year. No one will question the motives of those who contributed to the advances made in medicine, public health, or the humanity by which these discoveries have been carried to many parts of the world. Yet the reduction in the infantile death-rate and the prolongation of the span of life which resulted from these beneficent activities have been accompanied by an increase of population which may well lead to increasing deprivation and social disturbance and to an over-use of natural resources ending in permanent and irretrievable loss. If " ethical principles " Prof. Hill asked, " deny our right to do evil in order that good might come, are we justified in doing good when the foreseeable consequence is evil " ?

There is a third crop of difficulties which concern the dissemination of knowledge. This again has received vivid illustration from the case of atomic physics. The secrecy involved in the investigations has generated mutual suspicion and recrimination and some think that it directly adds to the tensions making for war. Free and open discussion has generally been regarded as an elementary principle of the ethics of

the scientist. The question, however, cannot be avoided whether it is really practical to insist that all scientific knowledge should immediately be disclosed to the whole world, without reservation of any kind, military or industrial? In the case of atomic physics the problem appears in a peculiarly vicious form, but it is not a new problem and it has appeared in many forms. There have always been people who have felt that the dissemination of scientific knowledge and the mental habits which it inculcates tend to weaken or shatter ancient beliefs, institutions and traditions. Are we then to say that there are some subjects which had better not be investigated, or at any rate not widely taught or discussed for fear of the consequences? If so, who is to decide and by what authority?

So far I have been concerned with the ethical dilemma as it presents itself to those engaged in the natural sciences. It is obvious, however, that at all points sociological and psychological problems of great intricacy and complexity are involved. The scientists and engineers working on weapon development who take their responsibilities seriously will have to face the question whether their activities contribute to peace or war, and above all whether the regimentation and control necessitated by the arms race will not endanger the very values for the sake of which preparations for war are undertaken. These are socio-logical problems. So again the population problem concerns not only the biologist but the economist and sociologist. Is the pressure of increasing population itself a cause of international tension? Is a rising standard of life likely to lead to a fall in the birth-rate in Asia and Africa, as it appears to have done in countries of Western tradition? What are the social factors affecting the birth-rate? What rôle do religious beliefs play in preventing the spread of the practice of family limitation or planning? What is the relation between the emancipation of women and structure of the family? All these are problems which are mainly sociological. The " scientist's dilemma " is therefore also the dilemma of the sociologist.

The sociologist, like other scientists, has two duties, namely to search for truth for its own sake and to use the knowledge thus gained for human betterment. The problem therefore arises how far sociology can provide a basis for social policy? Can sociology yield a therapy for social ills or a technology for social engineering? Can sociologists as sociologists offer advice to those concerned in framing social policy? These are questions which have been widely discussed in the U.S.A. and are also beginning to be faced in European countries. A very important contribution to this subject was made by Dr. Gunnar Myrdal in his address to the plenary opening meeting of the Conference of the British Sociological Association this year. A good deal of attention has also been given to the subject by British social anthropologists who have naturally been concerned with the merits of " applied anthropology ". To a lesser extent than in the U.S.A. governments and large industrial concerns elsewhere are beginning to employ

sociologists and psychologists in what is called " operational research ".
This whole movement is assuming large proportions. It is said that
in the U.S.A. the majority of social scientists will soon be drawn into
work sponsored by political and military agencies and the same trend
is noticeable in some other countries though it has not gone so far as
in America. The problems thus raised are discussed at length by the
various contributors to this section of the Congress. I will not attempt
to traverse the whole ground and will confine myself to a few general
observations.

1. We should be careful not to claim too much for sociology. This
infant science is not yet in the position to estimate the long-range effects
of social planning, or to predict the direction of social change. We
need only consider how limited is the help that sociologists can give
in dealing with the problem raised by the discoveries in nuclear
physics to realise the need for modesty. Above all the social sciences
must refrain from claiming more rigour and exactitude of method and
principles than they possess, and from using a pretentious terminology
to hide emptiness of content.

2. This, however, does not mean that sociologists should abstain
from taking part in the operational research directed at social planning.
Since planning operations are forced upon us by the complicated
social situations in which modern man finds himself, it is clearly the
duty or responsibility of sociologists, to share in this work both in
the interests of general welfare and in the interests of scientific discovery.
It would be ridiculous not to make use of the opportunities thus offered
to accumulate data and test theories.

3. It is important for sociology to take stock of its powers to help
which may be greater in some spheres of social activity than in others.
It is probable for example, that in penology and possibly in certain
aspects of race relations we already have enough knowledge for useful
action and that what is lacking is the will to act.

4. There is a danger that excessive preoccupation with the appli-
cations of social science may divert attention from basic research
and draw away talent from such research. This danger however must
not be exaggerated. The number of people capable of doing funda-
mental research in sociology is very small and I doubt whether those
who have it in them to make important contributions to theory will
be diverted from their work by the temptations held out to them by
governments or other agencies.

5. The dangers to objectivity are more real. Apart from flagrant
heresy-hunting or the imposition of tests there is the more insidious and
subtle weapon of perversion. It should be remembered that this is
not a new danger. The cloistered academic is not immune from bias,
though it must be remembered that it is often the academic who has
provided corrections against bias. The scientist working for large

organisations may not be very ready to scrutinise the underlying assumptions of the enterprises he serves and he may consciously and unconsciously stifle any doubts regarding them. But here again, it seems to me that war conditions apart, there will always at least in democratic societies be found people ready to challenge selfish perversions of truth and the opportunist service of vested interests.

6. Finally, there is, I think, an urgent need to undertake a fuller investigation than has so far been attempted into the relations between questions of fact and questions of value. Owing to the wide prevalence of relativistic theories it is often assumed that social conflicts have their origin in fundamental differences of moral outlook. But we know very little about the extent and nature of the divergencies or of the possible reasons for such divergencies. It would, for example, be very difficult to say whether the supporters of the different political parties in England differ in their conception of the elements of a good life or of the principles of justice. They often say that they do, but are hard put to it when challenged to define the differences. That conservatives want freedom without welfare, socialists welfare without freedom and communists neither freedom nor welfare are statements that each might make about the other, but hardly about themselves. Analysis might well show that there is much more agreement about what may be called primary valuations than is commonly thought. The secondary principles, by which I mean those that serve to mediate the transition from ultimate ends to the detail of life, present greater difficulties and in regard to them there is much confusion. This is increased by further confusions between questions of facts and questions of values and by the difficulties of foreseeing the consequences of human interactions in large-scale societies. We need to have fuller information than we have of the extent of the differences in moral outlook. The problem is thus one for social psychology in the first instance. But it is not one for psychology alone. There is needed in addition philosophical analysis designed to bring out the latent assumptions underlying the divergencies and to reveal the sources of ambiguity and misunderstanding.

Standards and Ethics in Sociological Research

ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE

(Professor of Sociology, Brooklyn College of the City of New York)

Either we sociologists or our critics will sooner or later develop what amounts to a code of ethics and standards for sociological researchers. If we do so, and if we find acceptable democratic methods to implement that code, we will save ourselves considerable trouble in the future at the hands of political and other popular spokesmen and of competitors. We really have little choice either as to the type of ethics and standards or as to the type of implementation we must choose. They are those common to democratic scientific bodies in Western society.

For the purposes of this paper I shall attempt to outline certain problems sociologists now face in connection with their responsibilities (1) as professionals, (*a*) in academic research and teaching, and (*b*) in practical research, application, and counselling. I shall also touch upon aspects of our responsibilities (2) to the liberal academic traditions of our society, (3) to students, (4) to colleagues, and (5) to financial sources. Sociologists also have, concomitant with these responsibilities and as a part of our societal traditions, certain privileges (6) as professionals, (7) as sociologists, (8) as members of academic communities, and (9) as members of non-academic organisations.[1]

1.—*Responsibilities of sociological researchers as professionals.* Sociologists share responsibilities with other professionals in Western society. Personally, and through our professional societies, we are obliged to regard sociology as a trust for which we are answerable to society, to accept the societal anticipation that sociology exists to serve mankind and not merely as the preserve of a monopolistic guild, and to maintain adequate and sufficiently flexible standards of professional training and control so that the profession may constantly fulfil its functions more satisfactorily and in terms of constantly changing life conditions.

The inclusion of two major types of professionals in sociology—the academic and the non-academic—creates here as in other professions a constant confusion of the duties and rights of each. But let me define briefly what I am taking " academic " and " non-academic " or " practical " to mean. Those (*a*) in academic research and teaching are sociologists who accept stable but limited financial returns in order to have relative freedom to work for the development of sociology as a science and a profession. These sociologists find employment in colleges and universities, occasionally in other institutions, and in other foundations. To be satisfied with such work and to be productive in research, they need to have at least a degree of dedication

to non-pecuniary rewards. Even though they may devote a large share of their time to teaching, those who are alert professionals give as much of their time as they can to scientific research. Those (*b*) in practical research, application and counselling are sociologists who usually receive somewhat higher pay and serve industrial, financial, governmental, political party, trade association, trade union, social work, and other civic agencies. They may contribute to sociology as a science and a profession, but these are not their primary concerns. Their especial objects are to use their sociological training and experience to aid in the solution of practical policy and operational problems.

The relationship between the academic and the practical in sociology is thus similar—in theory at least—to that between physics and applied mechanics or mechanical engineering, between physiology and medicine or physiotherapy, and between scientific psychology and psychiatry, clinical psychology, or psychiatric social work. Individual sociologists may well go back and forth between the academic and the practical, but the confusion of academic and practical rôles may destroy the traditional values, responsibilities, and immunities of the academic in the development of sociology and of social science generally.

As I see it, the chief problem sociologists now should face is the commercial erosion of their academic segment. This is seen principally in domination of university sociology departments by problem-solving and special-interest-subsidised research bureaus.[2] Many of our sociology departments in leading universities are now actively competing for research funds both with university social engineering departments (including journalism, marketing, and public relations) and also with commercial and governmental agencies. They no longer devote much of their time or that of their students to scientific sociological problems, problems of concern to mankind rather than merely or directly of service to special interests.[3] This is a development with many consequences for standards and ethics, but, like other matters touched upon in this paper, it is my purpose here merely to point to such problems in a brief manner.

2.—*Responsibilities of sociological researchers to the liberal academic traditions of our society.* All learning owes a debt to the liberal academic traditions of our society that " practical professors " and " practical researchers " too often shrug off. In a recent *Bulletin* of the American Association of University Professors, to illustrate, a Professor of Education[4] asserts disparagingly that the " thinking of the liberal arts professor is naturally conditioned by the fact that he is a present-day representative of the tradition of the European university. The aim of his whole professional life is the development of scholarship and culture in accord with that tradition ". He should also have said and understood that he meant science and art as well as scholarship and culture.

The ethical problem is thus, in my estimation, especially this : how can we give the rapidly multiplying practical sociologists a due regard

for the value of the academic traditions which have made our colleges and universities relatively so free of restraint and thus so fertile in the stimulation of productive research? This question applies to practical sociologists both inside and outside academic employment.

3.—*Responsibilities of sociological researchers to their students.* Rationalisations for the callous exploitation of students are much too readily available among academic rationalisers. To their students, sociologists have responsibilities they do not always assume or even recognise.

When a capable student enrols in a graduate department of sociology, he usually does not expect to find himself forced to be a research drudge as part of the price for a degree. He does not anticipate having to give evidence of assimilation into a sociological sect or cult as a pre-requisite for the Ph.D. He hopes to be encouraged to grow and mature in his search for sociological knowledge and recognition. If he has any promise as a social scientist, he looks forward to an oppor-tunity to do an independent and fairly comprehensive piece of research for his dissertation, not a prescribed contribution to a professor's subsidised investigation.

Sociologists have, in my estimation, an ethical responsibility to help train scientific researchers and to avoid the maintenance of a cultlike or sectarian atmosphere in their academic departments. As a part of this they have no right, as I view the matter, to regard graduate students as a cheap source of research assistance. This stultifies research, provides unfair competition for commercial sociological research agencies, and degrades the experiences of graduate students.

4.—*Responsibilities of sociological researchers to their colleagues.* Sociologists have a responsibility for the maintenance of relations with their senior and junior colleagues upon a level of professional dignity and integrity. The American Association of University Professors and the Academic Freedom Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union have sketched out standards for professional responsibility, dignity and integrity among teachers which, as I see it, ought to apply also to sociologists in their interrelations as researchers, whether academic or other.

Among colleagues, one of the greatest responsibilities is to act fairly in the division of credit between co-workers, senior and junior staff members, and students. The Committee on Ethical Standards for Psychology of the American Psychological Association[5] has promulgated a cogent statement of principle on this which sociologists should carefully consider.

5.—*Responsibilities of sociological researchers to their financial sources.* The problem here is usually that of sociologists exhibiting too great a sense of responsibility—even of servility—rather than not enough. Actually, the dividing line in our society between hirelings and professionals is not a precise one. This lack of distinctness troubles

many professionals as well as would-be professionals inside and out-side of sociology. But the distinction between the overwilling prosti-tutes who will sell anything and the dignified and responsible professions who will not compromise beyond a certain minimum is easily recognis-able.   And those who purchase or subsidise research know this distinction very well. They buy or subsidise the work of willing hirelings for certain purposes, largely propagandistic, and have contempt for it, and they go to ethical professionals when they have a problem upon which they need enlightenment.

After this brief once-over of responsibilities of sociological researchers, let me turn to my second major group of points, those dealing with privileges.

6.—*Privileges of sociological researchers as professionals.* Sociologists have privileges as professionals to the extent that they are able to identify themselves with the most highly regarded professional tradi-tions of our society. Only to that extent will they be accorded full professional privileges.

The anxiety expressed by many sociologists and social psychologists concerning the possible damage to social science from the 1948 poll fiasco arose from a misconception of the nature of professionalism and professional prestige in our society. The highly commercialised and subservient pollsters have never achieved any degree of professional prestige nor, in their present type of operation, especially as again illustrated in the 1952 election campaign, are they likely to. What prestige they have derives from their propagandistic usefulness, and this is business prestige. Their embarrassment in 1948 and again in 1952 may have raised, and it certainly did not lower, the prestige of social scientists as professionals.

7.—*Privileges of sociological researchers as sociologists.* The members of our profession have and will have privileges such as they earn collectively and individually for themselves. The introduction of the A.P.A. Committee on Ethical Standards for Psychology to its statement on " Maintaining Standards of Competence in Psychological Work "[6] is highly relevant to our discussion at this point. As the committee puts it, " The public confidence which psychologists now enjoy has been won by substantial achievements in scientific research, by creative writing and teaching, and by offering professional service of high quality. This confidence can be sustained and furthered only by constant attention to all of the factors that lead to competence in a profession ". Sociologists might well examine the extent to which and just how they have succeeded in building confidence among various publics.

8.—*Privileges of sociological researchers as members of academic communities.* Sociologists have more privileges in many respects as members of academic communities than they have as sociologists or as social scientists. In spite of the anti-intellectualism so common in our

society, " professors " are given a degree of respect and prestige exceeded only by a few such other social categories as high-ranking government officials and physicians, and " professors " tie " scientists ". " Sociologists " as such are somewhat below these but do outrank " economists ".[7] In commenting upon this situation, R. K. Merton and Daniel Lerner[8] observe: " The prestige of the social scientists, on a national scale, would seem to be diminished by affiliation with the business community ". The gains, they contend, are largely " in the personal environment—of the sort generated by the acquisition of a large house, new car, or uniformed maid " and in a kind of " admiration (usually whispered rather than proclaimed) for the man of knowledge who is enough of an ' operator ' to influence men of affairs ".

The popular prestige of sociology thus derives especially from the identification of the field with scientists and professors of academic communities and with the nonpecuniarily oriented ethics of science and education. It is unnecessary to dwell further on this point than to emphasise again the dangerous commercial erosion of academic sociology departments and staff members now taking place. In the oldest human tradition, sociologists are trying to have their ethical cake and to eat it commercially as well.

9.—*Privileges of sociological researchers as members of non-academic organisations.* When they are members of non-academic organisations, sociologists at the present time possess chiefly the privileges given them as members of the American business or governmental community. They can gain substantially through helping to develop standards of merit for a semi-autonomous profession and by adhering to them rather than to the mores of commerce or politics.

Sociologists should know that actually no professional group " makes " a code for itself in any effective or creative sense. The group can do a more or less accurate, a more or less vague job of writing down what society at a given time and place in a minimal sense apparently expects from that group. A code of ethics is a societal product, and whatever implementation it gets is due quite largely to environmental and societal pressures. As sociologists, we should have sufficient foresight and sufficient sensitivity to societal needs and tendencies to act before politicians have an opportunity to make political capital out of our delinquencies.

The major difference in emphasis of sociology and psychology probably makes sociology more subject to criticism in the future and its practitioners more open to investigation than psychology and psychologists. After all, sociology has to do with social institutions and with other matters touching upon the social order and its stability or lack of stability. Psychology places primary emphasis in a much less controversial area—as controversy now counts and rages—that of individuals and more immediate interpersonal relations.

Unfortunately, sociologists have never been notable for their application of social knowledge to their own affairs. It is likely that it will

require another depression period or its equivalent to convince sociologists that standards and ethics in sociology demand top priority in professional planning.   Such a period would quite possibly bring with it sharp and maybe embarrassing investigations of tax-free foundations and enterprises and of allegations of scientific impartiality and objectivity by sociologists and others claiming special privileges and authority as scientists.   On the other hand, if we do not have another such period of re-examination shortly, the managerial technicians and their pecuniarily oriented mores will further submerge the scientific spirit in sociology.

NOTES

[1] See the author's " Implementation of Opinion Survey Standards ", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 13 (1949–50):   645–652;   " Responsibilities in Sociological Research ", *Sociology and Social Research*, 37 (1952–53):   367–374;   " Richtmasse und Ethische Grundsätze in der Soziologischen Forschung ", *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, 5 (1952–53):   401–411; and " Social Pressures and the Values of Psychologists ", *American Psychologist*, forthcoming.

[2] For a sympathetic account of the implications of this change, see C. Y. Glock, " Some Implications of Organization for Social Research ", *Social Forces*, 30 (1951–52):   129–34.

[3] See the author's " Subsidies for Sociological Research ", pp. 407–411 in his *Readings in Sociology* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1951) and his " Individual and Organizational Research in Sociology ", *American Sociological Review*, 16 (1951):   701–707.

[4] E. H. Reeder, " The Quarrel between Professors of Academic Subjects and Professors of Education: an Analysis ", 37 (1951):   506–521, pp. 508–509 quoted.

[5] *Ethical Standards of Psychologists* (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 1953), esp. section 5.

[6] *American Psychologist*, 6 (1951):   636–637 quoted.

[7] National Opinion Research Center Survey No. 244 (Sept. 1, 1947) or digest thereof in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 11 (1947–48): esp. pp. 658–659.

[8] " Social Scientists and Research Policy ", chap. 16 in *The Policy Sciences*, ed. by Lerner and H. D. Lasswell (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1951), p. 286 quoted.

Notes on the Professional Activities
of Sociologists in Italy and on the Deontology
of the Sociological Profession

C. PELLIZZI

(Director, Institute of Sociology, University of Florence)

Professional Activities of Sociologists in Italy—

A few data will suffice to provide a picture of the situation of sociology in Italy, a situation which cannot be said to be satisfactory. Public lectures in sociology were given at Italian universities towards the end of 1875, but only after Giovanni Gentile's educational reform of 1923 did it become a compulsory subject for the degree in Social Sciences at the University of Padua, in the courses of the Cesare Alfieri Institute in Florence (now the Cesare Alfieri Faculty of Political Sciences) and at the University of Rome. In 1936, when Faculties of Political Sciences were established as a regular feature in several universities, sociology remained in the programmes as an optional subject. Only in the schools and faculties of the Statistical and Actuarial Sciences was it still compulsory, and remained so. In 1945 the Faculties of Political Sciences were abolished by law, but in fact continued and still continue to exist. A proposal for a law designed to reconstitute them, presented to Parliament more than five years ago, is still waiting its turn to be approved. In this proposal, sociology is envisaged as a compulsory subject in these faculties.

In all the faculties of political sciences, and in many faculties of Jurisprudence, the subject has continued during all these years to be taught by professors or lecturers accredited in the fields of economics, statistics, law, philosophy, who have taken up the subject and sometimes made important contributions on the margins, so to say, of their principal scientific endeavour. University teaching of sociology is still entrusted for the most part to such people, or to young people who are very willing, but not always endowed with a strong specialised training. Since January 1951, the author of the present note has served as a regular professor of sociology at the Cesare Alfieri Faculty of Political Sciences in Florence, the only titular professor in this field in Italy. It seems to be very difficult to get out of this vicious circle: the lack of university chairs and institutes prevents the training of specialised students, and the lack of specialised students provides a good argument against the establishment of chairs and institutes.

Criminology, partly descended from sociology, still has no chairs, but several eminent scholars: some of the masters of the preceding generation are still active, such as Alfredo Niceforo, and also take an active interest in anthropological and psychological studies.

An awakening interest in sociology has been observed in recent years. Nicola Abbagnano, professor of philosophy at the University of Turin, publishes the *Quaderni di Sociologia* (The Quarterly of Sociology) in that city, assisted by a small group of young collaborators. Contributions of sociological material to our scientific reviews, proceedings of congresses, etc., have become more frequent. The gravity and urgency of certain social problems provide an important incentive to sociological studies. At present there is in every principal centre in the country a " School of Social Service ", providing training certificates for " social workers ", a type of occupation for which there has been a considerable demand. Quite often, young people with degrees in law and political sciences take such courses; more frequently, however, they are crowded with young school-teachers who wish to acquire a new professional title. Sociology, in such schools, is taught for the most part by the same " outside lecturers " from the Universities, and such teaching cannot always be considered adequate.

" Human relations " in labour, and particularly in industry, are generally felt to constitute a major problem in our days: this is due for the most part to direct and indirect influence and suggestions from Americans. What is mostly considered is the practical and " clinical " side of the problem, and not the scientific aspect as well, which is the one in which sociology is essentially engaged. Sectional interests and jealousies, the lack of sufficiently stable and authoritative production of sociological publications, and the endless misunderstandings and suspicions which come about, particularly in this field, through the interference of political motives, contribute to the maintenance of a chasm between the small possibilities of study offered by the University institutes, and the world of industry and labour. For instance, the Centre for National Productivity, recently constituted, has created experimental centres in some industries, in which experiments are conducted on various " human relations " systems. The writer suggested that those of his students who were interested in such studies, should follow the work of such centres, at least for short periods: but the proposal has not been followed up.

The major industrialists of Piedmont have created a School of Higher Management Studies in Turin, in close connection with the Polytechnic School. Here a group of American professors have been invited to teach this year; one of these is a specialist in human relations. The course is adapted to the needs of managers and engineers already employed by industry, and can without doubt serve immediate practical ends. But experience seems to suggest that the valuable hints offered by American industrial sociology need a very thorough re-elaboration if they are to become applicable with any success in the field of Italian labour, and require some adaption, frequently very radical, in the different regions of the peninsula and in the varied fields of activity. This work of revision and analysis should be performed at least in part by the University institutes, but it seems to meet with the obstacle

of the "chasm" already spoken of. The Faculty of Political Sciences in Florence, however, has started a Training School for Labour Problems which, it is hoped, will mark a new departure in the matter.

Professor F. Brambilla of the University of Milan, together with a group of young scholars and under the patronage of Engineer A. Olivetti, is quite actively engaged in problems of human relations, and has published useful and informative contributions in the review *Tecnica ed organizzazione*. Other undertakings in this field perhaps deserve suspended judgment for the time being.

The Deontology of the Sociological Profession

At the root of the problem of the deontology of the sociological profession there is clearly another and more basic problem, the problem of sociology as a science: a problem which cannot as yet be said to have been solved in a way which commands the consensus of a majority of scholars. In the short observations which follow I ought, however, also to make some reference to my own conception of sociological epistemology in general; but within the limits of the present essay I cannot give more than an indication of this conception, which may find many in agreement and many in disagreement.

When the structure of events studied by a sociologist is a contemporary one, it seems inevitable that the sociologist, in the course of his research work, " inserts " himself in this structure and thereby influences its development. If he *does not take part* in the facts under study, the danger or suspicion remain, that his conception of these facts may be extrinsic and abstract, and therefore in some way arbitrary. If, on the other hand, he *does* " take part ", does insert himself into the facts, then two heuristic problems arise: first and foremost, the fear that his " personal equation " will give too subjective a colouring to his conception of the object; in the second place, the doubt that his participation will contribute in time to the determination of certain changes in the structure of the events which are being studied, changes which would probably not have taken place if the action of the sociologist had not intervened.

The second doubt indicated above may seem unfounded when a very limited and restricted phenomenon is studied, and when the investigation can make use of experimental tests and relevant statistical evidence. But it cannot be denied that, even in these cases, the single and particular investigation presupposes a settled general conception, arising from either the more general notions of our science, or from the historical perspective in which the particular phenomenon under investigation will have to be framed. It presupposes therefore a general sociology, and some degree of knowledge and understanding of the " culture cake " within which the facts under study have their life and concreteness. Now it seems that the fact ought not to be denied that between the more important " general sociologies " on the one hand, and the historical development of the modern world on the other, interchanges

and reciprocal influences have gone on continuously, and in certain cases with great effect. Therefore, if instead of looking at one single sociologist face to face with one single and restricted problem, we envisage the interchange and reciprocal influence between the whole of sociology (even where it has taken on other names) and the whole of modern history, we ought to conclude that each of the two entities had a considerable effect on the development of the other. It will be evident, therefore, that such effects continue to manifest themselves both ways every time a sociologist undertakes the study of any problem whatsoever. On the one hand he inherits all the effects of social conditioning, brought about in various ways by his predecessors, and continues to carry it out by means of his " participation " in the structure that is being studied; on the other hand, it should not be denied that among the antecedents of the data being studied, " sociological intervention " also exists, though it may be very distant.

These considerations seem to indicate, among other things, the legitimacy of a " principle of sociological indetermination ", which ought to be analysed in more precise terms: this principle should serve as the point of departure of a kind of sociological critique of sociological activity (scientific, and therefore also professional).

Apart from this the problem of the " participation " of the sociologist in the events studied does not yet seem to be sufficiently analysed. Many will perhaps agree in recognising that our science is concerned with the profiles or patterns of the representations which are in some way linked to emotive charges or " sentiments " (*feelings* of all sorts and types). If this be so, it seems to be obvious that, from case to case *this* representation and *that* sentiment go together; the representation has no significance for him who does not " participate ", in some way, in this sentiment. Unconscious human behaviours falls outside the sphere of sociological interest; but we cannot certainly " understand " conscious conduct without " imagining " ourselves in the action of consciously undertaking the same action or series of actions. It will not be necessary that I in fact *repeat* the conduct that is studied; but I must be able to represent it to myself and to recognise its validity, that is to say its character of conscious action. If I cannot say, like Goethe, that I can imagine myself as the author of the human actions I am studying, my investigation is substantially impossible.

By this I do not wish to say that, for example, the sociology of homicide ought to be studied by a sociologist who has killed someone, or that the sociology of cannibalism ought to be studied by cannibals. Still I maintain that we cannot truly " understand " these deviant or primitive forms of conscious behaviour unless we rediscover in the depths of *our own* culture emotive-representative structures generally analogous to those we wish to study. Psychology will always be necessary to illuminate the particular, non-cultural, structure in a given case, but sociology ought to contribute understanding of the " institute ", i.e. of an " idea of behaviour ", even though it be most elementary.

When we deal with the broader political problems of our present civilisation, this methodological canon which we have indicated takes on its full importance and deserves intensive study.

On the other hand, it is not to be doubted that the " participation " of the student in the motives and the representation of the behaviour under consideration seems to bring into our science, not only an " index of indetermination " as has been said, but also a dangerous element of subjectivity. It is not only a question of the " personal equation ," of which account should be taken in any scientific work. The so-called " personal equation " refers only to the interpretation and evaluation of the protocols. In our case the datum itself sets a problem. If I aim to interpret a group or type of " crimes d'honneur " sociologically, the visible facts and the proverbs or ways of speaking which are habitual in such a society with reference to these particular situations, do not satisfy me *as data*. As " fundamental *data* " I ought to rediscover in myself a sentiment-representation of " honour " which might have an *analogy* sufficiently close to the cultural situation under study. The analogical process, therefore, has a far greater direct importance in our science than in the others. But this should also lead us to the conclusion that our science is much more exposed than all the others to the dangers and the disadvantages of the analogical procedure, and that our professional deontology ought to keep this in mind. Were we to formulate some kind of " Hippocratic oath " for our work, this ought to include at least some prudential formula, taking into account the " subjective " element which is inherent in the sociological datum.

I would maintain that at the root of all conscious forms of behaviour it is possible and necessary to identify an elementary, emotive-representative structure, which in every given instance, presents sufficiently distinct characteristics to become the object of scientific analysis. The character of consciousness in such a structure of behaviour arises from the fact that, in it the representative element and the emotive element appear connected but distinct. They are like two rings united in a chain: each one follows the destiny of the other, but they have a relative amount of liberty in the game. In some of my works I have proposed that the term " basic symbol " should be given to such a structure: it has in itself the fundamental characteristics of symbolism, in the current meaning of the word, but describes it in its most elementary form. If this definition is valid it follows that all *communicant* symbolism presupposes a *basic* symbolism in the above-mentioned sense; and basic symbolism, although *communicable*, is not yet communicant of itself, not yet " language ". Communication will have to take place through more complex structures of behaviour; but this will not be possible unless the basic symbols are already approximately common to all the subjects who are to intercommunicate. From this it can also be inferred that the basic symbols, as such, cannot be acquired by communication, but by means of another procedure, which might be called " initiation " and " revelation ". This procedure,

which is laid down by nearly all religions, and is perhaps the very essence of religious experience, is also exemplified very clearly in the psychological and social development of children and " natural " peoples.

From all this it seems to follow that the sociologist can never come to know a particular " basic symbol " by means of communication; he ought to be previously " initiated " into the elementary symbolic values to which the communications and the objective data refer. Basic symbols belong to that category of things which are not learned, but which are " known " or " not known ". The sociologist ought to make an effort, by the analogical process, in order to find, through the data at his disposal, some " basic symbol " already in his possession, and as near as possible to the basic symbol which he wishes to identify and study. The analogical process may easily lead to false trails. Experimental checking will often be impossible. The single scientist may not possess a basic symbol sufficiently " like " the one he wishes to study. Finally, there is a danger into which we are all apt to fall quite often: it comes from the fact that there can only be a more or less close *similarity*, and never identity, between the basic symbolisms of two different subjects (or also of the same subject, but in different moments of his actual experience). When we believe we have " grasped the meaning " of another's behaviour, in reality we have only grasped an approximation of it; but our professional habit leads us to attempt a full-size doctrine on the basis of this simple approximation.

This last danger, present in all scientific research, is particularly serious in our case. The " basic symbol ", in fact, is the root and stem of innumerable human actions, exceedingly complex and interacting. A difference of sensibility with respect to the representative structure at the departure will suffice to cause difficulties: serious errors in inter-pretation of all the consequent and interdependent facts will ensue, nay even the construction of a distorted theory.

Even the linguistic symbol may be a serious source of error, because the phenomenological regularities inherent in language are certainly very different from those that can be found in what we call the " basic symbol ", which is nearly always, if not always, the *referent* of the linguistic sign. In this sense the sociologist will also be a *detective* of linguistic errors; but above all he must detect and rectify linguistic errors of his own, with regard to the emotive-representative elementary values around which he must necessarily centre his research. The homonyms and the synonyms in our " real " language are much more frequent in number than those collected in our vocabularies, and may give rise to serious errors. The responsibility of the sociologist, already delicate in the scientific field, may become in such cases morally and politically grave when he embarks on professional activity and presses on the publication of his results.

If the theory of the " basic symbol ", of which we have been able to give only an indication here, is valid, the impossibility of

sociology as a nomothetic discipline seems to follow. The function of the sociologist, therefore, seems to be that of elucidating the structure of historical events in their regularities, without giving expression either to judgments or advice. When he has grasped the central emotive-representative nucleus of a given situation, he may indicate also what will be its most probable regularities, and may attempt a few extrapolations. It would be well if he assumed publicly the responsibility for all this. The " *quid agendum* " is not his problem, as a sociologist. The " *quid agendum* " pre-supposes a choice between emotive-representative basic entities, and the sociologist does not have any more rights to choose than other men. He has sometimes the possibility, and therefore, in such cases, the obligation to impress on other men a clearer sense of responsibilities for the choices which they are going to make.

It seems that from these considerations we may draw a few conclusions of a practical character, relative to the conduct of our science.

To begin with it seems necessary to recommend that the sociologist should give up all extensive study of any particular structure of human behaviour which finds no clearly " sympathetic " response in him. It is necessary that the " prima materia " of the problem treated by him should clearly have roots in himself. It is unpleasant to see men of science engage in public discussion about important and even tragic affairs, without giving evidence that they *feel* with their own hearts the specific experiences and passions which have motivated such affairs.

But a second recommendation should follow immediately on the first. The observation and analysis of emotive-representative structure in which the scholar " participates " also entails a discipline of auto-critique of the scholar himself. Therefore, while all the other sciences, whether they know it or not, *postulate* a deontology, sociology can also be defined as a systematics of deontologic autocritique; in more simple terms; as a scientifically organised " know thyself ".

The short history of our discipline presents clear and famous examples of this. Le Play, for example, might be defined as an industrial engineer who was " autocritical ". He certainly did not wish to prevent or to hinder the development of technology; on the contrary, he wished that technology should also become conscious of its own general responsibilities. To take one more example: Roberto Michels was obliged to give up his academic career in Germany and move to Italy, as a result of his connections with socialism. But soon after, when he was studying the socialist parties of the beginning of the century, he was able to produce his work on the " oligarchical tendencies of political aggregates ", which was among his best and which, in re-reading, sounds like the voice of a prophet who, round about 1910, was crying in the wilderness. In the century of history that stretches from Le Play's first publication to our day, many schools and doctrines have had great influence on human affairs; instead, the two scholars

mentioned above, of whom none would wish to deny that they were sociologists, remained almost unheeded. And yet they delineated, with sufficient anticipation, the two great problems which today take us by the throat: the processes of social disintegration consequent on the developments of modern industry, and the organisation of an irresponsible power at the centre of political mass movements.

If the validity of our conception of sociology as " deontological auto-critique " is recognised, the importance of our second recommendation will appear clearly, that is that the sociologist, at least when confronted with grave problems, should never work alone. Auto-critique imples a dialectic, and this implies, in turn, a discourse between two or more voices. The same method of analogy, of which we have stressed the importance in our discipline, seems to demand this method, of which we find the most famous examples in the prehistory of sociology (such as Plato, Galileo, and others). Between two or more eminent thinkers who, by way of analogy, seek to identify the same structure of basic symbols, a collaboration may develop which may make one think of the method of the goniometrist who succeeds in establishing a less known distance by putting it in relation to other more known distances. Thus two or more scholars, systematically confronting their different " participation " in the face of a structure of basic symbols, will have the greater probability of obtaining a " more objective " and critical conception.

But it is often not enough to have a problem investigated by one team of persons belonging to the same cultural group or to the same school. It is important that the collaborators should be " heterogeneous ", as far as the problem in hand is concerned. It is difficult, for instance, for the study of a broad national problem to be tackled by a scholar who does not have a personality representative of that nation (or more than one, representing different national schools); but such a study would be difficult to achieve if it could not be developed in dialectic collaboration with scholars from different nations. In this sense, therefore, sociology appears to be a " social science " *par excellence*, because it cannot tackle grave problems, and still less it is able to accept professional responsibility, if its research work is not developed as a discourse between many voices, between which there ought to be, *ab initio*, a certain measure of discordance. This is a characteristic which is not found in the process of collaboration common to all the other disciplines.

All this seems also to suggest the opportunity for some practical and organisational propositions which we will catalogue below, in case they should be found worth discussing:

(1) Any important subject should be tackled by more than one scholar, from different schools and different cultural backgrounds. National problems, and even more so, international ones, require " international " study.

(2) The positing of a problem usually ought to be the concern of those qualified sociologists who are " most near ", in culture and temperament, to the human motives and representations involved in the problem. (Any other positing of problems will probably lead to the discussion of problems which in reality *do not exist*.)

(3) It should be made part of the professional obligations of a qualified sociologist to accept, as a rule, such collaboration, within the limits of his working possibilities.

(4) All the results of such dialectical collaboration should have maximum publicity, even where there is no agreement. For all problems of political and administrative interest, it should be possible to have an *official* communication of these same results to the interested authorities.

(5) It should also be possible to let the initiative for a research project come from a centre or country different from the one for which the problems to be investigated constitute the gravest concern.

(6) It is also to be recommended to the different existing international organisations, whether political or cultural that, where necessary, they should plan and implement such studies and publish their results, with the collaboration of national and international scientific associations.

Problems of Social Policy and
Social Planning with Special Reference to India

V. JAGANNADHAM

(Andhra University, Waltair, India)

In India, sociological research has not as yet developed very fast. Except in a few universities like Bombay and Lucknow, it is not a major field of study for any first degree course and far less for a post-graduate degree course. There have been studies on subjects of sociological importance such as caste, family, agricultural indebtedness, prohibition of intoxicating liquor, etc. Recently, however, there has been a growing awareness of the importance of the scientific study of social phenomena. Here mention may be made of the case study of the benefits of prohibition under the auspices of several state governments. The subject of group prejudices studied and edited by Messrs. Nanavati and Vakil also deserves to be mentioned as a new field of study. The works of Professor R. K. Mukerjee and D. P. Mukerjee constitute important landmarks in the field of sociological research. Owing to the need for more trained social workers, a number of schools of social work have recently been opened. It is to be hoped that these trained social workers with an academic background will produce works of practical study and experience providing adequate data for pragmatic research on social problems. After attaining independence the Government of India launched a bold and far-reaching programme of social reconstruction on a planned basis. Social reconstruction in ancient countries like India involves the adaption of the old culture to a new set of values, outlooks, institutions and patterns of living. Hence what is being done in India is of interest to social scientists all over the world as an experiment in democratic change-over from the old to the new. An attempt is made below to give a brief account of the problems of social policy and social planning in India:

Articles 36 to 51 of the constitution of India lay down the Directive Principles of State Policy. These principles reflect the desire to create the fundamental conditions of modern society such as the right to work, the right to adequate income, the right to education, and to a measure of insurance against old age, sickness and other disabilities. The principle underlying the state's activity is broadly outlined in Article 38 which reads as follows: " The state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life ". With a view to giving effect to this principle, the Planning Commission was set up which prepared a report for the five-year period from 1951 to 1956. " The central

objective of planning in India at the present stage ", says the Report, " is to initiate a process of development which will raise living standards and open out to the people new opportunities for a richer and more varied life ". The problem is not one of merely re-channelling economic activity within the existing socio-economic framework ; that framework has itself to be remoulded. Technology must, of course, be adapted to the socio-economic organisation, but certain forms of economic and social organisation are unsuited to or incapable of absorbing the new techniques and utilising them to the best advantage. The problem in India today is not merely to make use of technologies developed elsewhere, but to use them in such a way as to integrate them with local conditions and national culture. The adaptation of technology to social organisation and vice versa is the crucial problem of social policy in India.

Indian social policy should deal with the disintegration of certain traditional institutions like the caste system and the joint family, the educational system and culture, and attempt to reintegrate the best features of these institutions in the new system. The disintegration and disappearance of the rigid, hereditary and inequitable caste stratification of society is a welcome sign of modern India society. But the void created by its disappearance should not result in confusion. In its origin the caste system was based on the principle of division of labour and specialisation of functions. Until the recent impact of industrialisation it provided an institutional framework for training millions of people from their childhood in socially useful occupations. Traditional skill in occupations was inherited and improved from generation to generation. With its disappearance two problems arise : (1) educating people in new occupations, and (2) preventing unemployment by proper allocation of manpower resources. Indian social planners face a serious problem in this context. India's population is growing faster than its economic production. To solve the employment problem, labour intensive schemes of development must be adopted ; but that does not solve the problem of poverty. For India to become prosperous, capital intensive programmes have to be followed. Birth control and family planning are suggested as appropriate remedies to the population problem, but in the present context of Indian social conditions these remedies cannot be adopted with success in the near future. The Planning Commission has suggested decentralised economy and encouragement of village industries as remedies, but the administrative costs for implementing such an economy would be too enormous and the system might become too cumbersome to succeed. Another problem is the preservation of the traditional skill of the artisans and handicraftsmen.

The caste system was not merely a vocational group stratification. It was much more than that. It was a socio-economic institution devised and developed to avoid conflicts in occupations as well as to make available a self-contained status group. Mr. W. Norman Brown

writes: " Without our entering into the details of the system, an analysis of the descriptive data leads us to the conclusion that the caste system is founded upon three cultural conditions: (1) the explicit concept that the whole of society is made up of necessarily inter-acting parts; (2) the fact that social groups, however constituted, have autonomy over their own beliefs, their own customs, their own practices and prejudices; and (3) the arrangement of groups into a hierarchy according to which intergroup affairs are regulated. . . . Recognition of the autonomy of castes in regard to their own affairs lends Hinduism its peculiar tolerance ".[1]   A confirmation of the same view from another aspect may be noted in a foreword to an issue of the *International Social Science Bulletin* by Claude Lévi-Strauss, " But whatever its basic error may have been, the caste system was inspired by the desire (see also the rule of vegetarianism) that the various social groups—like the animal groups—should not encroach upon each other. In any case, the abuses and inequities to which the system gave rise never led to the monstrous solutions—racial laws and extermination camps—to which certain Western peoples did not hesitate to resort when they, in their turn, tried to deal with problems of the same type ".[2] It is not intended here to plead for a revival or retention of the caste system in the present economic and social set-up. Our only intention was to show that the caste system was one of the ways of solving economic and social problems. With its disappearance in law and the slow decline of its hold on the people in practice, class divisions with conflicting interests have taken its place. Social planners should, therefore, devise means of harmonising individual with group interest, of reconciling the conflicting interest of groups in society and of satisfying the claims of small groups to recognition of status.

While the caste system aimed at a community division of labour, the joint family was built upon the two foundations of individual freedom and collective responsibility in and of the family. The joint family consisted of a large number of natural families in what may be described as a house community. Owning property in common, living under one roof, sharing the sorrows and pleasures of life together under the headship of the living eldest male ascendant, tens or hundreds of members of various age groups and generations constitute the joint family. It is based on the principle of " from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs ". Ample scope is given for diversity of talent and occupation but these are still related to the communal interest of the family. Provision was there for dissident members to demand partition and leave, but before the impact of industrialisation such dissolutions of the joint family were few and far between on account of the risks and dangers present in the single-handed pursuit of occupation and of loyalty and devotion to the family group.

Industrial civilisation has driven a wedge into the solid flank of the joint family by destroying the unity of interest in the occupations both

in agriculture and associate industries.   Increasing wants and the opportunity to satisfy these wants open to the more talented and physically strong members of the joint family lead to a migration of such people from the rural areas to the urban areas for government service, service in private industries or business; behind them they leave the aged and disabled to look after themselves.   The Hindu Gains of Learning Act, 1930, has put the stamp of law on the tendency to keep one's earnings for oneself without the obligation to contribute to the common family pool.   The present legal system has made separation easy and simple and consequently we find in the same family rich and poor brothers, the former looking down upon the latter and leaving a trail of bitterness, prejudice and disharmony in mutual dealings and relations.

Consequent on the decline of joint family responsibilities and the disruption of the joint family system, care for the welfare of the aged and disabled has become a responsibility of the state.   A well developed social security system would be a proper solution to the problem, but here again the situation is complex.   The cost of social security should not be a heavy burden on the newly developing industries. Further, the mechanical application of the social security system developed in other countries is bound to fail.   Such systems need to be adapted to promote loyalty and devotion to the family group. The State should exercise its new social responsibility in a manner which pays due respect to personal human needs.

In the matter of education, too, radical changes have taken place. The ancient Indian system of education was comprehensive and aimed at correlating education to culture and occupation.   While the study of the religious scriptures and the requisite disciplines were the exclusive privilege of the Brahmin caste, education suited to the vocation of each caste was imparted by tradition to each new generation. Universal literacy was absent because in India, as in other countries, conditions were unsuitable before the discovery of the printing press and the spread of democracy and universal franchise.   A pertinent criticism levelled against the ancient system of education in India was the monopoly of religious education by a hereditary class at a time when religion had an all-pervading grip over society.   Exclusion from religious education meant exclusion from ascendancy to higher social status and to power and influence behind the throne.   It is idle to speculate now how many from other castes would have cared to follow the austere life wedded to poverty and rigorous discipline required to pursue religious education.   The emphasis in the old Hindu society was upon the hereditary element in education suited to occupational specialisation.   The relevance of the criticism is that exclusive mono- poly of any kind is bad and unjust.

With the advent of British rule, and particularly since 1934, the modern system of education based upon examinations has gradually become more popular.   Caste exclusiveness has disappeared.   The

principle of opening careers to talent has gained ground. A recent sociologist writes, " the integral character of India's knowledge and culture was ignored and one-sided education reflecting the economic, political, and industrial needs and evolution of Europe was imposed on them ". A serious defect in the modern system of education is the mistaking of instruction for education. While ancient education followed the principle of thoroughness to prepare the young for a fuller life, the modern system follows the principle of imparting instruction in a specialised branch of knowledge. The humanities and sciences are kept separate, thereby producing a one-sided, sometimes conflicting outlook on the values of each for society. Social planners should co-ordinate both and revive the integral character of education, making it a training for a fuller life. Also there should be adequate patronage and encouragement for the ancient learning, with a view to its interpretation and to bringing it up to date in the light of modern knowledge.

In India, as in other countries, the impact of modern science has resulted in a decline in the hold of religious beliefs on the minds of the educated young. There seems to be a growing feeling that the problems of life are no longer mysterious, that the secret of the universe has already been discovered or is liable to be discovered soon. So the centuries, during which faith in God and the institutional religion embodying and exploiting that faith have exercised their tyranny, seem to be approaching an end. The large mass of people in India, however, are still ignorant, credulous and tradition-minded. One of the problems for the social planners in this land of ancient spiritual values is to give to these people an outlook and system of religion in which faith and reason, and the traditional and scientific outlook, are reconciled. The proclamation that India is a secular state is a welcome feature but the rôle of religion as an agent of social control, as one of the most powerful motivating forces in society presents a problem that still remains to be solved. However marvellous the achievements of science may be in answering the fundamental problems of life, for the mass of the people these problems remain mysterious. One of the tasks for social planners is to dispel the ignorance of the people and combat their blind faith and helpless dependence on the supernatural, by inculcating a scientific outlook and disseminating rational ideas about the universe. It is not possible to reorganise modern society without changing the outlook of the people. An attempt has to be made to separate individual and social ethics from the rigid hold of institutional religion and educate the common man to satisfy his individual and social needs and aspirations without dependence on dogmatic institutional religion.

An equally important problem is the change in the outlook and status of women. Until recently their outlook was domestic and their status that of dependence on men in their capacities as parents, husband or children. The woman's right of succession to property was largely absent. Education was traditional rather than scholastic. Marriage

was considered obligatory and there existed no right to divorce. Today the position of women in the upper and middle classes is different. The constitution assures them equal rights with men. Education is becoming popular and there is a large number of women in higher educational institutions also. Late marriages are becoming common. Many states have passed laws recognising the right of divorce. The Hindu Code Bill when passed into law gives them the right of succession to property and introduces civil marriage with the right of divorce conceded to all citizens. Such changes as these substantially affect the various aspects of socio-economic life. There is at present no attempt to make a serious study of the consequences of such laws on society. Sometimes the laws are passed in a hasty and piecemeal form and their effects are serious. Sociological research would be of considerable help in studying the relationship between law and public opinion and in enacting integrated legislation in a proper form and at the proper time.

Another field where sociological research would help the social planners is that of the rising industrial proletariat class. With the development of industries their number is bound to increase. It is necessary to plan human relations in industry with a view to promoting understanding between employers and employees. Further there has been a spate of welfare legislation whose application does not seem to have brought about much improvement in the workers' conditions. The series of extensions in the applications of the Minimum Wage Law for agricultural labour is a monumental example of the fate of laws passed without a proper study of conditions in the field. Several other aspects of labour such as migration from and to rural areas, labour turnover and absenteeism, vocational training, working conditions in industry, etc., need careful study and research to avoid the miseries suffered in other industrial countries.

In the matter of social policy and social planning, there should be close co-operation between the Government and the Universities. The Universities should reorganise their courses and give a prominent place to sociology and sociological research. They should conduct objective investigations and serve a twofold purpose, viz., to offer constructive criticism on Government policies, and to convey the message of right values and policies to the people at large. The Universities supply the country's future leaders and administrative personnel and should also provide its intellectual leadership. Sociological study and research offer a good background for the fulfilment of this purpose. The Government, too, both at the centre and in the states—should recognise the importance of sociology and sociological research by associating sociologists with the planning commission and other cognate bodies for framing appropriate legislation and studying the implementation thereof.

The problem of social policy and social planning in India is thus one of integrating the best features of the disintegrating past with the

soundest features of the modern system. We have to discard something of the old and adopt something of the new. Grafting the new on the old and thus bringing about an harmonious blending of the two requires a dynamic leader with a comprehensive knowledge of both, a band of followers enthusiastic in their endeavour to educate the people in the process of adaptation to the new set of values and patterns of living, and an administration motivated by a high sense of integrity and efficiency in translating the policy into action. It should be noted that only a democratic change-over yields enduring results and paves the way for further peaceful progress. There are many obstacles to this course of action. Ignorance and illiteracy, poverty and disease, the lack of a conscious urge to change, love of tradition and complacency almost amounting to apathy are the problems to be solved and are the impediments in the way of progress. The task is of Himalayan proportion calling for a Herculean effort in response. The present Five-Year Plan has come none too soon. It shows an awareness of the magnitude of the task. But plans have a tendency to get wrecked during the implementation. This is all the more so in a democracy where pressure groups of affected interests strive hard to delay and defeat the plans. Sociological studies should help the administration in forestalling such attempts because speed and efficiency are the prerequisites for any successful plan. Here in addition to an opportunity for social scientists is a challenge to their sense of responsibilities. Democratic Planning is a " great adventure " and social scientists in all nations should co-operate and endeavour to make it a success.

NOTES

[1] *India, Pakistan and Ceylon*: Ed. by W. Norman Brown, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1951, p. 44.
[2] *International Social Science Bulletin*, III (4), 1951: 775.

Professional and Career Problems of Sociology

EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES

(Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago)

Sociology, being itself a social phenomenon, may be studied as one. One might try to find out, for instance, what the circumstances are under which people want to study human society in the way called sociological, those under which they are allowed to do so, and those under which they may publish and otherwise use their findings. Our discussion of the training and professional activities assumes some freedom in these matters. We have before us questions of narrower range, but nonetheless of great practical importance; questions about the organisation of sociological activity. For my remarks on some of these problems I take as my cue the term *profession*.[1]

Profession has in English a rather more special meaning than has the same word in French and its counterpart, *Beruf*, in German. A profession is an occupation which has attained a special standing among occupations. In the Western world, and more so in the English-speaking part of it, many occupations have sought this status in recent decades. At the same time a great many new subdivisions of learning and scientific investigation have arisen. The people who have founded and/or pursue these new branches have also sought for their subjects and for themselves a place in the academic and scientific world like that of other, older branches, but separate from them. So numerous are these new occupations and branches of learning that one may compare the steps they take to achieve their end of attaining professional status, and thus arrive at a general description of the process of professionalising an occupation. Against such a background one may see with more detachment and perhaps with more penetrating vision the situation and problems of organised sociology.

The first people to practise a new line of work come into it from other occupations. Youngsters do not ordinarily establish new occupations; it is done by more mature people who see a new need or a new opportunity. Sometimes they slip over into a new activity without thinking of it as an occupation, and are only later aware of the significance of the change. In other cases they are apostles, full of enthusiasm and charism, spreading the light of new knowledge and a new cause.

At some point these irregulars, having become aware of themselves as a new group with a social identity, set about setting the terms of entry of their successors, the second generation. Almost invariably they seek to straighten the career line. They set up devices to require their successors to choose the occupation earlier, to make them follow a set course of study and training, to enter into the work as a sole and

continued way of making a living, and to do the work under institutional arrangements defined and enforced by the members of the occupation. On the social psychological side they insist that the individual accept identification with the occupation as part of his definition of himself, as a significant and persistent answer to the self-put question, " Who am I ? " and the question put by others, " Who are you ? " The true members of the aspiring profession will be thought to be those who enter it early, get the conventional training, work at the trade, identify themselves with its collective activities, and leave it only when they leave off working altogether. A person who, once in the charmed circle, leaves it, thereby slights the profession as a whole. He makes light of dedication to it and calls down upon himself that anger which reaches its extreme in the attitude toward a priest who gives up the cloth. The professional group seeks to become an enduring thing in two senses; first, in that membership in it should be enduring and, second, in that the group itself lasts as a known and accepted organ of society.

In this latter aspect, the professional group will claim the mandate to select, train, initiate and discipline its own members and to define the nature of the services which they will perform and the terms on which they will perform them. If possible, they will extend this mandate to the point of monopoly, excluding others from performing their kind of work, and seeking the exclusive prerogative of defining the proper relations (ethic) between the professionals and all other people concerned in their work. In its full form, the mandate will include the function of developing a philosophy for society at large concerning the whole area of thought, value and action involved directly or even remotely in their work. How far these mandates will be realised depends upon many circumstances, including competition and conflicts with other occupations and interests.

The course of a new branch of learning is rather like that of a new occupation which, indeed, it tends to become. Part of its course will depend upon how much it becomes involved in the giving of services to individual clients, or to institutions or the public as collective clients. If it is closely related to a service it will seek to follow the model of a profession, as just outlined. If it gives no immediate service it may follow the model of older so-called pure sciences. In this case the group may not strive so hard to close its ranks or to seek a monopoly from society. In America the psychologists are in a conflict as to whether psychology will be primarily a science or primarily a profession. I do not suggest that they have a choice. The logic of circumstances will almost certainly require them as a group to be both, although some individuals may be purely scientific experimenters while others are therapists. I suspect it is the fate of sociology to suffer a similar chronic conflict. It may not be so acute, as sociology is not likely to be used as an instrument of individual therapy to such an extent as psychology. But if our problem of defining professional relations with

individual clients is less acute, our relations with institutions, the state and society are likely to be more trying. Although many sociologists would like to consider their work politically neutral, it is not considered so by those who make revolutions of right or left, or by those who have special interests in the things we study. However strongly we may emulate the model of pure science, claims for applying our knowledge and the fact that what we learn is never a matter of social indifference will continue to put us into the position of people who give a service (or do a disservice) to our client, society. We cannot decide once and for all to be completely a profession or completely a science. The problem is chronic, as are all the basic problems with which professional groups have to deal. The basic parts of any professional code concerns such problems, those which cannot be settled once and for all, but for which—within the limits of lasting principles —different solutions have to be found according to the circumstances of time and place. We should, as an international society, be very chary of trying to determine in any detail solutions to apply to all of the many countries and situations in which sociologists have to work.

In America, at least, we have already gone far upon the road of professionalising our occupation in one respect. We are pushing the point of crucial decision to enter upon sociological study back to an ever earlier point in the schooling, hence in the life, of the individual. This is justified by the contention that, as our methods develop, the prerequisite knowledge and skills become greater. With more to be learnt, if the age of completing training remain the same, the starting point must be earlier. This argument is hard to answer. One must, however, take care to distinguish between conventional and strictly necessary prerequisite training. It is very easy to let prerequisites degenerate into a device to enforce early choice and to ensure proper indoctrination of potential members of an occupation or academic branch. Great is the temptation to raise the status of our subject by proving that it takes as long to become a sociologist as to become a physicist or physician. The best proof is simple; one makes it a rule. I doubt very much whether we know the best possible prerequisite training for sociologists. And since we are still a new and exploring subject we probably should not harden our programme of training too much lest we thereby also harden our subject and methods.

Furthermore, we do not know what effect early choice of sociology as a field of professional study will have upon the kinds of persons who will elect the field. It may be early choice would draw in people of some one bent, with a tendency toward selecting for study only those problems and toward using only those methods which fit the concept of sociology crystallised in the conventional prerequisites. Students entering medical schools show a tendency to pick those specialities which are well known and which are vaunted by their teachers as embodying the true model of medical practice. Choice of others, such

as psychiatry, psycho-somatic medicine, epidemiology and public health, often comes quite late and after some ripening experience in which the young man, in effect, unlearns some things and sets out upon a new and less well-charted course of new learning. If we set the point of crucial decision to enter sociology too early, we may prevent that later change of interest which has given us so many of the best sociologists. For sociology is analogous, in this regard, not to a profession, but to a speciality within the larger profession of studying human affairs. If we apply rigid rules of entry to training, we may limit too much the circulation of people, hence of minds, from one branch of social science to another. Since ours is still one of the less known branches, we stand to gain from second and third choices. Furthermore, it may well be that interest in scientific analysis of societies in sociological terms is a mature one, a by-product of other training and experience. Our problem is to develop devices for training people to a high level of theoretical and technical competence without too much restriction of circulation from one branch of social science and experience to another, and without forcing the choice to a too early age.

There is a problem of circulation of sociologists later in their careers as well as during their training. An occupation in course of becoming a profession (and a new branch of learning in course of finding its place) will strive to solve the related problems of circulation and careers in two dimensions at the same time. On the one hand they will seek to set up strong and clear boundaries between their occupation and all others, and to develop career opportunities for those within. On the other hand, they will complement this clear bounding with an attempt to make the profession more universal, so that the professional may carry on his work in a greater variety of situations; so that his skill may meet the needs of any client whatsoever or so that his methods of investigation (in the case of a science) may be applied anywhere and at any time with equal validity. In the purest case the professional would do work which he alone can do, and the work would be of a kind wanted everywhere by all men; a maximum of specific bounding would be matched by a maximum of universality. Armed with his special qualifications, the ideal professional could go from job to job, client to client, place to place, and from country to country; so could the pure scientist. I suppose the best living model of this is the profession of medicine. Physicians have come as close as one can easily imagine to excluding all others from practise of their profession. They also perform a service that may be conceived as universal in character and as universally wanted. Actually, even in this case the reality does not completely correspond to the model. The boundaries between physical illness and spiritual illness are not clear and the definitions of illness and health vary from society to society. Sick people may want a doctor of their own kind, and not willingly accept strangers. Other people than physicians also share the treatment of people's troubles. Furthermore, the doctor's knowledge and skills

are not completely universal. Some of them refer to the illnesses endemic in his own country. Finally, doctors in one country or place will not willingly allow strangers to come among them and compete for clients. So that, even this most specific and universal of professions does not achieve full monopoly as against other occupations and does not allow completely free circulation of professionals from place to place and situation to situation. The case of medicine shows that even in the extreme case the solutions are relative, not absolute. How sharply should and can sociologists in fact be set off as a peculiar group with specific careers reserved to them alone? How universal can their knowledge and skills of investigation be made? Consequently, in how large an area may they move around freely in course of their careers? I will discuss the last question first, and then return to the other one.

Of recent years there has been a healthy moving around of sociologists. We have met one another, held such meetings as this, worked in one another's universities and institutes. In some countries we have profited from the forced migration of sociologists from other countries. Perhaps we are closer to developing a universal conception of sociological study than ever before. On the other hand it is likely that most sociological careers will be confined to one country. Some sociologists will circulate in two or three closely related countries. A very few will move about in a really wide space. More will visit other countries for varying lengths of time. While the theoretical systems and the basic techniques for studying society should be universal, most sociologists get familiar with the historic conditions of one or two countries, with certain specific problems or institutions and with certain social changes in the setting of their own country or region. The methods may be universal; the data to which they are applied are historical.

In one sense a sociologist—as Robert E. Park used to say—tells the news, although in a more exact way and also in a more general and abstract way than do newspapers. It is not likely that we will ever be free of the demand that we show special interest in and knowledge of the conditions and changes in the world around us. For one thing observation of the human data on which we base our theoretical analysis depends generally on fairly intimate contact with persons and institutions. While playing the rôle of the timeless and disinterested outsider is an important item in the repertoire of the social scientist, it is not the whole of it. Our rôle requires also intense curosity and personal concern about the people and problems studied. I predict that for these reasons, and for the more embarrassing one that even sociologists may be slightly ethnocentric and perhaps even concerned about foreign competition, most sociological careers will be played out within national boundaries.

Then comes the question of the possibility of having careers within countries, or regions of two or more countries which make up effective

circulating areas. The possibilities obviously depend both upon the institutional organisation of academic and scientific activities within a given country and upon the size of the area. America, north of the Mexican border, forms a vast area with essentially the same institutional forms and with a great demand for people who go by the name of sociologist. The career possibilities are great. A young man may be fairly sure that he may choose from among a number of open places when he finishes his training, and that he may from there on move about from position to position to suit his talents and his special interests. If he does not succeed in getting a position where he may do specialised research, or if he does not wish to do so he can become one of the army of college teachers. College teaching absorbs many who are called, but not quite chosen. The number of positions in better known universities, in research organisations and in agencies which want people who can apply sociological knowledge are themselves numerous enough so that no competently trained and talented sociologist need want for a choice of jobs. In these circumstances there is ample opportunity for circulating careers within a fairly closely defined profession of sociologists (although it is still questionable how closely the professional group should be defined).

Many of our ideas concerning the professionalising of an academic subject rest upon the assumption of such a large market. But the academic market for all subjects is small in many countries and especially so for a new subject such as sociology. Generally speaking, there is no great absorbing institution for sociologists in other countries as in the United States and Canada. The sociologist cannot be absorbed by the European Gymnasium or Lycée as easily as by the American college. One of the problems of a new and fairly specialised subject in a small country is precisely the possibility of absorbing those who study the subject, but who do not immediately—if ever—enter upon the main career line in which the training would be used. In French Canada, for instance, there are three universities. Sociology is new in them. Once the few positions are filled there will not be places for an annual crop of talented young men trained as specialists in sociology. But without an annual crop of talented young people the subject itself languishes. Without a position in which he can use his knowledge and skill the young man languishes; or he finds another kind of place, and his skill languishes. The problem might be solved by increasing the area in which the individual may circulate in course of his career. We have already raised that question. It might also be solved by combining sociology with other activities, which means some departure from the ideal of complete professional specialisation. For the model of complete specialisation implies a large market. Even in the large market, it is not completely realised in many occupations. Nor is it at all certain that it is the most efficient model for all kinds of activities. Research has never been fully separated from teaching in most academic subjects; in spite of all that has been said there is not the slightest

evidence that it would be wise to do so. Few professions have ever achieved such specialisation that the practitioner carries on only one activity. The lawyer writes a brief, but he also pleads and arbitrates. Priests preach, hear confessions and administer the affairs of the Church. Physicians diagnose, treat, and investigate. The historic connection of teaching and research may be weakened in some fields, and certainly the best balance between them is not the same in all. But even where research stands alone as a professional activity, new people must be taught to carry it on. The connection is inescapable, although the weighting of the two activities in a given man's career may vary. There can also be other connections; as for instance, combinations of sociological research with practical activities of various kinds. We who are in the larger countries should be cautious in promoting concepts of professional specialisation which do not suit conditions in other countries. (I think I can assume that we are all more interested in the advancement of sociological knowledge than in the advancement of a profession of sociology.)

Specialisation and the closed profession should be instruments, not ends in themselves. It may well be that sociology will have to be combined with other activities in many countries if there is to be that amount of circulation which will keep new recruits coming into it, and which will make for a large enough group of collaborators to stimulate one another and to get the work of sociological analysis of the life of the country done.

The combination of sociology with other things that comes most easily to mind is that with other branches of social science and with the various kinds of social practise. And here we are back again with our problem of setting the boundaries of sociology, or rather, of the group of people called sociologists. The questions for solution are still both theoretical and practical. We may ask what combinations of sociology with other social or other sciences are best for the advancement of knowledge about man and society. This includes the basic question about what the effective divisions of social science will be in the future; we all know that the divisions of physical and biological science are not what they once were. The practical question—itself not free of theoretical aspects—is that of the best institutional organisation, including that of the best degree of separation of the sociological career from others. All will probably agree that a subject will not advance well unless there are nuclei of people in a position to give their undivided attention to it, nor will it flourish without that morale which comes of being a member of a group with a strong sense of colleagueship and a clear sense of common task. The developing and strengthening of such nuclei is certainly a major problem for sociologists in many countries. Their efforts to create more chairs of sociology, and to get more general recognition of the subject and more money for teaching and research will certainly be supported with enthusiasm by all of us. But I think it likely that these nuclei will function more effectively if

the boundaries between us and related social sciences are not drawn too closely. Of course it is sometimes true that those closest to us are our bitterest opponents; nor am I unaware of the fact that economists and historians have sometimes effectively hindered the development of sociology by teaching a little of it themselves and pretending that no more is necessary (just as in the U.S. a university will hire one negro professor to prove that it doesn't discriminate against negroes). These dangers, like others, are chronic. I still believe that the best formula for sociology is to develop strong working nuclei of people, without drawing the boundaries too tightly between ourselves and our colleagues in other branches of social science and social practice. Circulation from one branch to another should be easy, so far as institutional and professional barriers are concerned; difficult in the sense that we set high standards of competence for ourselves, our collaborators and our apprentices. Sociology began as the maverick of the social sciences. Bastard child of philosophy, her fatherhood sometimes claimed, sometimes rejected by history, sibling or cousin of economics, political science, anthropology and psychology let her stand on the privilege of her unique parentage by not following too closely the model of an exclusive profession.

NOTES

[1] The literature in English on professions in modern society is growing rapidly. The following are a few items especially pertinent to this discussion:

Carr-Saunder, A. M., and Wilson, P. A., *The Professions*, Oxford, 1933; " The Professions ", *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences*.

Marshall, T. H., " The Recent History of Professionalism in Relation to Social Structure and Social Policy ", *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Vol. V (1929).

Parsons, T. H., " The Professions and Social Structure ", *Social Forces*, Vol. 17 (May, 1939).

Hughes, Everett C., " Work and the Self ", in Rohrer, John, and Sherif, M. (editors), *Social Psychology at the Crossroads*, New York, 1951.

——, " Discussion of the Bryan Report ", in Asheim, L. (editor), *A Forum on the Public Library Inquiry*, New York, 1950.

T. H. Parsons and his associates at Harvard University, R. K. Merton and associates at Columbia University, and Oswald Hall at McGill University (Canada) have all been working on sociological analysis of professions. In the 13 years in which I have had a seminar on professions at the University of Chicago my students and those of my colleagues have produced upwards of 40 theses on the problems of various occupations and professions. A list will be furnished to anyone who writes me for it at the University of Chicago after 1st October, 1954.

Several of the American Foundations have become interested in promoting study of professions. The Rockefeller Foundation early encouraged study of the medical profession; the Carnegie Corporation of teachers and librarians; The Russell Sage Foundations, of social workers and lately of several others. Dr. Esther L. Brown has long been retained by the Russell Sage Foundation for studies of the social functioning of professions. The Commonwealth Fund has supported study of the medical professions. More recently the Ford Foundation has taken an interest in the training and functioning of the teaching professions.

There are, of course, other people, universities and private or public bodies engaged in such research, both in the English speaking world and outside of it.

A Propos de la Formation des Sociologues en France

EDGAR MORIN

(Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris)

I. Selon les pays, selon le stade du développement des sciences sociales au sein de chaque pays, voire selon les théories sociologiques existantes, ce qu'on entend par sociologie varie. A une limite, la notion de sociologie recouvre l'ensemble des sciences sociales. A l'autre limite la sociologie correspond soit à un secteur encore indifférencié, non spécialisé ou semi-spécialisé des sciences sociales, soit à un point de vue de synthèse ou de réflexion théorique sur ces sciences. Comme il ne s'agit pas ici de prendre parti pour *une* définition de la sociologie, nous reprendrons, pour l'intelligence de notre propos, cette distinction que nous avions utilisé pour notre rapport sur l'enseignement de la sociologie en France.

> (1) La sociologie générale.
> (2) Les sociologies spécialisées ex.—sociologie religieuse.
> sociologie industrielle.
> (3) Les sciences sociales imprégnées d'esprit sociologique ou " para-sociologiques " ex.—histoire sociale, géographie humaine.

II. Or qu'il se destine à la spéculation théorique ou à la recherche spécialisée, il n'est évidemment pas de formation valable pour le sociologue, sans circulation *des connaissances*, des *points de vue*, des *techniques*, des *méthodes* entre la sociologie générale, les sociologies spécialisées et les sciences para-sociologiques. Les *instruments* de connaissance du chercheur ne sont pas des éolithes, mais rélèvent d'un appareil conceptuel qui l'oblige à poser ses problèmes concrets en termes de méthodologie, donc de sociologie générale. Et d'autre part, nul objet de recherche ne se situe hors de l'histoire, de la géographie, de l'économie, etc. . . . Aussi, dans un certain nombre de pays, les enseignements de sociologies spécialisées et des diverses sciences sociales se trouvent-ils rassemblés dans une même faculté. Il n'en est pas de même en France où non seulement les enseignements des sciences sociales, mais aussi les enseignements de sociologie proprement dite se trouvent dispersés parmi les nombreux établissements d'enseignement supérieur. La sociologie occupe une place résiduelle dans l'enseignement français. Ses branches spécialisées se sont successivement détachées d'elle ou restent à l'état embryonnaire. Elle n'a pu établir un contact organique avec les para-sociologies. Tel est l'état de fait.

Toutefois il est apporté des remèdes à cette dispersion (*a*) par l'enseignement de sociologie de la Faculté de Lettres de Paris qui organise des exposés de sociologie spécialisées (démographie, sociologie industrielle, etc.) ou dirige les étudiants sur des cours de Faculté de Droit ou autres, (*b*) par un certain nombre d'étudiants eux-mêmes, qui, à la recherche d'une formation " poly-sociologique ", s'inscrivent à différentes facultés ou instituts. Peut-on aller plus loin ? Un remembrement des différentes sciences sociales supposerait un bouleversement total des structures universitaires actuelles. Mais même un tel remembrement ne résoudrait pas, à notre avis, le problème de la formation des sociologues qui déborde la création éventuelle d'une Faculté des Sciences Sociales.

Sont impliqués dans ce problème en effet :

(1) La question des " humanités " sociologiques.

(2) La question de la pratique sociologique.

(3) La question des débouchés professionnels sociologiques.

Ces trois questions sont du reste étroitement mélées les unes aux autres. Nous ne traiterons que les deux premières, la troisième et de nombreuses question concernant la deuxième relèvent du rapport de MM. Friedmann et Tréanton.

III. *Les humanités sociologiques*

Certains pensent que les problèmes de la formation des sociologues sont avant tout techniques. D'autres insistent au contraire sur la formation " théorique " ou " humaniste " du sociologue. Il s'agit en fait de deux nécessités complémentaires qu'il faut envisager l'une après l'autre. La question des " humanités " sociologiques, avons-nous dit, est beaucoup plus vaste que la question d'une éventuelle faculté des sciences sociales. La sociologie est liée, non seulement aux sciences sociales, mais aussi à l'ensemble des sciences humaines. La formation sociologique n'appelle donc pas seulement une formation ethnologique, démographique, économique, etc. . . . , mais aussi une formation historique, psychologique, voire même psycho-biologique (il suffit de penser ici à certains articles de Mauss). En un mot, la formation sociologique implique une culture anthropo-sociologique préalable.

Une telle culture, étant donné son ampleur, ne peut être le fait de quelques années d'études supérieures. Elle doit s'amorcer dans le cours même des études secondaires. Elle doit, en quelque sorte, imbiber les consciences, jouer le rôle d'" *humanités* " ou plutôt rendre au terme d'" humanités " son sens littéral.

En U.R.S.S., aux U.S.A., les sciences sociales jouent ce rôle d'" humanités ". En U.R.S.S., le marxisme, c'est-à-dire un point de vue commun aux sciences humaines et même dans un sens aux sciences de la nature, commande la formation des esprits. Aux U.S.A., une " vulgate " socio-psychanalytique imprègne les consciences, et s'est intégrée dans la vie mentale, sociale, politique. En U.R.S.S. comme

aux U.S.A. ce qui correspond aux sciences sociales est profondément mêlé à la vie scolaire et universitaire, à la vie politique et à la vie pratique. En France, par contre, il n'y a pas d'" *humanités sociologiques* " ou anthropo-sociologiques et corrélativement la sociologie par rapport à la vie universitaire, la vie politique, la vie pratique occupe une place résiduelle. Il importe donc d'envisager très rapidement la situation sociologique de la sociologie dans ce pays.

(*a*) La sociologie occupe une place résiduelle dans l'enseignement secondaire et supérieur français, tout d'abord parcequ'elle n'a pu détrôner les humanités classiques (latin, grec, littérature) fortement enracinées dans l'enseignement. La sociologie n'est qu'un élément mineur de la formation philosophique, elle-même élément partiel de la formation que procurent les humanités classiques. (Pour la place de la sociologie dans l'enseignement, voir notre rapport sur l'enseignement de la sociologie en France). Or les humanités classiques véhiculent une vision de l'homme et de la société sans cesse posée et débattue à travers les auteurs du programme—Montaigne, Pascal, Montesquieu, Rousseau, etc. . . .—Au sortir de ces études il semble que la sociologie n'ait rien à ajouter. La jeune français " cultivé " se croit assez averti des problèmes sociaux au commerce des classiques, d'autant plus que souvent, dès l'adolescence, il accède à une culture politique.

(*b*) Il y a, en France, disjonction entre la culture sociologique et la culture politique. Le durkheimisme fut une tentative, qui échoua, pour fonder la culture politique sur la culture sociologique. Depuis cet échec, les sociologues, en tant que tels, se sont timidement repliés sur leur propre discipline. Il faut remarquer qu'en France, les partis politiques ne sont pas des formations à simples programmes empiriques, comme aux U.S.A.; ils ont chacun leur substrat " théorique " qui leur tient lieu de fondement sociologique d'action. Ainsi, le marxisme est le fondement théorique des partis socialiste et communiste. Le *christianisme social* fournit une " praxis " à un parti comme le M.R.P., et les partis réactionnaires se réclament eux-mêmes d'une quasi sociologie qui trouva son théoricien explicite chez Charles Maurras (notions d'ordre, de cohésion, de continuité, etc.). Autrement dit, les partis politiques, en France, fournissent chacun leur anthropologie ou leur sociologie et le parti radical connut lui-même son doctrinaire a-doctrinal avec Alain. A son tour donc, l'école des partis politiques tient lieu de formation sociologique pour le jeune français " cultivé ". Et de reste, dans ce contexte la sociologie—et ce fut le cas avec le durkheimisme— apparaît comme une autre idéologie, concurrente aux idéologies politiques existentes.

(*c*) Humanités classiques et humanités politiques font donc fonction d'humanités " sociologiques ", dont le besoin ne se fait alors que fort peu sentir. D'où également le faible impact de la sociologie sur la pratique sociale. Presque jamais, jusqu'à présent, l'Etat ou ses admini- trations n'ont fait appel aux sociologues en tant que tels. Les

techniciens dont ils s'assurent désormais les services à l'I.N.S.E.E. (Institut national de statistiques) ou à l'I.N.E.D. (Institut national d'études démographiques) sont devenus en fait, mais non en titre, sociologues dans leurs études. Autrement dit, les instituts statistiques officiels se " sociologisent " naturellement, mais presque clandestinement. On peut dire que d'un côté, toute une pratique sociale tend à devenir sociologique, que toute une sociologie (nous le verrons plus loin) tend à devenir pratique, mais que les liens entre ces deux pôles n'existent qu'à peine, et par la truchement de certaines personnalités seulement.

Dans ce qu'on appelle la " secteur privé ", non seulement la problème de l'insertion de la sociologie n'est pas résolu, mais il est très difficile. Les courants traditionalistes et malthusiens au sein du patronat, les attitudes syndicales fondamentales forment un double écran de méfiance ou de dédain à l'égard de la sociologie. Au sein d'une lutte aigue et permanente, l'une et l'autre classe craignent que les travaux éventuels de sociologie ne servent d'instrument à l'adversaire. Dans cette situation, beaucoup de sociologues se sentent mauvaise conscience ou craintifs : la crainte de se mettre au service du patronat réactionnaire, ou, inversement de servir un syndicat " politisé " peuvent jouer alternativement ou à la fois, de façon à écarter le sociologue de la vie publique concrète. (Sur ce problème cf. le rapport de MM. Friedmann et Tréanton.)

(d) On voit bien donc que se rejoignent et se conjuguent toutes les déterminations qui maintiennent la sociologie à la lisière de la vie universitaire, de la vie politique, de la vie pratique, dans une sorte de " no man's land ".

IV. *Formation et pratique sociologiques*

Si d'une part la formation des sociologues ne plonge pas des racines dans des " humanités " socio-anthropologiques, d'autre part elle ne se parachève pas en initiation pratique à la recherche. Nous voulons parler ici seulement des sociologies spécialisées. La sociologie générale, elle, est une science de seconde main : elle est un art, art de l'intelligence, de l'esprit, ce qui ne l'empêche d'être une science : toute science est à la fois art et technique. Les sciences parasociologiques, de leur côté, sont des sciences traditionnelles, dotées assez souvent de formation pratique et de débouchés professionnels. Il serait trop long d'examiner les problèmes, différents les uns des autres, que chacune soulève. Nous envisageons seulement ici le cas brulant des sociologies spécialisées, sciences neuves et jeunes, en proie à leurs maladies infantiles, et dont les *moyens d'enseignement donc de formation sont dans presque tous les cas d'une faiblesse insigne et gravement dommageable.*

Deux maladies infantiles contraires menacent en effet la formation du sociologue spécialisé. D'une part, une éducation sociologique universitaire privée de toute formation statistique et technique, privée de plus de moyens financiers, de chaires, de laboratoires, d'étudiants, privée de terrains et d'instruments empiriques. D'autre part une

pratique empirique, technicienne, statistique, privée non seulement du sens des sciences de l'homme, mais d'une formation sociologique générale. Ce qui explique qu'en fait la formation sociologique universitaire ne débouche sur aucune profession sociologique. Que les professions en fait sociologiques ne font pas appel aux sociologues.

(*a*) Ainsi des sociologies spécialisées ont connu un récent et brillant développement sans l'aide de " sociologues ". Le cas le plus clair est celui de la démographie. Economistes, statisticiens, psychologues, administrateurs ont en quelque sorte fondé la démographie. Ce sont également des non-sociologues qui mènent les enquêtes de l'I.N.S.E.E. (Institut national de la statistique) ou de l'I.F.O.P. (Institut français d'opinion publique) quoique ce dernier, il est vrai, soit dirigé par un sociologue.

(*b*) Toutefois, les travaux de l'I.N.S.E.E. ou de l'I.N.E.D. sont de plus en plus, en fait, sociologiques, dans leurs formes et leurs perspectives. Les études démographiques concrètes, les études d'opinions concrètes, les études économiques concrètes, obéissent à ce mouvement général depuis quelques décades, accéléré depuis la dernière guerre, qui est la *sociologisation* des disciplines sociales et humaines.

Inversement, la sociologie universitaire obéit à ce mouvement, plus heurté, plus difficile, plus complexe, qui est l'empirisation de la sociologie générale. Sociologie religieuse et sociologie industrielle, par exemple, sont deux sociologies spécialisées d'origine universitaire, qui en dépit des difficultés et du manque de moyens (alors que l'I·N.S.E.E. et l'I.N.E.D. dépendent étroitement de ministères, et sont dotés de moyens de recherches relativement importants) se nourrissent de recherches sur le terrain. De plus, dans ce " no man's land " entre une université qui ne produit pas de praticiens et une pratique qui ne demande pas de sociologues, il y a le Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, rattaché au C.N.R.S., indépendant de l'Université, mais contrôlé par elle. Le C.E.S. est le seul organisme à jouer le rôle de plaque tournante, de centre de communications entre la sociologie universitaire et les exigences de la pratique, entre la recherche désintéressée et la recherche " intéressée ". Il est centre d'initiation technique à la recherche, à la fois par les chercheurs, et pour ces chercheurs eux-mêmes. Cette formation s'effectue dans le sens statistique d'une part, dans le sens du travail sur le terrain (field-work) de l'autre. Mais ici encore, il nous faut signaler deux dangers. Sur le plan statistique, deux voies sont ouvertes: la statistique appliquée aux populations échantillons, aux opinions, statistiques que nous appellerons " parapsychologiques ", pour les opposer aux statistiques *paraéconomiques* qui concernent les phénomènes sociaux d'ensemble: la voie de " Gallup " et la voie de " Simiand ", s'il faut donner deux exemples extrêmes.

Or les statistiques parapsychologiques tendent à étouffer les statistiques paraéconomiques. De même que le travail sur le terrain, pratiqué sur des populations échantillons, tend à étouffer le travail

sur la matière (structures sociales, faits, événements, *contenus*). Grave danger qui menace de séparer une certaine recherche empirique de l'histoire. Le sociologue sur le terrain, hypnotisé par ses " populations ", armé de ses questionnaires, tend à ignorer ou mépriser l'historien, qui n'a pas de populations échantillons, pas de questionnaires, mais qui prétend *reconstituer* la réalité sociale à partir de monuments, de tombeaux, de livres, de journaux, d'archives qu'il interroge. . . .

Ici, nous nous retrouvons au noeud du problème de la formation sociologique, qui a pratiquement besoin des méthodes de l'histoire, de l'économie, de la géographie. C'est à dire de cette formation anthroposociologique seule capable d'assurer un nouvel essor non seulement aux sociologies spécialisées mais aussi à la sociologie générale et aux parasociologies. Mais également cette formation a besoin *d'enseignements spécialisés capables de poser et de résoudre concrètement ces problèmes.* Or en fait nous n'avons le plus souvent que des *hommes-pionniers*, dont le rayonnement personnel s'effectue à travers des conférences dispersées, des cours restreints hébergés selon le hasard dans tel ou tel établissement d'enseignement supérieur.

V.   *Pour une formation sociologique*

Dans le cadre français donc, le problème de la formation du sociologue dépend avant tout des initiatives de celui-ci, de son désir d'auto-formation. D'où une certaine situation des sciences sociales, où l'esprit de la sociologie plane partout, mais ne se cristallise nulle part. D'où aussi une certaine liberté du chercheur, porteuse de toutes les possibilités irremplaçables de la liberté. En contre-partie, il y a cette tendance à la séparation entre le général et le particulier, le théorique et l'empirique. D'un côté les universitaires, de l'autre côté les praticiens. Un certain modus vivendi entre ces deux tendances, aux C.E.S. par exemple, ne doit pas nous masquer le divorce réel qui s'effectue entre une jeune recherche brandisseuse de tests et de questionnaires et une sociologie plus méditative qui est celle des ainés. La remède n'est pas simple, car il pose à la fois le problème des humanités, de la pratique, et des débouchés.

CONCLUSION

VI.   " *Droits et devoirs, responsabilités* "

Certes, tout ceci appelle une réforme de longue haleine qui toucherait non seulement le seul enseignement de la Sociologie, mais l'enseignement en général (sans toutefois nécessairement créer une Faculté des Sciences Sociales). Tous les problèmes n'en seraient pas résolus pour autant. Mais les problèmes non résolus relèvent, pour une part, de notre société actuelle, de notre histoire, et pour une autre part, de l'homme qui fait profession de sociologue lui-même.

Il serait excessivement candide, particulièrement pour un sociologue, d'imaginer la sociologie comme une science pure, séparée des intérêts

et des pression sociales, d'imaginer une sociologie en quelque sorte dégagée des réalités sociologiques. Des préjugés, des peurs, des tabous, des conformismes, voire de haines se manifestent au sein même des études qui se croient les plus objectives. La sociologie est toute imprégnée d'idéologie. Au sociologue d'en avoir conscience, qu'il se pose en thérapeute, en médiateur, en réformateur, ou en modeste savant désintéressé. Il porte en lui des présuppositions inconscientes qu'il est de son devoir de reconnaître et d'extirper. Il vit dans un double état de peur : peur de la politique qui l'assiège et qu'il pourrait croire exorciser en s'abstenant, alors qu'elle serait encore là dans cette peur et dans cette abstention. Peur également de ne pas être assez engagé, de ne pas être assez " au service " de la collectivité, qui le pousserait à ces complaisances qui conduisent elles aussi à l'abdication. Sans auto-analyse ou autocritique (le choix du terme dépendra du plaisir de chacun) le sociologue risque de se jouer une comédie et de jouer une comédie qui fournirait ample matière à réflexions aux sociologues futurs. Ceci est également un problème de formation, non le moins négligeable, dans un monde où peurs et exaltations rendent les vérités de plus en plus lourdes de conséquences et de moins en moins bonnes à dire.

Cela signifie également que dans ce monde en crise, il serait inconcevable que les sociologues soient précisément ceux qui se détournent de cette crise, pour mieux se consacrer sans doute à des monographies sur les régions les plus assoupies de l'actualité. La sociologie, dans quelque nation que ce soit, doit aller aussi dans ces zones d'inconscience et de fausse conscience, d'erreurs et d'horreurs, où l'actualité se joue, et qui se font reconnaître avec certitude par la ceinture de sacré et de tabous qui les entoure.

Remarques sur les Activités et Responsabilités Professionnelles des Sociologues en France

GEORGES FRIEDMANN

(Professeur d'histoire du travail au Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers, Paris)

ET

JEAN-RENÉ TREANTON

(Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris)

Il n'existe pas en France de licence homogène et spécialisée qui permette à l'étudiant d'accomplir un cycle complet d'études supérieures en Sociologie. Il n'existe pas davantage de Faculté des Sciences sociales.[1] La minceur et la dispersion de l'enseignement sociologique dans le pays de Durkheim aboutissent à un résultat paradoxal : au sens formel du terme, l'Université française ne produit pas de " sociologues ". Elle essaime, par contre, des " psychologues " et des " géographes ", des " historiens " et des " philosophes ", licenciés ou agrégés, vers ces " activités professionnelles " dont nous allons esquisser l'inventaire.

L'orientation spéculative donnée par Durkheim et la plupart de ses successeurs à la sociologie universitaire n'incitait guère les étudiants à centrer leur réflexion sur les problèmes économiques et sociaux du XXème siècle, à orienter leurs recherches vers l'action pratique, ni à mettre au point, dans ce but, des instruments efficaces d'investigation. L'application des sciences sociales aux problèmes de la vie française s'est développée sous l'influence de nécessités nationales et d'exemples étrangers. Elle date principalement de la dernière guerre.

I

La France ne connaît ni les clivages ethniques, ni le gigantisme industriel et urbain qui ont suscité les premiers travaux de la sociologie américaine. Le grand problème national depuis le début de ce siècle est d'ordre démographique : destruction lente ou rapide de la population par la dénatalité et par la guerre. Rien d'étonnant qu'il ait attiré les sciences sociales.

L'Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques (I.N.E.D.) qui s'attache depuis la Libération à étudier la population française sous ses aspects quantitatif et qualitatif, évolutif et structurel, offre à une cinquantaine de chercheurs un domaine important d'activités professionnelles. Modèle, très rare en France, d'Institut de recherche directement lié à une administration nationale (en l'occurence le Ministère de la Santé et de la Population), il amorce avec bonheur la coopération des sciences

sociales et des pouvoirs publics, de la recherche scientifique et de la pratique gouvernementale.

Son programme de travaux répond aux directives d'un Comité technique où les chercheurs font entendre leur voix. Tout en disposant d'une grande autonomie scientifique, et en réservant une large place aux travaux théoriques éloignés de tout souci d'application immédiate, l'I.N.E.D. se consacre à de nombreuses recherches suscitées par les pouvoirs publics : ainsi l'étude sur *Madagascar, population et ressources*, effectuée par M. Louis Chevalier, et celle, toute récente, sur l'évolution de la population et des besoins économiques de la France jusqu'en 1970, sans parler des multiples enquêtes publiées depuis huit ans par la revue *Population*.

L'I.N.E.D. semble donc parvenu à résoudre, de manière satisfaisante, le double problème qui se pose à tout organisme de recherche : d'une part, les relations avec les " clients utilisateurs " (le plus souvent des administrations publiques), de l'autre le dosage entre recherches " pures " et " appliquées ". Sans doute des facteurs particuliers, au premier chef la personnalité de son directeur, M. Alfred Sauvy, ont-ils contribué à cette réussite. Le caractère peu controversé de ses préoccupations y est aussi pour beaucoup : les Instituts qui abordent les problèmes coloniaux ou les relations du travail éprouvent plus de difficultés à concilier leur indépendance scientifique et les exigences de leurs bailleurs de fonds.

L'existence du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, organisme subventionné par l'Etat, résoud certaines de ces difficultés. Le Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, qui lui est directement rattaché, laisse à ses chercheurs, au nombre d'une quarantaine, la possibilité de travailler sans aucune préoccupation pratique, immédiate ou lointaine.

Mais le Centre (et c'est le revers de la médaille) n'ouvre de véritable carrière professionnelle, dans la recherche et l'enseignement, qu'à ceux dont la vocation scientifique se distingue par une production soutenue. Pour les autres, c'est encore un lieu de passage. Leur avenir matériel dépend de l'essor des divers Instituts de recherche spécialisés en sociologie économique, urbaine, rurale, industrielle, etc. . . . qui commencent à se développer :

(1) Dans le secteur de l'Urbanisme, de la Reconstruction et de l'Aménagement du territoire, divers contrats ont été signés entre l'administration et le Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques. Des études urbaines confiées à M. Chombart de Lauwe et à ses collaborateurs ont déjà porté sur la région parisienne et sur plusieurs villes de province (St. Etienne, Rouen, Troyes, etc.). Leurs résultats intéressent vivement les urbanistes et annoncent peut-être la création d'un Institut de sociologie urbaine qui offrirait des débouchés stables à quelques chercheurs.

(2) Dans le domaine industriel, certaines entreprises ont pris l'initiative d'utiliser des " ingénieurs sociaux ". Leur rôle ne se confond avec

celui ni d'un chef du personnel, ni d'un chef des services sociaux, ni d'un psychologue industriel, ni d'un ingénieur en organisation. Il est plutôt d'assurer auprès d'eux une fonction de conseil et de liaison, en éveillant leur intérêt pour les composantes psycho-sociologiques du facteur humain dans le travail industriel : tâche très délicate, impossible en dehors d'entreprises à direction progressive, capables, par des mesures financières hardies, d'intéresser leur personnel à l'amélioration des postes de travail et de la productivité. Si la situation actuelle de l'industrie française ne permet que des espoirs limités, l'œuvre accomplie par certains organismes privés (C.E.G.O.S., C.N.O.F., etc.) et la création récente d'un Institut des Sciences Sociales du Travail, sous le haut patronage de l'Université de Paris et du Ministère du Travail, peuvent à plus ou moins longue échéance, agir sur l'état d'esprit de ses cadres dirigeants et susciter ainsi des fonctions nouvelles au bénéfice de jeunes spécialistes qualifiés.

(3) Signalons, avant de quitter ce domaine que divers organismes et services appartenant au Commissariat du Plan, au Secrétariat d'Etat de l'Enseignement technique, au Ministère du Travail, au Ministère de l'Agriculture, prennent une conscience plus nette de la nécessité d'études sociologiques sur l'évolution des besoins en main d'œuvre appartenant aux diverses catégories professionnelles : problème important puisqu'il est à la base d'une politique rationnelle de création et de distribution des centres d'apprentissage et de reclassement de la main d'œuvre (" Formation professionnelle des adultes ").

(4) Dans l'Union Française :

Un Conseil supérieur de la recherche sociologique dans les pays d'Outre-mer vient d'être créé. Il rassemble des administrateurs, des universitaires et des chercheurs, et correspond ainsi à un type d'organisation mixte susceptible de promouvoir la coopération de la science et de la pratique.

La tâche de la sociologie dans les pays coloniaux et sous-développés est immense. Divers Instituts de recherches (Institut français d'Afrique Noire, Institut d'Etudes Centrafricaines, etc.) commencent à lui faire une place dans leurs préoccupations.[2]

(5) Dans le secteur des *recherches économiques*, l'Institut des Sciences Economiques Appliquées dirigé par M. François Perroux, et le Centre d'Etudes Economiques, coopèrent étroitement avec la VIème section de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes. Leurs travaux théoriques ou orientés vers l'action, accordent une importance croissante aux facteurs psycho-sociaux et les sociologues sont appelés à y collaborer de manière toujours plus suivie. Attitudes devant l'impôt et l'emprunt, habitudes de consommation, relations entre les niveaux de vie et la stratification sociale, étude des plans économiques nationaux ou internationaux, des " pools " et de leurs incidences sociales : le domaine est vaste où peuvent et doivent porter leurs investigations.

(6) Rappelons, enfin que l'Institut français d'Opinion publique, dirigé par un sociologue, M. Jean Stoetzel, multiplie les recherches d'opinion. Il en publie les résultats dans sa revue *Sondages*. Aux côtés de cet Institut, des organisme de moindre importance offrent quelques débouchés professionnels aux sociologues et psychologues sociaux. Ce domaine d'application paraît en tout cas susceptible de s'étendre.

II

Comment expliquer que la France ait si longtemps tardé à utiliser les méthodes et points de vue de la sociologie, et plus généralement des sciences sociales pour les appliquer à ses problèmes nationaux ?

On peut en attribuer la responsabilité :

(*a*) *Aux pouvoirs publics et aux milieux d'affaires* : il existe en France plus qu'ailleurs (et particulièrement plus que dans les pays anglo-américains) une frontière psychologique entre les hommes d'action et les hommes de science, entre les praticiens et les chercheurs. La structure bureaucratique de l'administration et des grandes entreprises contribue à la renforcer.

Aux yeux du personnel dirigeant de beaucoup d'administrations publiques et privées, les universitaires et les chercheurs apparaissent comme des rêveurs, absorbés par l'élaboration de théories inapplicables ou même dangereuses. La plupart de ces hommes d'action ont reçu une formation intellectuelle axée sur le droit ou les mathématiques. La rigueur logique et les formes de démonstration qui caractérisent ces disciplines disposent mal leurs esprits à l'approche inductive utilisée, jusqu'ici, dans les sciences humaines, et ne les préparent guère à saisir les relations complexes que la sociologie et la psychologie s'efforcent de déceler dans la vie sociale.

Quant aux rares dirigeants qui ont abordé les sciences sociales au cours de leurs études, leurs tâches quotidiennes les empêchent d'en suivre les récents développements. Ils sont la proie toute choisie de pseudo-" savants " qui vendent fort cher leurs panacées : autre source de malentendus entre les hommes d'action et les hommes de science. En fin de compte, l'attitude des premiers à l'égard des seconds recèle un curieux complexe, fait de méfiance et de secrète envie : méfiance envers leurs " théories " considérées comme gratuites et désincarnées ; envie de leur liberté d'esprit et de leur indépendance professionnelle.

Enfin n'oublions pas que sur certains terrains, où les conflits sont particulièrement passionnés—questions coloniales, relations du travail, problèmes raciaux et religieux—le spécialiste des sciences humaines apparaît souvent comme un indésirable, voire un suspect, aux groupes dont ses recherches menacent les intérêts.

(*b*) *Aux universitaires et aux chercheurs.* Les hommes de science n'ont pas toujours fait l'effort nécessaire pour informer le public, et

particulièrement les cadres administratifs, de l'intérêt pratique de leurs travaux.

Aux sentiments ambigus que leur témoignent ces cadres, ils répondent par des attitudes stéréotypées qui ne sont guère plus bienveillantes : les dirigeants de l'administration et des affaires leurs semblent soumis à des schémas simplistes et rarement préparés à tenir compte du " facteur humain " dans leur action quotidienne.

III

La condition fondamentale du progrès des sciences sociales et de leur implantation dans la vie française est qu'on les enseigne plus largement en utilisant leurs perspectives et leurs apports :

(1) Dans les lycées, pour les cours traditionnels d'histoire, de géographie, d'histoire littéraire et pour une initiation à l'économie et à la démographie.

(2) Dans les établissements d'où sortent les cadres de la nation (Grandes Ecoles d'ingénieurs, Ecole Nationale d'Administration, Instituts d'Etudes Politiques, Ecole de la France d'Outre-Mer etc.) en préparant les esprits à l'approche sociologique des problèmes de leurs futurs postes.

L'accession d'une nouvelle génération de dirigeants, ayant bénéficié d'une formation élargie, peut certes assurer de nouveaux débouchés professionnels aux sociologues et, du même coup, élever leur statut et consacrer leurs responsabilités. Mais le progrès des sciences sociales repose aussi pour une large part sur la réputation d'objectivité de leurs premiers travaux. La sociologie ne s'imposera à l'opinion nationale (syndicats, organisations professionnelles, religieuses, politiques, culturelles, etc.) que si personne ne peut la soupçonner de servir des intérêts particuliers ou des idéologies discutables.

NOTES

[1]Voir le rapport présenté dans cette section par E. Morin.
[2] On trouve un exposé détaillé de leur organisation et de leur programme dans la brochure de P. Mercier. La tâche de la sociologie (n° 6 de la revue *Initiations Africaines*, publiée par l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, Dakar (A.O.F.).

The Teaching of Sociology

Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez

(Director, Institute of Social Investigation of the National University of Mexico)

Introduction

Although it may seem strange, one of the most serious problems confronting sociology is the teaching of sociology. Since it is a new branch of knowledge, it is undergoing constant growth, continuous evolution. It is true that all the sciences progress by means of perpetual change; but the most advanced sciences possess a solid core of facts and principles which constitute their permanent, definitive foundations, at least for their fundamental structure. But this is not so in sociology, which from its beginning has been lost in numerous tendencies, trends and divergent schools of thought, which have reached such exuberance that they are now actually obstacles to the seeking out of a sound, properly-oriented course.

The teacher of sociology, confronted with this amazing production of divergent and often contradictory schools of sociological thought, does not know how to organise his teaching programmes. Far from simplifying the problem, textbooks actually make it more complex, for no two are alike in regard to the distribution and organisation of the subject matter and even less so in regard to the principles which they expound. This situation, somewhat chaotic, has the effect of discouraging the students and detracting from the importance and prestige of the subject; the student cannot grasp the importance nor the scientific and practical value of a science which each author and each professor interprets and teaches in a different manner.

It is because of this that I think it is urgently necessary for all teachers and professors of sociology to agree on the fundamental points in the teaching of sociology.

I believe these points to be the following:

I. Fundamental content of the subject.

II. Its place in the curriculum.

III. Teaching methods.

I.—Fundamental Content of the Subject

To guide ourselves in the solution of this problem, which presents great difficulties; we must begin with an examination, however brief, of the textbooks on sociology. Immediately we find that there are great differences in regard to the teaching of the history of sociology; most of the introductions or handbooks of European authors give the

subject special attention, while the books of North-American authors generally ignore the subject. Therefore, the first question is: Should the historical antecedents of sociology be included in the programmes for the teaching of sociology? Undoubtedly, the history of a science is not a part of the science itself if we consider that science in its strictest literal sense. For example, no thought whatsoever is given to the origin or evolution of chemistry, physics or mathematics in the textbooks and courses for the teaching of these subjects.

However, I believe that the social sciences should not be studied in the same manner as the natural sciences. It is true that the history of sociology is not sociology, but a general knowledge of the former is indispensable to a complete understanding of the latter. The very fact that the science of sociology is in a formative stage makes knowledge of its history, at least in a general way, indispensable, in order that the student may comprehend the exact nature and content of this science and thus differentiate it, with absolute assurance, from the other social sciences.

Nevertheless, in order to overcome the objection referred to I believe that the study of general sociology can be divided into two parts. The first part can be an introduction to the subject, and the second part can deal with the subject of sociology proper.

I believe that the first part or introduction should be concerned with the history of sociology, without going too deeply or in too much detail into the subject, and with the sole purpose of acquainting the student with the antecedents necessary for understanding the theories, doctrines and principles which make up the science of sociology. This introduction should also contain an exposition, at least in a panoramic manner, of the different schools of sociological thought, as a necessary complement to the aforementioned history. Whether or not we like it sociology is still largely in a controversial stage, and this should be understood in order that generally accepted sociological ideas or principles may be evaluated properly. Finally, this introduction should include a delineation of the boundaries which mark the relationships and the frontiers of sociology with other social sciences and of the methods inherent to it as well as of those methods which can be adapted to it from other scientific studies in order to carry on its research and to handle its subject matter.

It is almost impossible to define the content of the science of sociology, which constitutes the second and, admittedly, the most important phase in the teaching of the subject. This is due to the great and apparently irreconcilable divergence of opinion among European sociologists as to what constitutes the subject matter of sociology and upon how this subject matter should be organised.

A certain uniformity has been attained in North-American sociology. Nearly all authors of textbooks study the different social classes and then take up the effect upon society of biological factors (climate, geography, demography, etc.) and the psychological and cultural factors, and they

conclude with a chapter on social change and another on social control. Some authors add another section, in which they take up social pathology. However, after examining the content of the various modern works on sociology, European as well as North-American, we see that, despite different titles and methods of treatment, fundamentally they generally coincide in considering the following subjects as the basic content of the science of sociology; social groups; the development and organisation of society; influence of external and psychological and cultural factors upon society. Social dynamics.

Raymond Kennedy and Ruby J. Reeves Kennedy,[1] North-American professors, recently investigated the content of sociology courses in universities of the United States, and they state that " a description of the subject matter of the courses varies greatly, even among those which bear titles which seem more or less to indicate that their content has been made uniform ". In their investigation these two authors established 31 different kinds of courses in sociology, and " of a total of 5,554 classes they found that 114 had to be considered as deviations ". In classifying these 5,554 classes they found that 11.7 per cent. dealt with general sociology. "Virtually every college " they say, " which offers a sociology course has at least one class in general sociology or an introduction to sociology ". Next in the classification come the classes in " Social Problems ", and then these dealing with " Marriage and the Family ". These three kinds of classes, according to these authors, are the most popular, and together they account for 29 per cent. of all the classes in sociology offered in the United States.

The rest, or 71 per cent. of the sociology classes which were investigated and classified by the Kennedys are concerned with subjects, and have titles, which at times are disconcerting, as can be gathered from the descriptions of these classes contained in the catalogues. One course dealing with marriage speaks of this institution as " a great adventure " and offers the student the means of preparing for the wedded state. Another course on urban sociology affirms that the modern city is a " centre of social revolutions and that the factors which convert it into a danger spot will be determined ".

The authors comment; " Sociology classes in American universities certainly offer curious fare " and they add, " Undoubtedly, the wide range of subjects indicated here is an indication that the sociologists are feeling their way towards an integrated science. They are still experimenting along possible lines of development and, considering that this is a new science, this is a healthy sign."

It is well now to compare this general information with the content of sociology courses in Latin-American universities, according to their respective teaching programmes. Unfortunately, for this purpose we lack complete information. Making use of the work of the Argentine sociologist, Alfredo Povina, *History of Sociology in Latin-America*, we see that in the Argentine universities and in the individual teaching

programmes of the different professors there is no uniform study programme. With rare exceptions, attention is directed to the study of the history of sociology, to the schools of sociological thought and to methods as well as to the relationship of this science with other social studies. The same can be said of the universities of Brazil and Chile. In Peru, methods are not taken into account. In Uruguay the history of sociology and the doctrines or schools of thought are omitted, and the latter are also omitted in Venezuela and Cuba. We have no information on the study programmes of other Indo-Spanish countries.

It can be said that, with the exception of the points previously mentioned as belonging to an introduction to the study of sociology, and upon which there is a certain amount of tacit agreement, in the universities of Latin-America each professor has a different concept of this science.

Let us now look at the existing programmes for the teaching of sociology in the universities of the Republic of Mexico. I was able to obtain such information from 16 Mexican universities. The history of sociology and its methods and schools of thought are not taken into account in the corresponding courses offered by the National University nor by the Universities of Guanajuato, San Luis Potosi, Nuevo León, Oaxaca, Sinaloa, Yucatán, Chiapas, Querétaro, Hidalgo, Sonera, Campeche, Puebla and Durango. The study programmes of all these institutions follow, almost literally, the index of sociology drawn up by Dr. Antonio Caso. The sociology course of the Toluca Institute includes not only a panoramic view of the history of this science but also a study of the schools of sociological thought. At the University of Nuevo León, besides a general course in sociology offered in the School of Social Sciences, there is also a class in legal sociology in the School of Law, with a programme based upon Gurvitch's *Sociology of Law* and upon Müller's monograph on *The Family*. At the University of Sinaloa also we find that the School of Law concedes special attention to legal sociology, included within a general course on sociology. At the University of Michoacán, the School of Law teaches legal sociology exclusively. At the University of Veracruz, the School of Law offers a class in juridical sociology, as the second phase of the course on sociology. As we can see from this brief summary, it has been the works of Professor Antonio Caso which have brought about the almost complete unification of the courses on sociology in our universities. Some centres of learning also use Cornejo's *Sociology*, Menzel's *Introduction to Sociology*, the works of Tönnies, and Dr. Recaséns Siches' *Lessons in Sociology*, all of these most likely as complementary textbooks.

II.—THE PLACE OF SOCIOLOGY IN UNIVERSITY TEACHING PROGRAMMES

In European universities sociology courses generally are included within the teaching programmes of the Schools of Philosophy.

In the United States of North America, various courses in sociology, under different names and with varying subject matter, are offered in high schools and colleges.[2]   During the last 15 years there has been a notable expansion in the teaching of sociology in that country, although according to Judson T. Landis this teaching suffers from serious defects.[3]

In the universities of Spanish America, we find sociology taught in the Schools of Law and Social Science, in Schools of Philosophy and Letters, of the Humanites, of Economic Sciences, in Normal Schools, and in Schools of Commerce and Administration.   In the Republic of Mexico, sociology is taught in Law Schools, in the School of Economics in the Normal School of Mexico City, in the School of Philosophy, and in some Preparatory Schools in the States.   In short, with rare exceptions, in the universities of Latin America it is considered that the appropriate place for the teaching of sociology is in the Schools of Law.

I think this is a mistaken point of view.   Sociology is a science whose subject matter is of equal interest to all professional men.   How right was Ramón Pérez de Ayala when he said that " A professional man, though he be the first in his profession, is of small importance if he be nothing more than a professional man ".   Commenting upon these words, the Chilean sociologist, Oscar Alvarez Andrews has said, with reason, that the " excessive specialisation of our times has dehumanised human knowledge and has caused the moral crisis of our times ".   He concludes his remarks on the subject by affirming that " the humanism of our times demands a general knowledge of all the sciences, and only sociology can impart such knowledge ".[4]

The Cuban sociologist, Roberto Agramonte, in like manner thinks that " Sociology perforce has to interest all those who have an active interest in the development and destiny of society ".[5]

" In Brazil ", says José Arthur Ríos, " there exists the erroneous idea that sociology is a subject that interests only the sociologists, those who specialise in this science.   The rôle of sociology as a basic subject in any curriculum has been recognised and accepted in the United States.   The number of professions which directly or indirectly need sociological knowledge is vast.   Brazil went back a step when it eliminated sociology classes from the complementary courses for Law, Medicine and Engineering.   It is no longer possible for the young men and women who study for the liberal professions to ignore the extensive knowledge which this social science places within their reach.   In the United States, sociology has been included in all the curricula, and the student studies this science no matter what profession he has chosen to follow ".[6]

If this is so, I believe that sociology should be given a place in all university curricula in order that all students, whether or not they are studying a profession, may obtain the knowledge of sociology which is necessary for their complete education.   The Brazilian professor, Costa Pinto, in a recent study, asserts that sociology should be a part

of secondary school teaching programmes, " because these are schools for adolescents, and adolescence is a critical stage in human life; it is a stage of ambivalent psychological influences, of biological transition; it is a period of conflict between the influence of the family and the influence of other and wider social spheres which direct and regulate individual behaviour. It is the duty of the preparatory school to help mould the student when he is in a pliable and critical stage of physical and mental growth ".

Costa Pinto concludes by categorically asserting that " the truth is that sociology clearly has a well-defined place in secondary school education ".[7]

I disagree with this point of view as far as Mexico is concerned, because in this country the secondary school immediately follows the primary school and it consists of only three years of study, which is not enough time in which to impart to the student the necessary nucleus of basic information and the maturity of judgment which is necessary for an adequate understanding of sociology. The classes in civics now taught in secondary schools and which include notions of sociology, economy and law, should adequately fulfil the purpose of guiding the adolescent during the process of social adaptation.

As is well pointed out by Dr. Alvarez Andrews, in the professional schools there should be specialised courses in sociology, guided by the social aspects of each particular profession. Thus, in Law Schools it would be juridical sociology; in Medicine, social medicine; in Architecture and in Engineering, urbanisation and city planning; in Economy and in Commerce, economic sociology; in Normal Schools, educational sociology; in Agriculture, rural sociology.

I think that in this manner sociology becomes a logical part of university education. Courses in general sociology which are taught in the last year of preparation (preparatory or high school) before entrance into a professional school (college or university) are based upon notions of biology, geography, history, ethics, psychology and philosophy which have been acquired in previous courses or are taught simultaneously with sociology. Thus the students are prepared to take up the subject matter of sociology, and such courses constitute the final touch to the liberal education which today is so indispensable for an adequate understanding of society.

A general sociology course in the final year of preparatory or high school also could become a sound point of departure for further study into the specialised sociological aspects of the various professions. legal sociology, social medicine, urbanisation, etc. cannot be properly understood without this foundation.

III—METHODS FOR TEACHING SOCIOLOGY

The magazine *Sociology*, published by the School of Sociology and Politics of São Paulo, Brazil, under the direction of Emilio Willems and Horacio Nogueira, in a recent symposium discussed extensively

this third phase, which complements the two which we have just considered. For, once we have decided upon the subject matter of sociology and the place of this science in university education, it becomes necessary to agree on the general orientation and the methods which the professor should follow in order to transmit his knowledge.

According to Professor Donald Pierson, of the Free School of Sociology and Politics, of São Paulo, Brazil, the methods for teaching sociology are identical with the methods used in teaching any other academic subject. However, he criticises present teaching methods when he says that " we tend to consider teaching as though it were a physical and not a social act. It is an act in which the minds of both the professor and the students must participate actively, not passively, in order that the purpose of the course may be achieved ". In the teaching of sociology, Pierson proposes that the professor should have sufficient prestige to merit the confidence of his students, and he believes that the best teaching method consists of the following steps: (1) Helping the student to understand the sociological inter-relationships in which he himself plays a part and to discern the social inter-action in which they become manifest; (2) placing the student in contact with certain phases of this social inter-action; (3) obliging the student to describe, analyse and explain this action.[8]

Professor Antonio Cándido, of the University of São Paulo, Brazil, believes that " the modern sociologist is not a philosopher nor a politician; he is a scientist, whose profession should encompass the viewpoints of the philosopher and of the politician, fitting them into the pattern of his own sociological thought ".[9]

Professor Costa Pinto, of the University of Brazil, is of the opinion that " academic sociology, in its inability to look at the present as something historical and changing, invariably ends up by becoming a mystification of reality, due to the desire to defend and justify all that exists. Normative, utopian or conservative sociology also becomes a mystification of present realities, as it becomes lost in its search for ' what should be ', an ideal condition which generally is never attained ".

" The teaching of sociology which is allowed to become subordinate to either of these two points of view, will always represent the basic error of attempting to teach the student *what he should think*, when the essential thing is to teach him *how to think*, providing him with the capacity to observe and analyse, by means of strictly scientific methods, the complex and shifting social conditions which exist around him and in which he takes part ".[10]

Although I agree basically with these points of view, which theoretically seem indisputable to me, there are some fundamental points with which I am not in agreement. In the first place it is not possible to set up a single method nor a single general orientation for the teaching of sociology, because such teaching has different levels

and different objectives. To attempt to convert all students of second-ary or preparatory schools into sociologists and researchers into the social realities, frankly, seems absurd to me.

The teaching of sociology, I believe, is divided into three phases:

(1) As general information to complement and to conclude a liberal education; (2) as profound and specialised information in certain aspects of the subject; (3) as the systematic, profound and specialised training of professors of sociology, of researchers and of sociologists.

The teaching methods to be employed in each of these three cases should be essentially different.

In secondary or preparatory school education, sociology can be taught only in a general academic manner. It is necessary to under-stand the realities of the class-room. The students in the class are widely dissimilar in respect to previous education, aptitudes, personali-ties and vocations. Many have to work and, furthermore, sociology is not the only subject which they have to study. Under such conditions, to pretend that they carry on research on their own or under the direc-tion of the professor, in order that they may come in contact with reality and, with the guidance of the professor, thus acquire sociological knowledge, is something which sounds very well, but which is quite impracticable.

Sociology, as Robert Redfield has shown, is both a science and an art. We can transmit the scientific facts and principles of which it is composed, but not the creative capacity (which is the essence of art), because this capacity is not transferable. " In order to formulate some significant generalisation concerning man in society ", says Redfield, " it is necessary to exercise that gift of appreciation in such a personal and subtly creative manner that it cannot be expected to be a product of the application of some formal research method ".[11]

José Arthur Ríos asks: " What should be the objective of a professor of sociology ? " And he answers: " Undoubtedly, it is important to transmit a wealth of knowledge to the mind of the student in order that he may carry on his research. To the degree in which he under-stands sociological concepts and is able to identify them in social phenomena, will depend the extent of his success in his future studies ". " There is something ", Ríos adds, " which I do not dare to state should precede basic sociological education, but which surely should accompany it. It is the difficult task of awakening in the student a sociological sense. This includes a certain vocational aptitude which is beyond the sphere of the teacher's influence ".

Nevertheless, in order to develop or stimulate this aptitude, when it exists, he suggests several methods: the combating of ethnocentrism, " the sociologist's biggest enemy "; the reading of classic literature such as the works of Dostoiewski, Tolstoi, Proust, Machado de Asís; to undertake at the same time sociological teaching and research; analysis of news stories so that the student may become familiar with the problems of his community. " The advertising section of an important

daily contains material which can be put to innumerable uses ", Ríos declares.[12]

I agree that the theoretical teaching of sociology alone does not meet the needs of an efficient teaching plan, but a general course aimed at reinforcing a liberal education can only be imparted by the old method of lectures, conferences and discussions between the teacher and his students. In order to enliven academic teaching I believe that the teacher should constantly try to relate theory to national realities and to history. In this manner the student learns to apply the knowledge acquired in the classroom to the different aspects of everyday social phenomena, and he begins to understand the importance and the meaning of sociology, a science which, otherwise will appear impractical to him.

With regard to the teaching of specialised courses in sociology, in the professional schools, besides the method of academic exposition of the subject there is active student participation in the drawing up of monographs and in research work, either individually or in groups, under the direction of the professor. These special sociology courses not only fill the needs of a general education but are also an integral part of the professions; they are the vital, human element. They are taught to groups which in a way are homogeneous, formed by youths whom we may suppose have a vocation for the profession which they have chosen.

With even greater reason sociology courses for teachers, researchers and sociologists demand not only academic exposition but also seminars, rigorous research, special studies on the most important aspects of social relations, and a delving into the history of this science as well as into sociological doctrines.

Now, some last words on teaching methods, with special reference to the attitude of the professor in the classroom. These are not my thoughts but those of Professor Antonio Cándido, of the University of São Paulo, Brazil, and to me they seem conclusive:

" The student of today complains of the pedantry of his professors and of the latter's inability to relate what he teaches to the realities of life. . . .The professor should take care not to fall into the sin of clothing more or less simple ideas in fancy and complicated phraseology which gives the impression that his are the last and only words on the subject of sociology. The professor of sociology should prevent the student from becoming a narrow-minded sociologist, a fanatic of techniques and postulates, or from becoming disillusioned with the value of sociological knowledge, and, above all, the professor should prepare the student to apply this knowledge to everyday life and its problems ".[13]

I wish only to add that the teaching of sociology necessarily has to be eclectic. He who attempts to teach sociology solely from the viewpoint of the particular doctrine or school of thought for which he has a personal predilection is basically dishonest, even though it

is undoubtedly true that the professor has the right to present his ideas, if and when he has previously given his students ample information on the subject, especially concerning doctrines contrary to his and the most authentic criticisms of the doctrine which he professes.

NOTES

[1] Raymond Kennedy and Ruby J. Reeves Kennedy, " Sociology in American Colleges ", in the *American Sociological Review*, October, 1942.

[2] In the universities of the United States of North America, the " college " offers a degree of education a step above the high school and a step below the professional schools. In a way the college is the equivalent of the preparatory schools of the Universities of Mexico.

[3] Judson T. Landis, " Sociology Curriculum and Teacher Training ", in the *American Sociological Review*, February, 1947.

[4] Oscar Alvarez Andrews, " La Sociología, punto de union actual de todas las profesiones " (Sociology, Meeting Point of All the Professions), in the *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* (Mexican Sociological Review), Year IV, Vol. IV, No. 4.

[5] Roberto Agramonte, *Sociología*, Vol. I, ed. Cultura, S. A., Havana, Cuba, pp. 14 and 15.

[6] José Arthur Ríos, " Contribucao para una Didáctica da Sociología " (Contributions to a Course in Sociology), in the review *Sociología*, of São Paulo, Brazil, p. 315.

[7] L. A. Costa Pinto, " Ensino da Sociología nas Escolas Normais " (Teaching Sociology in Normal Schools), in the review *Sociología*, of São Paulo, Brazil, p. 290 ff.

[8] Donald Pierson, " Difusao da Ciencia Sociológica nas Escolas " (Teaching of Science of Sociology in the Schools), in the review *Sociología*, of São Paulo, Brazil, p. 317 ff.

[9] Antonio Cándido, " Sociologia: Ensino e Estudo " (Sociology: Its Teaching and Its Study), in the review *Sociología*, of São Paulo, Brazil, p. 275 ff.

[10] L. A. Costa Pinto, *op. cit.*, p. 290 ff.

[11] Robert Redfield, " The Art of Social Science ", in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LIV, No. 3, November 1948.

[12] José Arthur Ríos, *op. cit.*, p. 309 ff.

[13] Antonio Cándido, *op. cit.*, p. 275 ff.

The Relations of Public Institutions with Sources of Research Funds

CARROLL D. CLARK

(Professor of Sociology, University of Kansas)

Sociologists in public colleges and universities and in governmental agencies are confronted with a variety of ethical problems growing out of their relations with the sources that supply their research funds. While support of research in the social sciences is still niggardly in comparison with the physical and biological sciences, it has increased quite rapidly during the past decade. As private business interests and departments of government become convinced of the practical utility of sociological research and proceed to underwrite it, ethical issues inevitably arise. The present paper attempts to deal with some of major concern.

The research sociologist is dedicated to the task of enlarging the verified knowledge of the social relations of mankind. Like the scientist in any other field, he follows the canons of dispassionate inquiry—objectivity, rigorous adherence to sound investigational procedures, and careful reporting of methods and results. Though he eschews value bias in collecting facts and testing hypotheses, he is guided by his value judgments in selecting problems worthy of study, and in investigating them by the accredited methods of science. His immediate allegiance is to the discipline he serves, his ultimate allegiance to the society he studies. To paraphrase Thomas and Znaniecki, society has extended him credit with which to launch his business of research investigation, but in good season he must pay the debt with interest.

Sociologists in public institutions derive their research funds from both public and private sources. In neither case can it be assumed that those putting up the money understand fully or are swayed by the normative standards that guide the sociologist in his search for scientific knowledge. Either source may at times represent interests which, though not necessarily venal, are overtly or covertly opposed to untrammeled sociological investigation.

Sociologists in municipal and state supported colleges and universities work in settings likely to be sensitive to political repercussions. Any research finding that runs counter to the sentiments of special-interest groups or that offends beliefs rooted in the mores of the general populace is likely to call down the wrath of indignant taxpayers upon the administrative head of the institution, who in turn will call the sociologist on the mat. Unless assured of stout-hearted backing by his administrative superiors, the effect may be to make the sociologist seek

refuge in minor, non-controversial studies likely to be adjudged inno-
cuous.   Needless to say, an ethics of sociological research consonant
with the heavy social obligation of the sociologist, does not countenance
a retreat of this kind, but demands a bold advance on problems of
vital significance regardless of controversial bearings.

Here it should be stressed that sociologists have a responsibility to
plan their researches and report their findings in such a way as to avoid
gratuitous offence and to minimise misunderstandings on the part of
the laity.   Where findings are of considerable popular interest, this
may entail careful attention to such matters as the content of statements
released to the newspaper press, or made in public speeches.   Not
infrequently it is in these communications to the public, rather than
in the technical articles or monographs, that misleading interpretations
arise.   If his findings are news, the research sociologist should lend
his hand to those publicising the information to the end that skilful
and accurate popularisation rather than distorted or sensational
reports go forth.

Serious difficulties may arise when the sponsor of research has a
strong stake in the outcome of the investigation.   If this concern is
known, or can be strongly inferred, the sociologist should take forthright
measures.   In some cases he may see fit to reject outright projects whose
sponsorship might not leave him a free hand.   Unfortunately, the
sociologist employed in a public institution is not always in a position
to do this.   If committed by action at a higher level the best that he
may be able to do is to make it clear to all concerned that his project
will not be designed to produce pre-determined results.   To collaborate
or connive in a research undertaking manipulated to yield specious
findings would be not only to destroy his integrity as a professional
sociologist, but would serve to subvert the very foundations of our
nascent science.

Another type of ethical dilemma arises in connection with work in
" research bureaus ", or agencies similarly designated, which are
frequently set up in an ancillary relation to teaching departments,
extension divisions, social work departments, or the like.   The socio-
logist may welcome the establishment of such an agency as a means
of subsidising his efforts in research.   But too often he discovers that
there are overwhelming pressures to direct the activities of the agency
into community service functions, practical surveys, and *ad hoc* studies.
Eventually he may find that fundamental research is being engulfed
by the demands for mere information-gathering or other practical
services.   A legitimate place, and a very useful one, exists for the com-
munity service bureau and similar practical agencies, but provision for
such needs should not be made at the expense of *bona fide* sociological
research.

With regard to commercial or propagandistic interests which seek
to have sociologists grind their axes, little need to be said here.   If
there are some calling themselves sociologists who will sell their research

services in such venal fashion, no doubt we all would agree that they should, wherever possible, be exposed and read out of the ranks of true professionals.   Unfortunately it is not always easy to get at the true facts in such instances.   The establishment of ethical norms on a level of high generality is always necessary and important in the development of a profession.   The vital test of professional growth is measured, however, in the efficacy with which these norms are applied to specific cases, and the success achieved in social control by the professional group.   As their discipline matures, sociologists must give more thought to the implementation of professional controls in the interests of consensually validated normative standards.

The Choice of Research Projects

S. M. Miller

(Brooklyn College)

This paper addresses itself to the problem:

What types of research projects, with and without subsidies, are proper for researchers to undertake (*a*) as part of an academic career, (*b*) in an academic research bureau, (*c*) in an independent non-profit research agency, and (*e*) in a research department of a government, civic organisation or business?

CRITERIA

The term " proper " in the statement of the present problem can be construed in at least two ways: (1) permissible behaviour of a scientist, i.e., going beyond this point constitutes non-scientific behaviour; (2) the behaviour of a scientist which contributes optimally to scientific advancement. The distinction is important because frequently when we speak in terms of scientific ethics we mean (1) although we talk in terms of (2).

My feeling is that some general standards for judging professional behaviour are necessary. The serious scientist needs increasingly to have a set of standards for himself by which he can decide which investigations are proper for him. Minimally, view (1) is the criterion, although as interested parties in the development of science, we should urge interest as well in view (2). I would suggest using these two guide lines:

Information Research—Propaganda Research. When a research worker engages in research not to gain understanding but to propagandise for a cause, he is not acting as a scientist.[1] He may be acting as a man of learning but he is not involved in pursuit of understanding. His efforts are to prove a case, irrespective of its scientific merit. Obviously, the fact of payment by an agency for a research job does not constitute *prima facie* evidence of propaganda research, for many organisations, at least at *particular times*, need " information and understanding research " rather than " propaganda research ".[2] The principle stated here, however, is that, regardless of whom his employer may be, an individual is acting as a scientist only at those times when he is engaged in " information research ".

Repetitious application and scientific scholarship. A second principle has been well stated as follows:

> *An activity cannot be called research if it simply involves the application of already-proven techniques to a new population (in the statistical sense) . . . if a psychological test has been proven to be*

useful in determining the degree of mechanical aptitude among machinists, its application to new groups of machinists *ad nauseum* is not research (however useful it might be to the companies employing the machinists). Similarly, the use of a micrometer to check the dimensions of bearings coming from a machine is not research, unless a new variable on which information does not exist has been introduced into the situation and might be expected to vary the results. Both of these illustrations are of inspection processes which have been standardised and proceduralised; there would be no question that the latter example does not constitute research, but many universities are only too glad to regard the former as " research " to be provided for industrial clients.[3]

Research on practical problems is not opposed. The development of practical applications is a scholarly activity, but once the application has been developed and employed, repetition of it becomes generally a non-stimulating clerical-type, follow-the-rule-book operation. Application of research findings to the solution of practical problems is linked with meaningful research; the repetitions of a previously applied research procedure are not.

ORGANISATION OF RESEARCH

Independent, non-supported Research. Obviously, the academic man who conducts his research without support or sponsorship from others has less problems in choosing " proper " projects than any other researcher. His university must give him the widest freedom in choice of problems and in its unencumbered pursuit. He should be able to do research which is information-oriented not propaganda-oriented and to engage in study which constitutes scholarship not repetitious application. We are assuming here that he adheres to the canons of scientific research in the design, execution and report of his study and that he feels free to publish his findings without threat of recrimination from interested parties, such as his university administration. Without these perquisites, even the independent scholar is unable to select his research topics with the freedom necessary for scientific advance.

With the introduction of subsidised research the problem of independence becomes more crucial. In the following discussion we shall assume the acceptance of the canons of research and of the two principles stated earlier and shall concentrate upon the special problems of the particular organisation.

Academic research bureaus. In this environment more emphasis should be placed on fundamental and theoretically significant research topics (i.e. view (2)) than may be possible in other types of organisations. Projects should not be selected primarily because they meet with the university administration's approval nor should projects of value be dismissed because of the interests of university officials.

If students are involved in the academic research bureau, emphasis should be placed on selecting projects which contribute to their development rather than on projects which mainly contribute to the survival of the bureau.

Independent non-profit Research Institutions. A crucial question is the degree of independence of the organisation and its researchers from the demands of special interest groups. Some non-profit agencies are not disinterested in their research programmes and the researcher who wants to function as a scientist wants to be sure that (*a*) he can select problems which are meaningful; (*b*) he can work on a problem without having to provide a particular slant; (*c*) he can publish his findings irrespective of their nature.

Commercial Research Agencies. This type of organisation creates the greatest difficulties for the scientist who wishes to act as a scientist. Can a scientist in this organisation select significant problems (significant is used here in the sense of activities which are not mere mechanical application); is he free to work on the problems in accordance with his scientific interest or must he " adapt " his findings to accord with the preconceptions and commercial needs of his sponsors; is the research of an information or a propaganda nature; can he publish his findings irrespective of their content ?

Few commercial agencies can afford generally to operate in a way which permits scientific activity. Some agencies need some scientist to develop information research and, in this rôle, the scientist can perform as a scientist. But only in this rôle. In the other rôles—which I suspect are more frequent in commercial agencies—he is not acting as a scientist, he should not delude himself that he is nor should he mislead the public to believe that he is. He is operating as an informed citizen, not as a scientist; the aura of scientific respectability should not cover such work.

Research Department of Government, Civic Organisation or Business. As with the individual in the commercial agency, the participant must be able to answer " yes " to the questions in the section on commercial research agencies to consider himself a scientist. Particularly difficult is the problem of publication of results which the employer does not wish to publicise.

Perhaps it is better for us to know when our scientific endeavours have ceased and our informed talents are utilised in prescribed ways by particular agencies than to delude ourselves into believing that a scientific training insures that all subsequent activity is scientific activity.

THE SPONSOR OF RESEARCH

I do not propose a definitive answer but believe it important for social scientists to think of the general problem of sponsorship of research. Can one work as easily for the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) as for the Social Science Research Council ? Undoubtedly, we will agree

that the S.S.R.C. is more disinterested and permissive in its license to researchers. Can a scientist work at all for the KKK? I would suggest that, as a scientist, he cannot because of the interest in propaganda rather than information. But what if the KKK needed—as it did occasionally whether it was aware of this need or not—information research? Could the scientist work for this agency? Substitute for the KKK a variety of less pernicious and more worthy organisations; moving from say, the MacCarthy Subcommittee to an organisation like the Petroleum Institute of America or the CIO. Does it matter for whom you work?

More and more, scientists as scientists must face the issue: can you work for anybody? For whom would you not work? How does science develop—through technicianism and amorality, or through a concern with social developments?

NOTES

[1] This statement does not imply that a scientist does not have an appropriate place in social action. Unfortunately, at least in the United States, much of the work of social scientists when they are engaged in social action is not to investigate fully the problems involved. Rather it is to provide some limited information or insight that will aid in convincing others to pursue a programme that has been decided upon without benefit of the social scientists' studies; thus social scientists are relegated to a rôle of technicians.

[2] " Information and understanding research " refers to the seeking of basic information (e.g. distribution of incomes or attitudes; the elements making for change in political behaviour; the effects of alternative policies upon job satisfaction) which organisations need for the development of a programme and its execution. " Propaganda research " refers to the scientists' involvement in trying to convince the public (those outside the organisation) of the value of the organisation's programme.

[3] " Research—Business of Scholarship? " unsigned editorial in *Human Organization* (Fall, 1952).

Intregrity : The First of the Field Research Requirements

GLAISTER A. ELMER

(Michigan State College)

The social scientists are responsible for making scholarly contributions for the further development of scientific knowledge as well as contributing to the practical side of living. Leaders in industry and government recognise the need for such aid and look toward the social scientists for answers to their problems. They are willing to support what they trust to be honest and scientific attempts to find solutions to their difficulties. The government sponsored an extensive experiment of significance to sociologists in the form of a permanent overseas research organisation. This research organisation was designed to engage in basic and long range social research which would provide operationally useful information. A question of most concern to sociologists is the integrity of the men representing them in carrying out the large contracts. Most of the social scientists who worked through the experiment were well trained, capable, sincere, and honest. There were, however, a very small number of professed researchers who were ill-trained, undependable, and insincere in their behaviour. Unfortunately these are the ones whom operational personnel tend to remember. If the social scientist is to warrant and continue to receive support, there are basic ethical and research principles that must be adhered to and emphasised. A research project cannot be accomplished without the acceptance of these principles. Pseudo researchers may scoff at the ethical standards essential for sound scholarship. The incompetent will ask " How trite can one be ". These are the men who are the jargon peddlers and live at the expense of every social scientist. Fortunately, most of the names on file and in reports are those worth remembering for research well done. Valuable contributions are being made. The future recognition of social science research by the government will depend upon the guaranteed integrity of researchers who represent our professional associations.

Professional Activities and Responsibilities of Sociologists in the United States

ELBRIDGE SIBLEY*

It is frequently remarked that sociologists have advanced further toward professional status in the United States than elsewhere. In some contexts this remark can be interpreted to refer simply to the fact that there are more academic departments of sociology and more students enrolled in courses in sociology here than in any other country. In another context, an academic discipline and a profession are two different things. The latter view is taken in this paper, which will be focused on the rôle of sociologists as professional persons rendering administrative or advisory services in dealing with practical problems of social life. But the academic rôle of sociologists cannot be overlooked in this connection, for whatever development toward a non-academic profession of sociology has taken place has been determined and limited by the development of sociology as an academic discipline during the approximately six decades since it began to have a place in the curricula of American colleges and graduate schools.

American sociology has been generally positivistic in its philosophical background and optimistically pragmatic in outlook. Others have written an adequate number of essays to account for these traits of the American ethos; the present paper will be more concretely concerned with the current status and activities of sociologists and with some apparent trends in the field.

It can be estimated that the number of persons in the United States who are generally regarded as sociologists by themselves and their colleagues does not greatly exceed two thousand. This is a small number by comparison with the numbers of economists and psychologists, for example.

In an analysis of the occupations in 1950 of the non-student members of the American Sociological Society, Wellman J. Warner found the following distribution of " primary occupations ", meaning by that term to call attention to the fact that many individuals also engage in what might be called secondary activities.[1]

				per cent.
Academic	..	..	..	..	75
Government	..	..	..	..	7
Business, industry..	..	..	..	5
Social welfare	..	..	..	..	5

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* The author is a member of the staff of the Social Science Research Council, but the opinions expressed in this paper are purely personal and not to be taken as reflecting official views of the Council.

				per cent.
Religious, legal, medical, psychiatric		..		3
Other occupations..	..	..	..	2
Not employed	..	..	..	3
				100

Government employment ranks next to academic, but accounts for only a very small minority of sociologists. The percentage of sociologists in occupations other than academic is noticeably less than the percentages of economists, political scientists, and psychologists who are so employed.[2]

Classification of members of the sociological society according to their principal employments affords only circumstantial evidence of the strictly professional rôles of sociologists, for it is permissible to ask the question, When does a person cease to be a sociologist ?

Altogether, Warner found 463 members of the American Sociological Society in non-academic employment. Not all of these are primarily sociologists, for the Society's membership requirements are not extremely rigorous, but the fact of their membership can be taken as evidence at least of their interest in the discipline.

Employment of social scientists, including sociologists, in the Federal civil service increased markedly during the " New Deal " administration of President Roosevelt beginning in 1933. Prior to that time small numbers of sociologists had been employed in such agencies as the Bureau of the Census, the Department of Agriculture, and certain agencies concerned with social welfare work. During the 1930s the Census Bureau underwent a striking change, with the development of a technical staff including a small but significant number of holders of the Ph.D. degree in sociology. Other sociologists found employment in various agencies, usually initially as research workers, though some moved on to administrative posts in which they received noticeably higher salaries under the prevailing practice whereby one's compensation was largely determined by the number of subordinates under his supervision; but very few have occupied " policy-making " positions.

The advent of war created a demand for more social scientists in the government, their services during the preceding economic depression having to some extent lessened the prejudice against employing academic persons. Sociologists, while still not in large demand in comparison with economists, were employed in such diverse agencies as those concerned with public information and propaganda, rationing of food and the necessities of life, the many social problems of communities swollen by war industries, and the problems in human relations created by the sudden induction of millions into the armed forces of a nation which had heretofore had a conspicuously non-military ethos.

If one technique were to be singled out as the major contribution of sociologists and kindred social scientists to the conduct of government during the war, it would be that of measuring public opinion and attitudes. The government of a nation of a hundred and forty million inhabitants faced the necessity of ascertaining how large segments of its population felt and thought and would probably act about a variety of things, and needed quick answers. In planning and conducting surveys, sociologists worked side by side with psychologists and with persons trained primarily in statistics.

Warner, in the study previously mentioned, identifies as " readily distinguishable " three rôles which sociologists sometimes play:

> educator
> scientist
> practitioner

Implicit in this triple differentiation of fuctions is the assumption that sociology is an integral science (or art as some might insist): that it embraces a coherent body of knowledge and techniques which are distinguishable from those of other sciences. Sociologists of an earlier generation, unconfused by today's plethora of discrete findings of empirical research, could logically claim that their comprehensive systems of sociology met this criterion. But few contemporary American sociologists are devoting themselves to the development of general sociological theory. At the other extreme, much current research carried on by sociologists is virtually divorced from theory of any high degree of generality.

Preoccupation with empirical attacks on specific problems of the present time if not also of particular localities can be ascribed in part to the prevailingly pragmatic outlook of American scholars. American colleges are notably responsive to the preferences of young students and their parents, who are generally less interested in theoretical than in practical matters. Another significant influence has been the introduction of considerable numbers of academic persons to " practical " affairs during periods of governmental service from time to time. A factor of considerable importance in some institutions has been the financial dependence of their research activities on fees for work done under contracts with business concerns or governmental agencies.

These combined influences affect all three of the functions of sociologists—teaching, research, and " practice ".

It can be confidently predicted that the services of social scientists in dealing with the practical problems of the non-academic world will gradually come to be recognised as professional. But whether sociology by itself will acquire the status of a separate profession, is open to doubt. I am inclined to believe that, whatever name may be attached to a future profession dealing with social relations, the skills and knowledge which it will require will include much that is now labelled sociology, but also much derived from other social science disciplines, including

especially psychology and anthropology, for the fields of traditional academic disciplines were not defined with reference to the requirements of what is sometimes called " social engineering ".

A conspicuous recent development in American universities has been the establishment of social science research centres or institutes, in which both students and teachers of sociology typically participate along with those of other disciplines. As a rule these research institutes and similar organisations supplement but by no means supplant the training offered in the several academic departments of the universities. In a sense their training function can be compared with the period of interneship which medical-school graduates undergo after completion of their formal schooling. The concept of an interneship in research as an essential phase of preparation for a career as a social scientist seems destined eventually to gain general acceptance.

One has but to consider the strides which have been made in social science during the second quarter of the twentieth century to recognise that further advances are imminent, and that formalisation of the status and rôles of sociologists in their non-academic functions would be premature at present. What is to be avoided is sectarianism such as characterised medicine not many decades ago but has now fortunately disappeared.

On emerging from academic study and teaching into the realm of action, sociologists individually and collectively face ethical problems. Many sociologists are committed—some overtly and many more implicitly—to what can be loosely described as social, economic, political, and religious liberalism. This value-orientation is of course consistent with the environment in which American sociology has developed. The American tradition of academic freedom has on the whole shielded sociologists as well as other scholars from coercion to use their skills for ends which they do not personally accept as desirable. In rendering professional service to their non-academic employers or clients, they inevitably encounter at times ethical dilemmas with which they have not had to contend in their academic rôles. A development logically to be expected will be the formulation of codes of professional ethics.

NOTES

[1] " The Roles of the Sociologist ", *Bulletin of the American Sociological Society*, September, 1951.

[2] E. V. Hollis, *Toward Improving Ph.D. Programs,* Washington, American Council on Education, 1945, p. 65; also miscellaneous unpublished estimates.

Detachment and Attachment

RUTH GLASS

(University College, London)

" The general responsibilities to be assumed by the sociologist in the society of which he is a part " is one of the topics that was set for us by this section of the Congress. And although I am much attracted by this subject, I can do no more than offer a few notes, which are unoriginal, simple and indeed rather crude. What I have to say is so obvious because it is prompted by well-known trends in current sociology: in particular, by the lack of concern with the significant problems of our society, by the cult of scientific detachment and by its semantic equivalent—the mumbo-jumbo of a pseudo-scientific terminology. These trends are so harmful that it is relevant to speak against them, even at the risk of being repetitive.

But while the line of argument is straightforward, it is difficult for me to find a starting point in talking of the responsibilities of sociologists, or rather of those responsibilities that appear to be neglected. The difficulty is that I am never sure whether the subject—sociology— and its practitioners can be identified, whether there is a common denominator. There is not only the confusion which arises from the fact that the species has, so to speak, more than two sexes and many different nationalities and specialisations. Nor am I thinking of the technical difficulty of classifying sociology in terms of definite standards of craftsmanship. As it is rarely possible to check the processes of empirical investigations so thoroughly that their methodological integrity is established beyond doubt, a great deal has usually to be taken for granted, and quackery is, therefore, not as easily spotted as in other fields. There are, moreover, some types of sociological research that are not amenable to objective verification at all. But these technical hazards are of minor importance as compared with the difficulty of drawing boundaries between the various social sciences. Usually such boundaries are artificial; they consist of road blocks which can easily be shifted and which should often be removed altogether. The only genuine and the only important distinction between social historians, for example, and sociologists is that the latter must have an active approach towards society—the direction of social change must be the main theme of their thoughts and studies. Of course, many social historians also have such an approach (and possibly nowadays more historians than " sociologists " have it) but nevertheless it is not one of the historians' indispensable professional characteristics. It is this active concern with social change—with the state and fate of society—which originally made sociology a subject in its own right, and without which the status of the profession can neither be maintained nor advanced.

A true sociologist is, therefore, essentially a political animal, though not a politician. His responsibility to society is synonymous with his responsibility to his profession. In other words, a sociologist who does not believe in the possibility of social progress, and who takes no part in promoting it—or conversely in checking retrogression—is a contradiction in terms.

But it is, of course, precisely for this reason that it is so difficult to find a common denominator—a universally valid definition of the subject, and a general code of professional ethics for the practitioners. The common factor is also the great divider: as our interpretations of social progress, and even of " truth " and " rationality " differ, our professional bonds are bound to be rather weak. In theory, such differences might be resolved: I would gladly argue that objective criteria of social progress could be found and that significant value judgments need not be " extra-scientific ". But since we cannot expect that many of our colleagues will share this view, in practice there are inevitably dissensions. We are more likely to think of colleagues near or far as ideological friends or foes than as fellow sociologists. Thus so long as there are social and national conflicts, and so long as sociologists recognise their responsibility to take sides, there will be disunity among them, and sociology will be a segmented, rather chaotic discipline. But this is not too high a price to pay for the privilege of belonging to a sphere of work that invariably makes it a necessity, not a luxury, to assert a social conscience.

To do just this—to clarify, to judge and to influence social trends, directly or indirectly, in the short or in the long run—is perhaps the only clause of a code of professional ethics to which all, who wish to call themselves sociologists, must subscribe. In practice, this means that sociologists should show evidence of possessing a social conscience, and of using it as the motive for their work. The preamble to any sociologist's study should be an explanation of its purpose: it should be stated—in words that are intelligible in the author's own language and which can be translated into other languages—why this piece of work was carried out, for what reasons it was regarded as significant for the understanding and development of society. This is not to say, of course, that all—or even many—of such preambles could be expected to be lucid, meaningful and free from self-deception. Nevertheless, it would be salutary if that sort of explanation were the prerequisite of professional recognition. For at least, some sociologists would then have to invent excuses, and all would know that they are supposed to re-examine their value judgments and to state these coherently and explicitly. It would then be clear that sociologists are not entitled to plead value neutrality. One kind of excuse, moreover, should invariably be ruled out: the argument that a particular study was undertaken simply for the sake of developing research methods. Since it is the problem that determines the method of investigation, value judgments enter into research methods just as they enter into

mere passage of time are assumed to provide the solution to most problems, has rather paradoxically prevented the systematic recording and testing of experience. Where things have gone quite well before without special investigations, social research appears to be a luxury, and there is reluctance to understand its objects and its language, even if expressed in simple terms. And again, the comparative saneness and calmness in the conduct of British public affairs soften the effects of a good deal of irrationality. As a result the sociologist's attempts to introduce his own brand of rationality seem to be unnecessary, if not actually ludicrous. There is thus a vicious circle: so long as the sociologist's approach is incomprehensible to administrators and to the public, he is not given the opportunity of being comprehensible; he is not able to demonstrate the need for, and the use of, sociological thought and study.

Efforts to break this circle have, therefore, to be made. It is clear, for example, that while sociologists must not allow themselves to be used as mere " yes-men " or technical odd jobbers, they should be ready to deal with questions of policy and administration, although they can often only give tentative or partial answers. And each one of us has to decide for himself whether a particular assignment is compatible with professional integrity. When an assignment has been accepted, it will furthermore become necessary to distinguish between the inevitable frustrations which are the daily routine of " operational research " and the actual violation of a conscience clause.

The need for communication between sociology and public affairs also implies that in Britain it would be useful to establish new institutional channels for a greater exchange of ideas and experience between the universities, public authorities and industry. A period of postgraduate apprenticeship in central and local government would certainly do no harm. If young sociologists would serve in this capacity, they would develop their criteria for assessing the significance of research problems and results, and they would thereby contribute to a better understanding between academic sociology and the outside world.

Moreover, as it is advisable to promote such understanding, it is also necessary to reconsider our lines of work and our modes of expression. In Europe, we have perhaps been fortunate: restrictions in the quantity of sociological output have forced us to maintain a greater sense of purpose, of quality and of verbal clarity than has been the case overseas. Even so, we too suffer from a scattering of efforts; there are already signs of hairsplitting specialisation, and there is far too much use of jargon. As it is no longer easy to understand what our colleagues are saying, it will be increasingly difficult to tell the outside world what sociology is about. But to do just that is one of our main functions: we should be concerned with the spread of ideas, of rationality, of general social consciousness. This function, which may be summarised as the search for valid ideological abstractions from social data, is related to the other important one, which is invariably

highly concrete: the study and description of contemporary society. This study, in turn, must of course be used for, and also based upon, abstraction, that is, upon the recognition of elements and trends which are sufficiently significant to deserve description.

If we look at contemporary sociological literature in terms of these twin tasks, we shall find it wanting. Not much is being done to spread social consciousness, and thus the specific sociological approach that is needed to produce cumulative knowledge. And how limited is our awareness of contemporary society ! Indeed, it sometimes seems that we know less about our setting than the pioneers of sociology knew about theirs a hundred or fifty years ago. The preoccupation with oddities and peripheral matters, with primary groups, microscopic methods of investigation and with a crude empiricism that justifies shortsightedness, all this makes it rather difficult to see the wood for the trees. And there is also the false ambition to imitate the natural sciences, and the false pride of scientific independence that keeps research workers apart from one another and remote from the mainstream of social affairs. As a result, the information that is provided looks, when it is pieced together, like a jigsaw puzzle which has many duplicate parts, while the central portions are missing. Has this happened because sociologists have lost their sense of identification with the fate of society; are they scared to look social change in the face; are they afraid of entering the arena of social conflict? Has sociology become frigid ?

I have no hesitation in answering this question in the affirmative, however unorthodox it may be to appeal openly to emotions in a scientific debate. For it seems to me that the sociologist's relation to his subject should never be a *mariage de convenance*. Nor should he be satisfied with temperate affections, with the comfort found in small circles and in the contemplation of minute details. He needs drive to search for a wide horizon of space and time, the capacity to love and hate ideas, and therefore the wish to take sides; he needs courage to be unpopular, even if this means loss of influence or even livelihood. He needs emotional capacity just as much as the ability to be impartial in the actual pursuit of knowledge. Scientific detachment is necessary to do research, to evaluate and to present the findings. But emotions enter into the choice of problems for investigation, in as much as we have to be convinced of their importance. And it seems hardly possible to dissociate conviction from ardent sympathy. Again emotion— a genuine desire to communicate—is wanted to achieve lucidity and felicity of expression. There is clearly a need to reawaken this desire, in order to improve the literary quality of sociological writing. For mutilation of language is also mutilation of integrity, of ideas and social relationships. Of course, we have to invent technical terms for new abstractions and for the purpose of describing research methods. Treatises have to be produced, but occasionally it is also essential to issue a new manifesto.

Les Activités Professionnelles et les Responsabilités des Sociologues : Rapport Général d'Introduction aux Discussions

PIERRE DE BIE

(Professeur à l'Université de Louvain)

Depuis longtemps déjà la question de la formation, des activités professionnelles et des responsabilités des sociologues est un des soucis majeurs de notre Association. Sous les auspices de l'UNESCO une courte enquête a été entreprise dans différents pays (en Australie, en France, en Egypte, aux Etats-Unis, en Inde, en Grande Bretagne, au Mexique, en Suède, et en Yougoslavie) afin de mieux connaître l'état de l'enseignement de la sociologie, les facteurs qui le favorisent, les débouchés ouverts aux sociologues. Cette enquête a donné lieu à un rapport qui sera publié prochainement par les soins de l'UNESCO.

En juin 1952, une table ronde réunissait à Paris des sociologues de divers pays et plusieurs membres de notre " Committee on training and teaching " pour discuter des résultats de l'enquête. Un document hors série de la section IV contient les conclusions générales du rapport que j'ai eu l'honneur d'établir à la suite de l'enquête en tenant compte aussi des échanges de vues poursuivis lors de la table ronde de juin 1952.

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Qui sommes-nous ? Que faisons-nous ? Où allons-nous ? Que devrions-nous être, que devrions-nous faire, où devrions-nous aller ?

Que ces questions soient posées sur le mode indicatif ou impératif, elles demeurent étroitement liées. En fait et en droit et c'est bien ce qui ressort des différentes communications présentées pour cette section.

La formation reçue qualifie les services que les sociologues sont amenés à rendre et les services que les sociologues rendent en fait, la place qu'ils occupent ou peuvent occuper de fait dans la société éclairent à leur tour les problèmes de formation. Les problèmes de responsabilité sont sous-jacents à la question de la formation et à celle des activités professionnelles car nous avons le devoir de donner et d'acquérir une certaine formation et chaque position, chaque fonction, toute profession entrainent des responsabilités particulières.

Je voudrais tenter ici un aperçu systématique des communications qui ont été présentées. Sans viser à être exhaustif, ce qui serait fastidieux, ni à être original, ce qui serait prétentieux et peu conforme à la déontologie d'un rapporteur, j'aimerais mettre en lumière quelques éléments où se fait l'unanimité et dégager certaines questions méritant une discussion plus ample.

LA FORMATION

Des trois ordres des problèmes considérés, celui de la formation de sociologues est sans doute celui qui a le moins retenu l'attention dans les rapports présentés à ce Congrès. On doit noter ici les rapports de MM. *Mendieta y Nunèz, Hughes* et *Morin.*

Qu'est-ce-qu'en définitive la sociologie ? Que recouvre cette étiquette ? A qui et à partir de quand doit-on l'enseigner ? Comment l'enseigner ? Frappé par la diversité des conceptions de la sociologie, par la variété de la situation institutionnelle des enseignements ici logés dans une Faculté de Droit, là dans une Faculté de Philosophie, ailleurs encore dans un département autonome, frappé encore par de divergences dans les méthodes et le but des enseignements, M. Mendieta y Nunez souligne la nécessité d'un accord sur le contenu, la place dans l'enseignement et les méthodes d'enseignement de la sociologie.

La question de la formation est abordée sous un angle tout différent par *M. Hughes.* Il met en garde contre les différentes exigences d'une professionnalisation à laquelle voudraient tendre des sociologues surtout dans un pays où ils deviennent nombreux. Le mot " professionnalization " signifie la recherche des moyens qui tendent à établir une profession, à lui donner rang de profession reconnue et etablie. M. Hughes indique comment la professionnalisation est caractérisée par le souci de former un corps distinct dont les membres présentent une certaine homogénéité à la fois de par leur recrutement et leur formation, corps distinct qui se préoccupe d'orienter particulièrement ses futurs membres et tend naturellement à définir d'une façon rigide son champ d'action et ses relations avec d'autres corps de spécialistes.

M. Hughes s'élève contre cette conception : aucun exclusivisme ne lui semble devoir être retenu, ni l'orientation précoce et permanente des candidats, ni l'organisation rigide d'une profession dotée de privilèges, ni la spécialisation excessive, caractéristiques d'un corps fermé de spécialistes.

Par une toute autre voie, à partir d'un examen attentif de la structure des enseignements en France, *M. Morin* arrive à une conclusion semblable : la formation du sociologue doit être large, ouverte sur les sciences sociales et humaines voisines. Il faut être favorable à une circulation des connaissances des points de vues et des techniques entre les différentes branches de la sociologie, entre sociologie générale et sociologies spécialisées, entre sociologie et ce que M. Morin appelle les para-sociologies.

La conception d'une formation largement ouverte sur d'autres disciplines paraît un des points essentiels sur lequel se marque un accord. Mais un autre point mérite l'attention : à partir de quel moment des études introduire l'initiation à la sociologie, et sous quelle forme ?

Se référant à une étude de M. Costa Pinto, *M. Mendieta y Nunèz* parle de l'introduction des études au niveau de l'enseignement secondaire. *M. Morin* ouvre davantage les perspectives à ce sujet en posant pour la France—par comparaison avec les Etats-Unis et l'U.R.S.S.—les

problèmes d'" humanités sociologiques " c'est-à-dire, d'humanités pénétrées par l'esprit et les perspectives de la sociologie. Il y a là un problème de haute importance dont l'intérêt dépasse les frontières nationales : on peut se demander dans quelle mesure on en a pris suffisamment conscience, même dans les pays comme les Etats-Unis où la sociologie a pénétré davantage.

LES ACTIVITES PROFESSIONNELLES

Si l'on veut savoir quelles sont les activités professionnelles des sociologues, il faut sans doute relever dans divers pays quelles sont leurs activités dans l'enseignement, dans les secteurs public et privé, ministères, grandes administrations, services d'études, syndicats, etc. . .

Différents rapports ont abordé ce problème. *M. Sibley* décrit et commente les activités des membres de l'" American Sociological Society ". *MM. Friedmann* et *Tréanton* indiquent les principaux domaines où les sociologues peuvent être appelés ou sont parfois déjà appelés à rendre service en France. *M. Pellizi* discute la situation Italienne.

On retire de ces exposés la conclusion que dans tous les secteurs la pénétration des sociologues reste modeste, modestie dûe dans la plupart des pays au caractère restreint de nos effectifs. Plusieurs rapporteurs ont abordé ici le problème fort intéressant des facteurs qui influencent dans un sens ou dans l'autre, le recrutement des sociologues dans le secteur public ou privé, exception faite de l'enseignement. Je me réfère ici aux deux rapports français, au rapport américain, aux rapports de *Me Glass* et de *M. Pellizi*. La question principale qui nous est posée ici est celle d'une valorisation du métier et des aptitudes des sociologues et nous avons à faire face à une double tâche : d'une part, la formation de sociologues capables de rendre service, d'autre part, l'information de l'opinion publique intéressée à ces services. Et du côté de l'offre et du côté de la demande, la situation laisse beaucoup à désirer et, comme l'a fait fort bien ressortir M. Pellizi, une lacune entraine et renforce l'autre. Il y a ici un cercle vicieux. C'est parce que les sociologues ne sont ni nombreux, ni forts que les portes restent fermées.

Mais le problème est beaucoup plus complexe. On parle de sociologues. Avant de parler de leurs responsabilités, peut-être faudrait-il s'entendre sur ce qu'ils sont. Peut-être est-ce manquer de pudeur à un Congrès de sociologie que de se demander ce qu'est un sociologue. La question est posée par les rapporteurs français : MM. *Friedmann* et *Tréanton* font observer qu'au sens formel la France ne produit pas de sociologues en ce sens que les cadres classiques de l'enseignement ne forment pas de spécialistes préparés à des responsabilités pratiques. Situation paradoxale : ceux qui en fait occupent les positions qui conviennent aux sociologues n'ont pas joui d'une formation académique spécialisée. Faut-il appeler sociologues les titulaires de diplômes de sociologie ou ceux qui en fait oeuvrent comme tels ? *M. Hughes* souligne dans sa communication l'apport substantiel et vivant de ceux

qui sont venus tardivement à la sociologie après avoir été formés à d'autres disciplines.

Deux points sollicitent notre action et notre discussion :

—Quels facteurs sont susceptibles de favoriser une meilleure compréhension de l'activité des sociologues et des services qu'ils peuvent rendre ? comment apparaître utile ?

—à quoi exactement sommes-nous utiles en dehors de ce que *M. McClung Lee* appelle les professions académiques (recherche pure et enseignement) ? Une enquête approfondie dans différents pays devrait porter à la fois sur ce qui est et sur ce qui s'ouvre, sur les débouchés de fait et sur les débouchés potentiels.

LES RESPONSABILITÉS

Parler de la formation et des activités professionnelles des sociologues sans dire un mot de leurs responsabilités c'est vouloir marcher sur une corde raide. Les problèmes de responsabilité se posent sans cesse tout le long de la carrière du sociologue et de façon particulière dans chaque secteur d'activité. Presque tous les rapports en traitent et je veux être bref sur ce point.

Tous sont d'accord sur les principes généraux de l'éthique du chercheur scientifique : objectivité (respect de l'objet de la connaissance et ici je renvoie aux considérations judicieuses et fort nuancées de *M. Pellizi*)—indépendance (le sociologue n'est pas un diseur de bonne aventure agissant selon la tête du client ou ses largesses)—intégrité.

Les problèmes délicats se posent à propos des relations du sociologue avec la société où il vit. Aucun rapporteur n'a défendu la conception de la tour d'ivoire : à l'égard de la société le chercheur a de lourdes responsabilités et cette responsabilité qui doit orienter la sélection de l'objet des études est particulièrement soulignée dans les rapports de Mᵉ *Glass* et de M. *Jagannadham*. M. McClung Lee, a par ailleurs, fourni une analyse très systématique et complète de nos obligations dans le secteur académique et non-académique.

Que doit fournir le sociologue à cette société ?

Les résultats d'un examen impartial, neutre, détaché des situations de fait ? ou des lignes d'action, des conseils, où il engage à la fois son savoir et ses jugements de valeur. On trouvera dans les rapports de M. Pellizi d'une part, de Mᵉ Glass et de M. Jagannadham d'autre part, des éléments en faveur de chacune de ces solutions.

Je crois pour ma part comme M. Pellizi, que le " Quid agendum " n'appartient pas au sociologue comme tel. Il doit être indépendant, pratiquer l'auto-critique, éviter de revêtir d'autorité scientifique ce qui dépend de son optique personnelle, de sa philosophie, de son milieu. Agir autrement c'est tromper le public en revêtant de l'autorité de la science ce qui n'en relève pas. D'autre part, et ici je rejoins Mᵉ Glass, il ne peut échapper à la nécessité d'une optique personnelle. Comme homme, il a des jugements de valeur et il doit en user avec un maximum de conscience et d'auto-critique.

Les rapports de MM. *Clark*, *Elmer* et *Miller* détaillent divers aspects de la déontologie de la profession à l'égard de ceux qui paient leurs services : bureaux de recherches ayant plus le souci d'information que de science, firmes intéressées à un but commercial ou à de la propagande, publics ayant le droit d'être informés exactement de la portée des résultats d'une recherche. Il se pose ici un problème fort délicat de communication avec le public—car la vérité peut être mal comprise—problème qui mérite d'être davantage approfondi. De toute façon, la sociologue n'est ni un technicien travaillant en sous-ordre, ni une bonne à tout faire, ni un robot. . . .

On glanera dans les rapports des expressions plus colorées. M. McClung Lee parle de la " prostitution de la science " de l'" érosion commerciale du secteur académique " : il y a la description du client comme " un homme qui achète des réponses ".

Au plan général les principes de la responsabilité et de la déontologie professionnelles apparaissent relativement simples.

Les différents rapporteurs nous montreront la distance entre les principes généraux et les applications particulières.

Les Activités Professionnelles et les Responsabilités des Sociologues : Rapport sur les Discussions*

J. R. Tréanton[1]

(Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris)

Les rapports présentés sur " Les activités professionnelles et les responsabilités des sociologues " reflètent fidèlement la situation de la sociologie dans le monde contemporain. Science jeune, profession nouvelle, elle suscite des préoccupations variables suivant les pays. Aux Etats-Unis, elle a franchi depuis longtemps les limites du " campus " universitaire et les sociologues interviennent aujourd'hui dans tous les domaines de la vie nationale. Mais cette croissance trop rapide les oblige à une halte, à un examen critique, qu'ils entreprennent avec courage. Leurs communications à la section IV traitent de la déontologie et du " statut " d'une profession dont les activités se multiplient.

Leurs collègues européens, indien et mexicain manifestent d'autres soucis : ils songent d'abord à accroître des débouchés professionnels encore trop restreints ; ils se préoccupent aussi de préciser l'éthique générale de leur science. Quel rôle peuvent jouer la recherche et l'enseignement de la sociologie dans l'avènement d'un nouvel humanisme ? Quelle orientation leur donner dans cet univers contradictoire qui nous entoure ?

QU'EST-CE QU'UN SOCIOLOGUE ?

La description de l'"espèce sociologique " eût suffi à occuper tout un congrès. Les divers rapports soumis à la section IV n'offrent pas un portrait du sociologue contemporain valable pour tous les pays ; du moins permettent-ils d'en dessiner quelques traits.

A quels signes le reconnaître ? Au diplôme universitaire dont il est détenteur ? Médiocre pierre de touche : ni l'Italie ni la France— pour ne citer que deux pays représentés à Liège—n'offrent à leurs étudiants la possibilité d'accomplir un cycle complet d'études supérieures en sociologie.[2] Ailleurs, les " peaux d'âne " de M. A. ou de Ph.D., de licencié ou de docteur en sociologie sanctionnent généralement des formations intellectuelles très différentes. M. Mendieta y Nuñez parle des " divergences considérables et apparemment irréductibles qui séparent les sociologues européens en ce qui concerne le contenu et l'organisation de la sociologie ". Les données qu'il reproduit[3] prouvent le caractère tout aussi varié de la sociologie américaine. Telle qu'on l'enseigne dans les universités, elle apparaît de moins en moins comme une science autonome, comme " un ensemble cohérent de connaissances et de techniques originales par rapport aux autres sciences ". Le Dr.

Sibley en fait la remarque et ajoute : " Les sociologues des générations précédentes, qui n'étaient pas encore submergés par la masse des faits qu'accumule de nos jours la recherche expérimentale [...], pouvaient s'accorder sur l'existence d'une matière sociologique distincte, tout en s'opposant violemment sur la définition qu'en donnait tel ou tel traité. Aujourd'hui, les manuels américains de sociologie contiennent rarement dans leurs titres le mot " principe ". Quant à leur matière, hautement éclectique, elle reproduit les données et les conclusions de multiples disciplines [...]."

Si la " sociologie " n'existe plus—ou pas encore—il faut bien constater que, dans certains pays, les sociologues prospèrent. Citons les chiffres américains : en dix ans, l'American Sociological Society vient de passer de 1,500 à 4,000 membres. Le nombre des Ph.D. de sociologie délivrés annuellement par les universités s'élève aujourd'hui à 140, contre 75 avant la guerre. Les débouchés professionnels s'accroissent en proportion. Moral de l'armée, relations raciales, habitudes de consommation, etc., on n'en finirait pas d'énumérer les domaines où intervient désormais la sociologie " appliquée ". Certes, les trois quarts des sociologues américains poursuivent encore leur carrière dans les universités[4]. Mais ceux qui mettent leur compétence au service d'organismes publics ou privés de recherche pratique sont de plus en plus nombreux.

En dehors des Etats-Unis, le bilan est moins favorable. Les conclusions du Professeur Pellizi dans son rapport consacré à l'Italie vaudraient pour la France et pour bien d'autres pays : " Le manque de postes universitaires et d'instituts, écrit-il, entrave la formation d'étudiants spécialisés, et le manque d'étudiants spécialisés fournit un bon argument contre la création de chaires et d'instituts." L'introduction de la sociologie dans l'enseignement secondaire—souhaitée par certains—reste encore dans le domaine des chimères. " Ni le *gymnasium* ni le lycée européens n'offrent aux sociologues de débouchés comparables à ceux du *college* américain ", c'est le professeur Hughes qui le remarque.

L'étudiant a-t-il plus de chances de trouver en dehors de l'Alma Mater un emploi qui le fasse vivre ? Quelques subsides publics ou privés lui permettent parfois de se consacrer à la démographie, aux relations industrielles ou aux problèmes coloniaux.[5] Mais c'est là peu de chose au regard des possibilités de tous ces secteurs. Pour prévoir les moyens d'améliorer cette situation, nous manquons d'un tableau complet des débouchés présents et futurs de la sociologie dans les différents pays. Il faudrait que les sociologues répondent au vœu du rapporteur de la section IV, le professeur de Bie, et entreprennent une enquête approfondie portant à la fois sur ce qui est et sur ce qui peut être, sur les débouchés de fait et sur les débouchés possibles de leur discipline.

Rien ne pourrait mieux les éclairer sur l'orientation qu'il convient de lui donner. La diversité des tâches offertes à la sociologie,

son émancipation progressive du milieu universitaire renouvellent ses perspectives d'avenir. Les sociologues s'interrogent sur le " statut " futur de leur profession. Sont-ils en voie de constituer un corps de spécialistes établi, reconnu, ayant droit de cité et lettres patentes[6] ? Les rapports du professeur Hughes et du Dr. Sibley posent le problème de cette structure quasi corporative qui aboutirait " à tracer des frontières très nettes entre l'occupation [sociologique] et les occupations voisines, à développer les débouchés de ceux qui se trouveraient à l'intérieur de ces frontières, à compléter enfin cette démarcation claire et nette par un effort d'extension de la profession qui permettrait à ses spécialistes d'appliquer leurs talents au plus grand nombre de cas possible, de satisfaire le maximum de clients, et d'utiliser leurs méthodes de recherche à tout moment et en tout lieu avec une égale validité ".[7]

Le corps médical lui-même, note le professeur Hughes, n'est pas arrivé à concilier ce " maximum de spécificité " avec ce " maximum d'universalité ". La sociologie n'est guère mieux placée pour y parvenir. Sans doute s'efforcera-t-elle toujours " de sélectionner, de former, d'initier et de discipliner ses membres, de définir la nature des services qu'ils rendront et la façon dont ils les rendront ".[7] Formeront-ils pour autant une " profession " distincte de celles qui grouperaient par exemple, les économistes, les anthropologues, les statisticiens— bref les multiples spécialistes des affaires humaines? Le Dr. Sibley ne le pense pas: " J'ai tendance à croire, dit-il, qu'il se créera, sous quelque nom qu'on le désigne, un corps professionnel qui s'occupera des relations sociales : il empruntera beaucoup de ses techniques et de ses connaissances à ce qu'on appelle actuellement la sociologie, mais beaucoup aussi aux autres sciences sociales, en particulier à la psychologie et à l'anthropologie ". Les sociologues doivent ouvrir leurs rangs aux spécialistes de formation voisine, multiplier leurs contact avec les autres disciplines. Leur cloisonnement se révèle de plus en plus artificiel : le moment serait mal choisi pour le doubler d'un exclusivisme corporatif.

Les rapports européens nous rassurent. En Italie, en France, en Grande-Bretagne, les sociologues viennent d'horizons très divers : histoire, droit, philosophie. Aux Etats-Unis, par contre, le professeur Hughes discerne une tendance inquiétante à augmenter la durée des études, à avancer le moment crucial où l'étudiant doit éliminer de ses préoccupations tout ce qui n'est pas le programme officiel de la sociologie universitaire. Or ce programme n'est pas infaillible ; personne n'a encore pu définir avec certitude le viatique idéal de l'apprenti sociologue. On a beau, déclare-t-il, " opérer ces changements sous prétexte qu'il est normal d'exiger une formation plus étendue à mesure que les méthodes se développent ", ils répondent plutôt au désir " de rehausser le statut de la profession [sociologique] en prouvant qu'il faut aussi longtemps pour faire un sociologue que pour faire un médecin ou un physicien ".

La spécialisation prématurée scléroserait la sociologie, la peuplerait " d'esprits étroits, dont l'intérêt se bornerait aux seuls problèmes et aux seules méthodes cadrant avec les conventions de leur première formation universitaire ". Le contrôle trop rigide du recrutement découragerait les vocations tardives, dont le professeur Hughes rappelle qu'elles ont fourni à cette discipline certains de ses plus grands noms.

Profession ouverte, la sociologie doit renoncer aux garanties corporatives. Science " jeune et tâtonnante ", elle ne dispose pas encore de ces critères précis de compétence qui lui permettraient d'assurer sa police intérieure. Il est rarement possible, note Mrs. Glass, " de contrôler la marche des recherches expérimentales [en sociologie] avec une précision telle que leur valeur méthodologique ressorte avec certitude ". Les charlatans et les faussaires savent profiter de cette faiblesse.

Ce danger semble particulièrement grave au Dr Glaister A. Elmer, qui relate son expérience coréenne à la tête de l'Air University Far East Research Group. Les dégâts que peuvent provoquer sur le terrain d'enquête de soi-disants sociologues, aussi prétentieux qu'ignorants, sont considérables. Les autres communications américaines portent, pour une bonne part, sur les moyens de les éviter. La mise au point d'une déontologie, d'une charte des droits et des devoirs de la profession, paraît de nature à défendre efficacement celle-ci contre l'intrusion d'éléments douteux.

DÉONTOLOGIE DE LA PROFESSION

Le professeur McClung Lee rappelle à ses collègues que les psychologues connaissent depuis longtemps les mêmes difficultés : leur souci des problèmes éthiques " reflète pour une bonne part leur expérience plus ancienne de la pratique commerciale qui les expose à la critique puissante de l'opinion publique ".

La différence, remarque le professeur Hughes—en décrivant de son côté ce passage de la connaissance pure à la thérapeutique où la psychologie a précédé la sociologie—la différence, c'est que les clients du psychologue sont des individus et ceux du sociologue, des groupes ou des institutions, clients collectifs plus difficiles à manier.

L'individu demande au psychologue ou au medecin de l'aider à résoudre un problème vital. La collectivité—gouvernement, association privée, société commerciale—n'a pas toujours des intentions aussi louables quand elle recourt au sociologue. Ses décisions sont déjà prises : elle cherche simplement à leur donner une apparence scientifique. Le sociologue n'a pas à dire la vérité, ni à indiquer le remède. Le remède et la vérité, l'homme d'action les connaît—ou croit les connaître. Il cherche seulement à leur donner la prestigieuse bénédiction de la science. Les moyens financiers qu'il met à la disposition du sociologue sont à la mesure des intérêts en jeu. Quelle tentation pour celui-ci d'aligner les résultats " scientifiques " sur les préoccupations publicitaires de son bailleur de fonds !

Les problèmes de la sociologie " pratique "

La commercialisation que les instituts de journalisme, de publicité, d'opinion publique, d'étude de marchés introduisent au sein même des universités menace sur trois fronts l'éthique traditionnelle de la sociologie.

(1) *Le choix des sujets de recherche.* C'est le sujet même de la communication de M. S. M. Miller. Le sociologue risque de perdre la liberté de choisir ses sujets d'investigation—liberté traditionnelle dans la science " pure ", liberté déjà restreinte dans la science " appliquée ". L'université lui offre-t-elle un dernier refuge ? La tendance de ses instituts à " diriger leurs activités vers les fonctions communautaires, les recensements, les travaux de documentation, les études *ad hoc* dont l'intérêt n'est pas niable, mais qui empiètent généralement (l'expérience le prouve) sur la recherche sérieuse "[8] oblige à en douter. M. Miller met en garde les étudiants contre les dangers que présentent pour leur formation ces travaux utilitaires destinés moins à les instruire qu'à augmenter les ressources de leurs universités.

La recherche " commerciale " est encore plus ingrate. Elle impose au sociologue des besognes sans intérêt ou semées d'embûches. Il a le devoir de refuser certains sujets de recherche, de renoncer à certaines clientèles quand il connaît les desseins malhonnêtes auxquels on veut faire servir ses travaux[9] ou quand ceux-ci l'obligeraient à user de faux poids et de fausses mesures.

(2) *Les méthodes de recherche.* Les " marchands de sociologie " vendent ce qu'on leur demande. Pour satisfaire aux volontés de leurs " clients ", ils truquent les méthodes et falsifient les expériences. Il n'est malheureusement pas facile de les démasquer. Du moins ces " clients ", remarque le professeur McClung Lee, ne se trompent-ils pas sur leur valeur : " Ils achètent ou subventionnent le travail de ces mercenaires pour obtenir certains résultats de nature généralement publicitaire, mais ne leur témoignent que du mépris. Ils s'adressent aux éléments honnêtes de la profession quand ils ont réellement besoin d'approfondir des questions sérieuses ".

(3) *La communication des résultats.* Le grand public ne fait malheureusement pas la différence : rien ne l'aide à distinguer entre la marchandise saine et la marchandise frelatée offerte sous l'étiquette " sociologie ". La faute en revient parfois aux sociologues, qui ne veillent pas suffisamment à l'usage qu'on fait de leurs déclarations publiques : " Quand les recherches présentent un grand intérêt pour l'opinion [...], quand elles constituent des nouvelles d'actualité, le sociologue doit suivre avec soin leur publication ; c'est le seul moyen d'être sûr qu'elles seront mises, fidèlement et soigneusement, à la portée du public, au lieu de fournir matière à des articles sensationnels et fallacieux."[10]

Ces quelques règles, établies d'un commun accord, suffiront-elles à garantir la sociologie contre l'"érosion commerciale"? Le problème tel que le définit avec bonheur le professeur McClung Lee consiste, au fond, à " inculquer aux praticiens de la sociologie, dont le nombre se multiplie si rapidement, un respect suffisant des traditions universitaires qui ont permis à nos collèges et à nos universités de demeurer relativement si libres et en conséquence si aptes à stimuler le travail créateur ".

Les sociologues doivent, de temps à autre, se retremper à ces sources pures. Ils sont des hommes de science et des éducateurs avant d'êtres des affairistes. S'ils avaient tendance à l'oublier, il faudrait très vite leur rappeller que leur prestige dérive essentiellement du fait que le public les identifie avec les hommes de science et les professeurs des universités, et avec l'idéal désintéressé de la science et de l'enseignement ".[11]

De la déontologie professionnelle à l'éthique de la connaissance

Le professeur Morris Ginsberg, président de la section IV, a très heureusement défini cet idéal applicable à toutes les branches du savoir et de l'enseignement. " La vérité, a-t-il rappelé, possède une valeur intrinsèque, c'est-à-dire qu'elle est valable pour elle-même et doit, de ce fait, être poursuivie pour elle-même." Mais la science a également une valeur instrumentale, " elle vaut non seulement pour elle-même, mais parce qu'elle est la condition de la réalisation d'autres valeurs ". Et, tirant la leçon de ces deux principes fondamentaux, le professeur Ginsberg observe qu'ils impliquent " une certaine discipline de l'esprit : fermeté et dévotion, détachement et impartialité, aptitude à discerner ce qui relève de l'opinion, volonté de s'incliner devant l'évidence, si désagréable qu'elle soit ; bref, intégrité scientifique ".

La science est un phénomène social. Le professeur Ginsberg se refuse à la considérer comme une " affaire privée ". La vérité " ne peut se chercher et se découvrir que dans un climat de stimulation mutuelle et de confrontation, franche et amicale, des points de vue et des résultats ".

Les conclusions du professeur McClung Lee rejoignent celle du professeur Ginsberg. Dans ce " catéchisme " élémentaire qu'il propose aux sociologues, les devoirs envers les étudiants et envers les collègues tiennent une juste place. Quand il est à la fois professeur et chercheur—cas fréquent—le sociologue ne doit pas négliger sa tâche d'éducateur. Ses étudiants ont beau lui fournir " une aide peu coûteuse pour ses recherches ", il doit, avant tout, se préoccuper de développer leurs dons. Qu'il se garde " d'entretenir autour de lui un esprit de chapelle néfaste à la libre discussion des idées ; qu'il reconnaisse loyalement l'apport de chacun à l'œuvre collective ". Cette franchise et cette honnêteté doivent inspirer de même ses rapports avec ses collègues plus jeunes ou plus âgés.

DEVOIRS DU SOCIOLOGUE ENVERS AUTRUI

Mais l'univers du sociologue ne se borne ni aux murs de son cabinet de travail, ni au " campus " de son université. La communication de Mrs. Glass a le mérite de lui rappeler énergiquement ses devoirs envers le monde extérieur. A la remarque du professeur Hughes selon laquelle " les sociologues auront beau considérer leur travail comme politiquement neutre, il ne sera jamais considéré comme tel par les gens qui font les révolutions de droite ou de gauche, ni par ceux dont il touche directement les intérêts ", répond son affirmation " qu' un vrai sociologue, s'il n'est pas un politicien, est essentiellement un animal politique. Ses devoirs envers la société se confondent avec ses devoirs envers sa profession. Admettre que le sociologue puisse ne pas croire à la possibilité du progrès social et ne pas travailler dans ce sens—ou ne pas dénoncer toute régression sociale—c'est accepter une contradiction dans les termes ".

Les sociologues doivent donc considérer les changements sociaux, le présent et l'avenir de la société, comme " l'objet principal de leurs pensées et de leurs travaux ". Qu'ils n'aillent pas plaider une prétendue neutralité dans le domaine des valeurs au nom de leur relativité. Sans cesse ils doivent interroger leur conscience et choisir.

Comment guider ce choix? Mrs. Glass convient qu'il est difficile de réaliser l'accord de toute la profession sur les critères du progrès social—et même sur la possibilité d'en trouver qui ne soient pas extra-scientifiques. Aussi, remarque-t-elle, " tant que dureront les conflits nationaux et sociaux et que les sociologues admettront qu'ils doivent prendre parti, la sociologie restera divisée et plutôt chaotique ".

Mais il n'y a là rien de définitif. Les oppositions et les malentendus peuvent se résoudre : " Quelles différences séparent réellement les esprits quand il s'agit de valeurs essentielles ? " demande le professeur Ginsberg. Pour sa part, il estime qu'il existe " un agrément plus général qu'on ne le pense sur les questions fondamentales ". Les désaccords proviennent souvent de ce qu'on mêle inextricablement les questions *de fait* et les questions *de valeur*. Sans doute les sociologues ne sont-ils pas à même de vérifier tous les faits sociaux qui leur permettraient de trancher leurs propres cas de conscience, et ceux des autres savants. Le professeur Ginsberg leur conseille la plus grande modestie : " Considérez seulement ce que vous pourriez répondre, ce que les meilleurs sociologues pourraient répondre si les physiciens venaient les trouver et leur demander : " Quel sera l'effet du secret des armes atomiques sur les probabilités de guerre ? Quel sera l'effet de telle ou telle forme de limitation des armements sur la prochaine guerre ? " Nous ne pourrions pas répondre scientifiquement à de telles questions, et je pense qu'il serait absurde de prétendre que nous le puissions [...]." Aucune terminologie prétentieuse " cachant le vide de la pensée et l'inanité des idées " ne peut dissimuler notre impuissance dans certaines domaines.

Tous les congressistes ont été d'accord pour dénoncer les effets de l'ésotérisme pédant qui fait promettre à la science plus qu'elle ne peut tenir. Mais cet appel à la modestie n'est pas une invite à la timidité. Il existe bien des domaines où la sociologie apporte déjà —ou apportera bientôt—les données objectives permettant de résoudre les problèmes généraux de l'éthique de la connaissance. Encore faut-il qu'elle ne cesse pas de s'intéresser activement aux idées et aux hommes de son époque. " En vérité, remarque Mrs. Glass, il semble parfois que nous en sachions moins sur le monde qui nous entoure que les pionniers de la sociologie n'en savaient sur le leur, il y a cinquante ou cent ans." Et de reprocher à la sociologie contemporaine " son penchant pour les sujets bizarres ou secondaires, pour les groupes primaires, pour les méthodes de recherche microscopique et pour un empirisme grossier qui, dit-elle, entraine la myopie."

Sans doute reconnaîtrait-elle volontiers qu'il est parfois très difficile de distinguer entre l'essentiel et le secondaire, entre le significatif et l'insignifiant. Telle recherche qui nous paraît aujourd'hui futile peut ouvrir de riches perspectives aux sociologues de la génération prochaine ; et tel sujet que nous estimons essentiel peut se ramener, en fin de compte, à quelques jeux de mots.

Les débats de Liège ont permis d'aplanir certaines oppositions plus apparentes que réelles entre Mrs. Glass et d'autres congressistes—en particulier M. Miller. Celui-ci insiste sur l'objectivité et le détachement du sociologue; il refuse de considérer comme " significatives " les applications purement, " mécaniques " de techniques déjà au point. Mise en garde très justifiée contre les dangers d'ordre publicitaire, la routine commerciale qui menacent la sociologie dans son pays. Mrs. Glass recommande l'engagement dans le siècle : elle évoque l'œuvre féconde que les sociologues peuvent y accomplir. Mais elle est la première à reconnaître que les préférences d'ordre affectif du chercheur, indispensables lorsqu'il choisit son terrain d'enquête, doivent ensuite faire place au détachement scientifique " nécessaire pour effectuer la recherche, pour évaluer et présenter les résultats ". De son côté, M. Miller admet, au cours de son intervention orale, l'erreur de ces sociologues " en blouse blanche " qui affectent non seulement la tenue de travail des chimistes et des physiciens, mais aussi leur impassibilité, leur froideur polaire devant les objets étudiés.

La synthèse de cet important débat, le professeur Pellizi nous l'offre avec clarté. " Le sociologue, dit-il, doit renoncer à étudier toute conduite structurée qui n'éveille pas en lui un écho de sympathie. [...]. Il est déplaisant de voir des hommes de science engager des discussions publiques sur des affaires importantes ou même tragiques, sans donner l'impression évidente qu'ils sentent *au fond* d'eux-mêmes les expériences et les passions particulières d'où naissent ces affaires." Mais il s'empresse d'ajouter : " L'observation et l'analyse de la structure " émotivo-représentative " à laquelle le chercheur participe exige de sa part une discipline intérieure d'autocritique. Aussi la sociologie, comme

toutes les autres sciences, peut-elle être définie comme une *systématique de déontologie autocritique;* ou, en termes plus simples, comme un " connais-toi toi-même " scientifiquement organisé ".

La communication du professeur Jagannadham apporte précisément à la section IV un tableau concret des tâches de la sociologie dans un pays en pleine évolution. La structure socio-économique de l'Inde s'adapte peu à peu aux impératifs de la civilisation moderne. Le système des castes et la solidarité de la famille large s'atténuent. La société se divise en classes sociales et la naissance d'un prolétariat industriel pose de très graves problèmes. D'autre part, l'éducation évolue; comment conserver ce qu'il y avait de valable dans celle d'autrefois ? Comment harmoniser la sagesse de l'éducation ancienne, préparation complète à la vie, et le système occidental de formation intensive et spécialisée ? Comment assurer la pénétration rapide de l'instruction dans le peuple, comment l'aider à voir au-delà de ses croyances et de ses préjugés religieux ? " Un des problèmes de la sociologie dans ce pays de vieilles traditions spirituelles est de donner aux masses de nouvelles conceptions religieuses qui concilient la foi et la raison, l'optique traditionnelle et la mentalité scientifique." Sous l'effet de la loi, le statut de la femme se modifie rapidement. Ici encore, la recherche sociologique doit fournir son concours à l'étude des relations entre la loi et l'opinion publique et permettre de les adapter l'une à l'autre dans les meilleures conditions.

Sous quelle forme précise les sociologues peuvent-ils participer à la reconstruction économique et sociale ? " Les universités doivent poursuivre des recherches objectives et contribuer à une double tâche: tout d'abord, faire une critique constructive de la politique gouvernementale, ensuite apporter au peuple tout entier un message riche en valeurs et en exemples authentiques."[12]

La formule pourrait servir de règle à la sociologie du xxe siècle. Le rôle de guides et de conseillers, les sociologues peuvent le jouer auprès des hommes de gouvernement. Une certaine division des tâches et des structures institutionnelles se conçoit alors.[13] D'une part, des organismes de recherche " pratique ", spécialisés dans tel ou tel domaine (population, minorités raciales, urbanisme, etc.) fournissant aux responsables de la politique et de l'administration les données sociologiques qui leur sont nécessaires; d'autre part, des instituts universitaires consacrés aux recherches " pures ", ou aux travaux de longue haleine sans intérêt immédiat pour la vie nationale.

La plupart des ministères possèdent déjà des bureaux d'étude et de documentation; il faut simplement les habituer à recourir aux sciences sociales. La présence permanente de sociologues professionnels auprès des hommes d'action aidera sans doute à rompre le cercle vicieux évoqué par Mrs. Glass: " Tant que les conceptions du sociologue demeurent incompréhensibles aux administrateurs et au grand public, on ne lui donne pas l'occasion de les rendre compréhensibles, ni de montrer l'utilité de la pensée et des études sociologiques." Comme elle

le suggère, des stages de jeunes sociologues dans les administrations pourraient également contribuer à briser la glace entre les hommes d'action et les hommes de science, et à dissiper les opinions stéréotypées qu'ils se font les uns des autres.

De ces contacts avec le public " éclairé "—et avec le grand public— dépend le rôle futur de la sociologie. La place occupée dans chaque pays par les hommes de science, leur statut, leur prestige, leur indépendance sont étroitement liés à l'ensemble des valeurs nationales. " Il serait excessivement candide, particulièrement pour un sociologue, d'imaginer la sociologie comme une science pure, séparée des pressions et des intérêts sociaux, d'imaginer une sociologie en quelque sorte dégagée des réalités sociologiques. Des préjugés, des craintes, des tabous, des conformismes, voire des haines se manifestent au sein même des études qui se croient les plus objectives. La sociologie est tout imprégnée d'idéologie. Au sociologue d'en avoir conscience, qu'il se pose en thérapeute, en médiateur, en réformateur, ou en modeste savant désintéréssé."[14]   Au sociologue d'agir sur la civilisation de son pays et de son siècle. Il y contribue par ses recherches, il y contribue par son activité de citoyen et d'intellectuel, il y contribue en tant qu'universitaire par son enseignement.

L'enseignement de la sociologie n'a pas fait l'objet de discussions approfondies au congrès de Liège. Le rapport général qui lui est consacré par le professeur de Bie permettra bientôt de dresser un tableau précis et complet de tous ses problèmes. Plusieurs communications de la section IV portent néanmoins sur certains de ses aspects les plus intéressants.[15] L'enseignement de la sociologie, note le professeur Mendieta y Nuñez, doit s'envisager sur trois plans différents : " comme formation générale destinée à conclure et à compléter une éducation libérale ; comme formation approfondie et spécialisée dans telle ou telle branche ; comme formation systématique, approfondie et spécialisée des professeurs de sociologie, des chercheurs et des sociologues professionnels ".

Retenons ici le premier de ces aspects, celui qu'ont abordé directement ou indirectement les débats de Liège : quel rôle doit jouer la sociologie dans l'éducation des jeunes esprits, dans la formation générale de l'homme moderne ? Selon l'heureuse formule du professeur de Bie, elle fournit au citoyen " une base de faits et de théories sur les groupes humains et sur les processus sociaux qui [lui] permettent de mieux comprendre la société où il vit et celles qui l'entourent ". Son enseignement doit donc " relier la théorie à l'histoire et aux réalités nationales ", mais aussi combattre l'ethnocentrisme, " ennemi mortel du sociologue ",[16] fournir à l'homme des données et des valeurs, mais aussi le désir et la force de les traduire dans les faits. C'est moins le savoir qui fait défaut que la volonté de l'appliquer, a rappelé le professeur Ginsberg. En comblant le fossé tragique qui sépare la connaissance de l'action, la sociologie peut aider le monde à résoudre pacifiquement ses malentendus.

NOTES

[1] L'auteur regrette que des défaillances de l'appareil d'enregistrement des débats l'aient empêché de rendre compte de manière satisfaisante des interventions de MM. Busia (Côte-de-l'Or), Friedmann et Morin (France), Hughes et Frasier (U.S.A.).

[2] Voir les rapports de MM. Pellizzi et Morin, et le rapport général du professeur de Bie sur l'enseignement de la sociologie dans le monde.

[3] D'après l'enquête de Raymond et Ruby J. Reeves Kennedy : " Sociology in American Colleges," *American Sociological Review*, Octobre 1942.

[4] Dr. Sibley.

[5] Sur la situation en France et en Italie, les communications de M. Pellizzi et de MM. Friedmann et Tréanton fournissent quelques données.

[6] Ce sont les termes mêmes par lesquels le professeur de Bie traduit les nuances de l'anglais *profession*.

[7] Everett Hughes.

[8] Professeur Clark.

[9] Mrs. Glass insiste particulièrement sur ce point.

[10] Professeur Clark.

[11] Le professeur McClung Lee fait état d'enquêtes américaines sur le prestige comparé des différentes professions.

[12] Au cours d'une éloquente intervention orale, le Pr. Busia a particulièrement insisté sur ce dernier aspect.

[13] Rapport de MM. Friedmann et Tréanton.

[14] Edgar Morin.

[15] En particulier les communications du professeur Mendieta y Nuñez, de M. Morin et la conclusion du rapport général du professeur de Bie, distribuée aux participants.

[16] M. Mendieta y Nuñez.

APPENDIX

List of Participants

Name	*Institution*
Buttgenbach, Prof. André	Université de Liège
Castellano, Prof. V.	University of Rome
Celestin, M. Georges	Economie et Humanisme, Eveux sur l'Arbresle
Chaumont, M. Paul	Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique, Belgique
Chenoy, M. Jean	Centrale des Métallurgistes de Belgique, Bruxelles
Christiansen, Mr. K. O.	University of Copenhagen
Clemens, Prof. René	Université de Liège
Collard, M. Raymond	S.A.M. Espérance-Longdoz, Liège
Collins, Dr. Sydney F.	University of Edinburgh
Costa Pinto, Prof. Luiz	Universidad de Brazil
Coster, Prof. S. de	Université de Bruxelles
Crozier, M. Michel	Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris
Cuvillier, M. Armand	Université de Paris
Dampierre, M. Eric de	Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris
David, Mme. Simone	Université de Liège
Davy, Prof. Georges	Université de Paris
Decoux, M. Robert	Namur
Delivanis, Prof. D.	University of Thessaloniki
Demarco, Prof. D.	University of Naples
Devaux, Prof. P.	Universités de Liège et de Bruxelles
Dieudonne, Mlle. Madeleine	Fédération Générale du Travail Belge, Liège
Dittrich, Dr. Erich	Institut für Raumforschung, Bad Godesberg
Dodd, Prof. Stuart C.	University of Washington
Dofny, M. Jacques	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris
Dogan, M. Mattei	Paris
Doorn, Dr. J. A. A. van	Amsterdam
Doorn-Janssen, Mr. M. J. van	Amsterdam
Dore, Mr. Ronald Philip	University of London
Dufrasne, M. Alphonse	Institut National de Statistique, Bruxelles
Duveau, Prof. Georges	Université de Strasbourg
Eisenstadt, Dr. S. N.	Hebrew University, Jerusalem
Elberling, Mr. B. V.	Socialpolitisk Forening, Copenhagen
Esser, Mr. Ferdinand	UNESCO Institute for Social Sciences, Cologne
Fafchamps, M. J.	Ministère du Travail et de la Prévoyance Sociale, Bruxelles
Fallais, M. V.	Fédération des Syndicats Chrétiens de Liège et Huy-Waremme

Name	*Institution*
Flechtheim, Prof. O. K.	Hochschule fur Politik Berlin-Schoneberg
Floud, Mrs. Jean	London School of Economics
Fouilhé, M. Pierre Marc	Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris
Fraga Iribarne, Prof. M.	University of Madrid
Frazier, Prof. E. Franklin	Howard University, Washington, D.C.
Friedmann, Prof. Georges	Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers, Paris
Friedman, Dr. Otto	University of London
Friis, Mr. Henning	Danish Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Copenhagen
Ganon, Prof. Isaac	University of Montevideo
Garcia Ortiz, Prof. Humb.	Universidad Central de Quito
Gauthier, Mme. Jacqueline	Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris
Gelders, Prof. Valère	Institut International des Civilisations Différentes, Bruxelles
Gerin, M. Horace	Union des Exploitations Electriques, Bruxelles
Ghysens, Mme. Suzanne	Institut d'Hygiène Sociale Bruxelles
Gillard, Mlle. M. L.	Centre de Formation Sociale, Liège
Ginsberg, Prof. Morris	London School of Economics
Girard, M. Alain	Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques, Paris 8
Giraud, Mr. M. E.	Department of Social Affairs, United Nations, New York
Girod, Prof. Roger	Université de Genève
Glass, Prof. David	London School of Economics
Glass, Mrs. Ruth	University of London
Glick, Mr. Paul C.	Bureau of the Census, Washington D.C.
Godoy, Prof. Herman	Universidad de Chile
Goethem, Prof. F. van	Université de Louvain
Goldschmidt-Clermont, M. Paul	Office National de Sécurité Sociale de Belgique
Goriely, Prof. Georges	Universités de Bruxelles et Sarrebruck
Graffar-Fuss, Mme. A.	Institut d'Etudes Sociales de l'Etat, Bruxelles
Guggenheim, Mr. W.	University of Zurich
Haenen, Mlle. Suzanne	Université de Liège
Haesaert, Prof. J.	Université de Gand
Harsin, Prof. Paul	Université de Liège
Heek, Prof. F. van	University of Leyden
Heinemeyer, Mr. William	University of Amsterdam
Heintz, Dr. P. R.	University of Cologne
Henry, Mr. Raoul	S.A. Phénix-Works, Liège
Herremans, M. Maurice P.	Institut Belge de Science Politique, Bruxelles

Name	Institution
Herrfahrdt, Prof. H.	Marburg University
Hersin, Mme. Marguerite	Caisse Nationale de Sécurité Sociale, Paris
Heuchamps, Dr. René V. V.	Ministère du Travail et de la Prévoyance Sociale, Belgique
Hirabayshi, Prof. Gordon K.	American University of Beirut
Hofstee, Prof. Evert W.	Agricultural University of Wageningen
Hofstra, Dr. S.	Institute of Social Studies, The Hague
Högh, Mr. Erik	University of Copenhagen
Hollander, Prof. A. N. J. den	University of Amsterdam
Horion, Prof. P.	Université de Liège
Hornix, Dr. John	University for Economics and Social Sciences, Tilburg
Horringa, Dr. Dirk	Twents Instituut voor Bedrijfspsychologie
Hughes, Prof. Everett C.	University of Chicago
Hulten, Dr. Ida E. van	University of Leyden
Humblet, M. Jean Emile	Haute Autorité de la C.E.C.A., Luxembourg
Husson, Prof. Alphonse	Université de Lyon
Ijzerman, Dr. Thomas J.	University of Leyden
Isambert, M. F. A.	Université de Paris
Isambert, Mme. Viviane	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris
Ivean, Mr. Francis	Indian Institute of Social Order, Poona
Jacobs, Miss Frances	University of Chicago
Jacquemyns, Prof. C.	Université de Bruxelles
Jagannadham, Mr. Vedula	Andhra University, Waltair
Jahoda, Dr. Gustav	University College of the Gold Coast
Janne, Prof. Henri	Université Libre de Bruxelles
Janne d'Othee, Prof. Xavier	Université de Liège
Jensen, Mr. Jörgen Klinth	Copenhagen
Johnson, Mr. Willard	World Brotherhood, European Division, Geneva
Joset, M. Paul-Ernest	Uccle (Bruxelles)
Karrenberg, Mr. F. K.	UNESCO Institute for Social Sciences, Cologne
Karsten, Dr. Anitra J. C.	Svenska Handelshögskolan, Helsingfors
Kerr, Prof. Clark	University of California, Berkeley
Kibedi, Prof. Jorge	Universidad de Chile
Knowles, Dr. K. G. J. C.	Institute of Statistics, University of Oxford
Koeppe, Mme. Irngard	Institut für Raumforschung, Bonn
König, Prof. René	Cologne University
Kotter, Dr. Herbert R.	Forschungsgesellschaft für Agrarpolitik und Agrarsoziologie, Bonn

Name	*Institution*
Koty, Prof. John	Orlinda Pierce College, Athens
Koutaissoff, Miss Elizabeth	University of Birmingham
Kuiper, Dr. G.	Isonevo, Amsterdam
Kurauchi, Prof. Kazuta	Osaka University.
Labbens, M. Jean	Facultés Catholiques de Lyon
Lambion, M. Robert	Fédération des Métallurgistes de Liège, Fédér. Générale du Travail de Belgique, Liège
Lammers, Mr. Cornelius J.	Amsterdam
Latin, M. Raymond	Centrale des Métallurgistes de Belgique, Bruxelles
Lauwers, M. Louis	Missions de Scheut, Bruxelles
Leclercq, Prof. Jacques	Université de Louvain
Leemans, Mr. Edward	Université de Louvain
Legaz-Lacambra, Prof. Luis	Université Santiago de Compostela, España
Lehner, Dr. Alessandro	University of Rome
Levi, Prof. Werner	University of Minnesota
Levy-Bruhl, Prof. H.	Université de Paris
Lipset, Prof. S. M.	Columbia University, New York
Litwak, Dr. Eugène	Family Study Center, University of Chicago
Lobies, M Jean-Pierre	Paris
Lurquin, M. Gérard	Ecole de Montegnée, Montegnée
Lysgaard, Dr. Sverre	Institute for Social Research, Oslo
Machado, Prof. L.	Universidad de São Paulo
MacRae, Mr. Donald	London School of Economics
Magistretti, Dr. Franco	Université Catholique du Sacré Cœur, Milan
Maisonneuve, M. Jean	Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris
Maiti, Prof. H. P.	Patna University
Mandic, Prof. Oleg	University of Zagreb
Maus, Dr. Heinz	Frankfurt University
Meals, Dr. Donald W.	Operations Research Office, Maryland
Mechelen, Dr. F. van	Ministère du Travail et de la Prévoyance Sociale, Bruxelles
Meerbeeck, M. Michel van	Centrale des Métallurgistes, Bruxelles
Mendras, M. Henri	Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris
Mertens, Prof. Clément	Gregorian University, Rome
Mertens de Wilmars, Prof. Jacques	Université de Louvain
Miller, Dr. Andreas	International Press Institute, Switzerland
Miller, Prof. S. M.	Brooklyn College, New York
Miroglio, M. Abel	Institut Havrais de Sociologie, Le Havre
Morea-Reibel, Prof. S.	Université de Poitiers
Morin, M. Edgar	Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris

Name	Institution
Moulin, M. Léo	Caisse Générale d'Epargne et de Retraite, Bruxelles
Moureau, Prof. Léon	Université de Liège
Myrdal, Mme. Alva	Social Sciences Department, UNESCO
Neirinck, M. J. D.	Fédération Générale du Travail de Belgique
Nordal, Dr. J.	London School of Economics
Odaka, Prof. Kunio	University of Tokyo
Oertzen, Dr. Peter von	Göttingen University
Oyler, Prof. Merton D.	Ohio State University Columbus
Pagès, M. Robert Ch.	Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris
Palmade, M. Guy Henri	Mission Psychotechnique Electricité de France, Paris
Paredes, Prof. Angel M.	Universidad Central de Quito
Parsons, Prof. Talcott	Harvard University
Partridge, Prof. Percy H.	Australian National University, Canberra
Pellizzi, Prof. C.	University of Florence
Perelson, Mr. Bernard D.	New School for Social Research, New York
Petersen, Dr. Christian	Copenhagen
Pfannenstill, Dr. B.	University of Lund
Pflaum, Miss Renate	UNESCO Institute for Social Sciences, Cologne
Philip, Mr. David	Watford, Herts.
Pipping, Dr. Knut G.	The Westermarck Society
Pirker, Mr. Theo	Wirtschaftswissenschaftliches Institut der Gewerkschaften, Munich
Pollock, Prof. Frederick	Frankfurt University
Ponsioen, Dr. J. A.	University of Amsterdam
Quaglia, Prof. Vicente C.	Ecole Normale de Catandura, São Paulo
Ralis, Mr. Max	New York
Rama, Prof. Carlos	Universidad de Montevideo
Ravoet, Mlle. Marie-Jeanne	Louvain
Reigrotzki, Dr. E.	UNESCO Institute for Social Sciences, Cologne
Rennow, M. German L.	Secrétaire à la Légation du Mexique, Bruxelles
Reynaud, M. J. D.	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris
Rhee, Mr. H. Albert	Geneva
Richmond, Mr. and Mrs. Anthony H.	University of Edinburgh
Robb, Mr. John	Harvard University
Rodnick, Dr. David	Human Resources Research Institute Maxwell Air University

Name	*Institution*
Rokkan, Mr. Stein	University of Oslo
Rose, Prof. Arnold M.	University of Minnesota
Ross, Miss Dorothy L.	Harrow, Middlesex
Ross, Dr. Eva J.	Trinity College, Washington D.C.
Saksena, Prof. R. N.	D.A.V. College, Dehra Dun, India
Samuel, Prof. Paul	Universidad de Chile
Sariola, Mr. Sakari	Finnish Liquor Monopoly, Helsinki
Sautter, Mr. Guy	UNESCO Institute for Social Sciences, Cologne
Schelsky, Prof. Helmut	Hamburg University
Scheuch, Mr. E. K.	Cologne University
Schokking, Prof. Jan. J.	UNESCO Institute for Social Sciences, Cologne
Schuyler, Dr. Joseph	Fordham University, New York
Segerstedt, Prof. T. T.	University of Uppsala
Sheppard, Prof. Harold L.	Wayne University, Detroit
Sicard, Prof. Emile	Ecole des Hautes Etudes Sociales et Internationales, Paris
Silberman, Mr. Leo	University of Oxford
Smets, Prof. Georges	Institut de Sociologie Solvay, Bruxelles
Smigel, Prof. Erwin O.	Indiana University
Sobreroca, P. Luis-Antonio	Instituta Catolico de Estudios Sociales, Barcelona
Solzbacher, Dr. William	Affiliated Schools and Seminars for International Study and Training, Inc., New York
Sommer, Cpt.-Commandant	Ministère de la Défense Nationale Belgique, Liège
Spivack, Mr. Sydney S.	Columbia University, New York
Sprenkel, Miss S. van der	London School of Economics
Sprott, Prof. W. J. H.	University of Nottingham
Srinivas, Prof. Mysore N.	Mysore State University
Steigenga, Dr. Willem	Institute of Social Studies, The Hague
Stilmant, Mlle. Joséphine	Ecole Catholique de Service Social, Bruxelles
Stoetzel, Prof. S.	Université de Bordeaux
Svalastoga, Dr. Kaare	University of Copenhagen
Taillon, M. Léopold	Université St. Joseph N.B., Canada
Tardits, Mr. Claude	University of Chicago
Tenhaeff, Mr. Frederik	Scheveningen
Thalheimer, Dr. R.	Association for Psychiatric Treatment of Offenders, New York
Tönniesman, Miss M.	Cologne University
Törnqvist, Mr. Kurt L.	Sociologiska Institutionen, Lund
Touraine, M. Alain	Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris

Name	*Institution*
Tréanton, M. Jean René	Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris
Tremblay, Prof. Maurice	Laval University, Quebec
Troclet, M. Léon Eli	Ancien Ministre du Travail et de la Prévoyance Sociale, Belgique
Tropp, Dr. Asher	London School of Economics
Tulder, Mr. J. J. M. van	Nederlandse Stichting voor Statistiek, Den Haag
Ülken, Prof. H. Z.	University of Istanbul
Utechin, Dr. Sergei	University of Oxford
Uvalic, Prof. R.	University of Belgrade
Vanherle, M. André	Fédération Générale du Travail de Belgique, Bruxelles
Verdin, M. H.	Centre d'Etudes et de Documentation Sociales de la Province de Liège
Vergnaud, Mlle. Marguerite	Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris
Verniers, M. L.	Belgian Ministry of Education, Brussels
Versichelen-Terryn, Mme. M.	Université de Gand
Vigues, Mr. Henri	Université Deusto, Bilbao
Vries Reilingh, Prof. H. de	University of Amsterdam
Vroonen, M. E.	Cour d'Appel de Bruxelles
Vucht Tijssen, Dr. Jan van	Institute of Personnel Management, Hengelo
Walter, Dr. Emil	University of Zurich
Webster, Miss Sheila	University of Edinburgh
Weiss, Mr. Hans	Zurich
Westerman, Mr. Georges W.	Liga Civica Nacional, Panama
Wijninckx, Mr. Jaz J. C.	Ecole de Service Social d'Anvers
Winiata, Mr. Maharaia	University of Edinburgh
Wolff, Prof. Kurt H.	Ohio State University
Wuekler, Miss Gabriele	Committee of the International Conference of Social Work, Cologne
Wurzbacher, Dr. G.	UNESCO Institute for Social Sciences, Cologne
Xydias, Mlle. Nelly	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris
Zegels, M. Albert	Montigny
Ziegel, Mr. W.	UNESCO Institute for Social Sciences, Cologne

List of Papers Submitted

1. Professor David Glass, " Proposal for the Empirical Study, on a Cross-national Basis, of Social Mobility, and Social Stratification ".
2. Alain Touraine, " Rapport sur la Préparation en France de l'Enquête Internationale sur la Stratification et la Mobilité Sociales ".
3. Dr. Gunnar Boalt, " Social Mobility in Stockholm ".
4. Keith R. Kelsall, " Recruitment of Higher Civil Servants in Britain ".
5. Research Committee, Japan Sociological Society, " Sample Survey of Social Stratification and Social Mobility in six large cities of Japan ".
6. Dr. Andreas Miller, " Das Problem der Klassengrenze und seine Bedeutung bei der Untersuchung der Klassenstruktur ".
7. Professor A. Graffar-Fuss, " Mobilité Sociale et Rupture du Milieu Familial ".
8. Professor Shu-Ching Lee, " Administration and Bureaucracy: The Power Structure in Chinese Society ".
9. Dr. K. V. Müller, " Selektive Wanderung zwischen sowjetischen und westlichen Besatzungsgebiet in Deutschland ".
10. Dr. S. N. Eisenstadt, " Social Mobility and the Evolution of Intergroup Leadership ".
11. Sakari Sariola, " Defining Social Class in Two Finnish Localities ".
12. Asher Tropp, " Factors affecting the Status of the School Teacher in England and Wales ".
13. Dr. A. W. Luijckx, " Inquiry into the Mobility of Employment in the Dutch Middle Class ".
14. Professor Stuart C. Dodd and Dr. H. Winthrop, " A Dimensional Theory of Social Diffusion ".
15. T. Brennan, " Class Behaviour in Local Politics and Social Affairs ".
16. Professor G. Mackenroth, " Bericht über das Forschungsvorhaben ' Wandlungen der deutschen Sozialstruktur (am Beispiel des Landes Schleswig-Holstein ' ".
17. Professor A. A. Congalton, " The Status of Research in New Zealand in the Field of Social Stratification ".
18. Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee, " Social Structure and Stratification of the Indian Nation ".
19. Prof. E. W. Hofstee, " Changes in Rural Social Stratification in the Netherlands ".
20. Prof. F. van Heek, " The Method of Extreme Types as a Tool for the Study of the Causes of Vertical Mobility ".

21. Prof. Helmut Schelsky, " Die Bedeutung des Schichtungsbegriffes für die Analyse der gegenwärtigen deutschen Gesellschaft ".
22. Prof. Sylvain de Coster, " Des Obstacles à l'Ascension Sociale par les Études ".
23. Thomas B. Bottomore, " Higher Civil Servants in France ".
24. Prof. Erwin O. Smigel, " Trends in Occupational Sociology in the United States ".
25. Prof. F. van Heek, " Cross-National Enquiries and Group Studies about Social Stratification and Vertical Mobility in the Netherlands ".
26. Dr. Ida van Hulten, " Summary of a Study of Social Mobility at the Philips Works, Eindhoven ".
27. Serge Utechin, " Social Stratification and Social Mobility in the U.S.S.R. "
28. Prof. Kurt B. Mayer, " The Theory of Social Classes ".
29. Dr. Paul C. Glick, " Educational Attainment and Occupational Advancement ".
30. Prof. Reinhard Bendix, " The Legitimation of an Entrepreneurial Class: The Case of England ".
31. L. J. Lebret, " Note sur les Difficultés Rencontrées dans la Stratification Sociale ".
32. Johannes Nordal, "The Recruitment of the Professions in Iceland ".
33. P. Chombart de Lauwe, " Perception et Représentation dans les Études de Stratification et de Mobilité Sociales ".
34. Prof. Kaare Svalastoga, " Measurement of Occupational Prestige: Methodology and Preliminary Findings Based on Danish Data ".
35. Prof. Isaac Ganon, " Social Stratification in Uruguay ".
36. Henri Mendras, " Structure de la Société Paysanne d'une Région du Sud de la France ".
37. F.-A. Isambert, " Pratique Religieuse et Classes Sociales en France ".
38. Alain Touraine, " Le Statut Social comme Champ d'Action ".
39. Louis Couvreur, " Mobilité Sociale et Milieu Résidentiel ".
40. N. Xydias, " Conscience de Classe et Mobilité Sociale à Vienne-en-France ".
41. Prof. Harold Pfautz, " Social Stratification and Sociology ".
42. Marcel Bresard, " La Mobilité Sociale: Le Choix d'une Echélle Sociologique ".
43. Dr. Sven-Erik-Astrøm, " Literature on Social Mobility and Social Stratification in Finland ".
44. Norman Birnbaum, " Social Class and Religion in the German Reformation ".
45. Prof. Seymour M. Lipset and Prof. Reinhard Bendix, " Ideological Equalitarianism and Social Mobility in the United States ".
46. Lucien Brams, " La Famille Ouvrière en France; Situation Matérielle; Vie Familiale (1900–1953) ".

47. Dr. Sverre Lysgaard, " Social Stratification and the Deferred Gratification Pattern ".
48. Dr. Alessandro Lehner, " Premiers Résultats d'une Enquête par Sondage Effectuée sur la Population de Rome ".
49. Mrs. J. E. Floud, Mr. F. M. Martin, Mr. A. H. Halsey, " Equality of Educational Opportunity and Social Selection in Britain ".
50. Professor T. T. Segerstedt, " An Investigation of Class-consciousness among Office Employees and Workers in Swedish Factories ".
51. Paul Minon, " Choix d'une Profession et Mobilité Sociale ".
52. Nelson N. Foote, Walter R. Goldschmidt, Richard T. Morris, Melvin Seeman and Joseph Shister, " Alternative Assumptions in Stratification Research ".

SECTION II.—INTERGROUP CONFLICTS AND THEIR MEDIATION

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1. Prof. Arnold Rose, " Group Conflict and its Mediation—Hypotheses for Research ".
2. Prof. Heinrich Herrfahrdt, " Die Bedeutung des Ausgleichs von Gruppengegensätzen für das Staatsleben der Gegenwart ".
3. Willard Johnson, " Social Science Research and Intergroup Relations Agencies ".
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5. Prof. Alberto Baldrich, " Los Conflictos entre Grupos ".
6. Dr. H. Garcia Ortiz, " Problemas Generales acerca de los Conflictos entre Grupos y su Solucion ".

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2. Prof. Helmut G. Callis, " The Significance of Cultural Heritage in the Etiology and Adjustment of International Conflicts ".
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8. Dr. F. Tenhaeff, " Scandinavian Co-operation: An Example of Regionalistic Integration ".

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5. Dr. J. Haveman, " Social Tensions in the Relationship of the Farmer and Farm Labourer in an Agricultural District of Northern Holland ".
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17. Dr. Clark Kerr, " Industrial Conflict and its Tactical and Strategical Mediation ".
18. Prof. Alfred Bonné, " Institutional Resistances to Economic Progress ".

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10. Prof. H. Z. Ülken, " De l'Hétérogénéité Ethnique et Religieuse vers l'Homogénéité Culturelle ".

SECTION III.—RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

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1. Prof. A. N. J. den Hollander, " A Survey of the Development of Sociology in the Netherlands, especially after World War II ".
2. Dr. S. F. Nadel, " Sociological Research in Australia ".
3. Dr. H. J. Heeren, " Report on the Development of the Social Sciences in Indonesia ".
4. Japan Sociological Society, " Some Recent Trends in Japanese Sociology ".
5. Dr. K. A. Busia, " Recent Developments in Sociological Research in West Africa ".
6. Dr. S. N. Eisenstadt, " Sociology in Israel: 1948–1953 ".
7. Dr. R. Girod, " Rapport sur le Centre de Recherches Sociologiques sur les Relations Humaines—Genève ".
8. Dr. Nels Anderson, " A Community Survey of Darmstadt, Germany ".
9. Kizaemon Ariga, Takashi Nakano, Kiyomi Morioka and John S. Morton, " The Japanese Family ".
10. Dr. S. N. Eisenstadt, " The Research Project on Leadership, Mobility and Communication ".
11. J. Ben-David, " Report on the Research Project on Youth Movements in Israel ".
12. Prof. Stuart C. Dodd and Chahin Turabian, " A Dimensional System of Human Values ".
13. Prof. L. Mendieta y Nuñez, " Social Investigation in the National Autonomous University of Mexico ".
14. East African Institute of Social Research, " Report on the East African Institute of Social Research ".
15. Jean Paul Poisson, " Une Nouvelle Méthode en Sciences Humaines: l'Étude des Actes Notariés ".

16. Dr. Alphonse Silberman, " Sociological Aspects of Radio-Music ".
17. Prof. G. Wurzbacher, " Report on Aims, Methods and Present State of a Community Study of the UNESCO Institute for Social Sciences, Cologne ".
18. Centre " Économie et Humanisme ", " Travaux de Sociologie Entrepris par le Centre ' Économie et Humanisme ' ".
19. P. Chombart de Lauwe, " Études Comparatives en Ethnologie Sociales et Applications ".
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24. Prof. René König, " Report on Some Experiences in Social Research Work in Switzerland and Germany ".
25. Dr. Uriel G. Foa, " Types of Formal Leaders: Their Rôle Perception and In-Group Contacts ".

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1. Prof. E. Dupréel, " Sur une Généralisation de l'Objet de la Sociologie ".
2. I. Baltacioglu, " Esquisse d'une Division Rationnelle de la Sociologie ".
3. Dr. A. M. Paredes, " El Porvenir de la Filosofia y los Methodos Sociologicos ".
4. A Povina, " La Sociologia Argentina Contemporanea ".
5. C. A. Echenove Trujillo, " Sociology and Social Thought in the Argentine Republic ".
6. B. H. Grand Ruiz, " Aportes Sociologices del Existencialismo de Jean Paul Sartre ".
7. Ismaël Quiles, " Aporte Social del Cristianismo ".

SECTION IV.—THE TRAINING, PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF SOCIOLOGISTS

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1. Prof. A. McClung Lee, " Standards and Ethics in Sociological Research ".
2. Prof. C. Pellizi, " Notes on the Professional Activities of Sociologists in Italy and on the Deontology of the Sociological Profession ".
3. V. Jagannadham, " Problems of Social Policy and Social Planning with special reference to India ".
4. Prof. Everett C. Hughes, " Professional and Career Problems of Sociology ".

5. Edgar Morin, " A propos de la Formation des Sociologues en France ".
6. Prof. Georges Friedmann and Jean Tréanton, " Remarques sur les Activités et Responsabilités Professionnelles des Sociologues en France ".
7. Prof. L. Mendieta y Nuñez, " The Teaching of Sociology ".
8. Prof. Carroll D. Clark, " The Relations of Public Institutions with Sources of Research Funds ".
9. Prof. S. M. Miller, " The Choice of Research Projects ".
10. Dr. Glaister A. Elmer, " Integrity: The First of the Field Research Requirements ".
11. Dr. Elbridge Sibley, " Professional Activities and Responsibilities of Sociologists in the United States ".
12. Mrs. Ruth Glass, " Detachment and Attachment ".