

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOURTH
WORLD CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY

ACTES DU QUATRIÈME
CONGRÈS MONDIAL DE SOCIOLOGIE

VOLUME III

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOURTH
WORLD CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY

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CONGRÈS MONDIAL DE SOCIOLOGIE

Milan and Stresa, 8-15 September, 1959

General Theme

SOCIETY AND SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE
LA SOCIÉTÉ ET LA CONNAISSANCE SOCIOLOGIQUE

VOLUME III

Abstracts of Papers and Discussions
Résumés des communications et débats

INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
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Editorial Note

The present volume contains abstracts of the mimeographed papers which were contributed in the various Congress sections, and reports on the discussions. A small number of contributors did not provide abstracts of their papers, and are therefore not represented in the volume.

The volume also contains the Presidential Address by Professor Georges Friedmann, a general report on the Congress and on the administrative meetings of the International Sociological Association, and a number of introductory papers which should have appeared in Volumes I and II but which were not available in time. These papers are: Professor R. K. Merton's essay on the social context of sociology, which discusses some of the issues raised by the national studies published in Volume I; Mrs. Ruth Glass' introductory paper on the application of sociological knowledge to regional and town planning; and Professor Morris Janowitz' introductory paper on the sociological study of mass communications.

Several additional meetings were held during the Congress, and brief reports on some of them are included in this volume. The discussion in the meeting devoted to the sociology of knowledge was based upon a number of papers which had been circulated in advance, and these papers will be published separately in a fourth volume of *Transactions*, to be edited by Professor Kurt H. Wolff.

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INTRODUCTION

Allocution du President *

le Professeur GEORGES FRIEDMANN

Grâce au magnifique travail du Comité d'Organisation où le rôle du Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale, et de la jeune Associazione Italiana di Scienze Sociali a été considérable, grâce au patronage toujours actif et efficace de l'U.N.E.S.C.O., représentée ici par son Directeur Général, le Dr. Véronése et par le Professeur MARSHALL, directeur du Département des Sciences Sociales, grâce, enfin, à la généreuse hospitalité du Gouvernement italien, de la Municipalité de Stresa, et de la province de Milan, hospitalité dont cette Aula Magna, inaugurée pour notre réunion plénière, est plus qu'un symbole, les travaux du IV^e Congrès Mondial de Sociologie se présentent sous les meilleures auspices.

Il convient d'abord que je vous informe en quelques mots du développement de notre Association Internationale de Sociologie dont ce Congrès marque une nouvelle étape. Rappelons que l'Association comprend trois sortes de membres : réguliers, associés et, exceptionnellement, individuels, les deux premières catégories étant des collectivités : sociétés, instituts et centres de recherches. En 1950, lors du premier congrès mondial, on comptait 35 collectivités adhérentes représentant 39 pays ; aujourd'hui, en septembre 1959, notre association représente 66 collectivités scientifiques qui appartiennent à 57 pays. Parallèlement, le nombre de participants à nos congrès n'a cessé de croître : en 1950, à Zurich, il était de 124. Ce chiffre avait déjà plus que doublé à Liège, en 1953, plus que quadruplé à Amsterdam en 1956. Aujourd'hui, le IV^e Congrès mondial réunit près de 1.000 participants représentant 50 pays. Notre Association a donc connu un développement rapide et a véritablement le droit de se proclamer internationale.

Bien que la préparation de ce Congrès ait été une tâche absorbante pour le Comité Exécutif et surtout pour le Secrétariat, l'activité de notre Association ne s'y est pas limitée. Je vous ferai grâce des nombreux séminaires et conférences restreintes qu'elle a suscités et

* *Editorial Note.* Professor Friedmann was prevented by illness from attending the Opening Session of the Congress and was thus unable to deliver his Presidential Address. However, he had sent a copy of the Address to the Secretariat shortly before the Congress opened and we publish it here as a general introduction to the Congress discussions.

mentionnerai seulement, pour ces dernières années, la sous-commission de stratification et de mobilité sociales, de sociologie industrielle et de sociologie urbaine-rurale. Chacun de ces groupes s'est réuni depuis notre IIIème Congrès, en partie grâce à l'appui de la Fondation Ford. En outre, sous le patronage de l'U.N.E.S.C.O., l'Association a organisé diverses conférences, en particulier celle de Zagreb (août 1956) sur le rôle des classes moyennes dans les pays du pourtour méditerranéen et celle de Moscou (Janvier 1958) sur les aspects sociologiques de la coopération pacifique. C'est à la conférence de Moscou qu'a été décidée la réalisation d'une recherche internationale de sociologie du cinéma pour laquelle une sous-commission se réunira, à l'issue du Congrès, à Pérouse, en même temps que d'autres groupes de travail de l'Association.

Je ne détaillerai pas le chapitre des publications, rappelant seulement les Actes des Congrès depuis 1953 (et à ce propos, le Secrétariat n'est en rien responsable du retard apporté à la parution du volume II des Actes du présent Congrès, retard dû à une grève prolongée de l'imprimerie en Angleterre), la parution régulière des fascicules de *Current Sociology*, la collaboration à la Bibliographie annuelle de la Sociologie.

Ecourtant la liste des activités de l'Association, j'en viens, sans tarder davantage, à celle qui nous réunit ici, c'est-à-dire à ce Congrès dont le thème général est : "La Société et la connaissance sociologique".

Pourquoi cette réflexion sur la connaissance sociologique dans ses rapports avec la société a-t-elle été choisie? Comment, dans l'esprit de l'équipe qui a peu à peu mis au point le programme de vos réunions, ses différentes parties sont-elles liées? Peut-être n'est-il pas inutile de le rappeler au seuil de ce Congrès, en vous indiquant ainsi le fond de décor sur lequel vont se détacher et coopérer les différents sections et les groupes de travail.

A Amsterdam même, dans les derniers jours d'août 1956, à l'issue du IIIe Congrès mondial, le Comité exécutif de notre Association avait proposé comme sujet, pour le IVe Congrès : "La connaissance sociologique: son acquisition, son rôle et son application". Il tenait ainsi compte d'un voeu qui avait été exprimé de divers côtés: à savoir qu'une section fût consacrée à la discussion de problèmes théoriques importants et, en particulier, à des questions de méthode. Ce thème, dont la formulation tripartite était fort élégante (je puis le dire, n'en étant pas l'auteur) fut néanmoins abandonné après discussion. On lui reprochait surtout de méconnaître, dans son expression universaliste, la relativité des modes d'acquisition, du rôle, et de l'application de la connaissance sociologique selon les sociétés globales, leur contexte historique et culturel, leur développement

technique et économique.

L'accent se trouvait donc mis sur la relativité. Ainsi s'explique la période suivante de nos débats, durant l'hiver 1956-1957 : celle des thèmes axés sur le "social control", que nous avons traduit en français par "régulation consciente des sociétés".

Cette notion, à la fois vague et classique (puisque remontant aux travaux d'Edward Ross, publiés dès 1919) avait le mérite de pouvoir s'étendre à toutes les formes d'action du milieu social sur l'individu, y compris, et nous y avions songé, les lois, l'opinion publique et son fonctionnement par les "mass media", la religion, l'armée et j'en passe. Elle permettait donc l'intervention de nombreux spécialistes et la coopération interdisciplinaire, en particulier avec la psychologie sociale.

Mais le sujet demeurait flottant, difficile à structurer et nous en sommes ainsi venus, troisième étape, au thème qui vous est proposé. Il nous a paru retenir l'essentiel des deux précédentes formulations. En effet, notre section I "La sociologie dans son contexte social" inclut l'acquisition et le rôle de la connaissance sociologique tout en respectant la relativité des approches et des problèmes. Elle amorce une sociologie historique de la sociologie dans un certain nombre de pays. Les douze rapports dont les conclusions seront présentées et discutées cette après-midi témoignent de cet effort. Aux problèmes de méthodologie a été consacré, comme beaucoup d'entre vous le souhaitaient, une section entière, comprenant dix sous-sections spécialisées.

Par ailleurs, il nous a paru indispensable d'insister sur les champs et problèmes des applications. Le Congrès servirait ainsi à présenter objectivement notre discipline à l'opinion publique, souvent si peu ou si mal informée à ce sujet. En même temps cette section comprenant treize sous-sections, pourrait, nous l'espérons du moins, attirer l'attention d'un certain nombre d'institutions susceptibles de bénéficier de la recherche sociologique dans les domaines variés de ses applications. Enfin, elle couvrait une partie du terrain survolé par la notion de "contrôle social".

Mais il restait l'aspect le plus actuel, en tout cas le plus vivement et souvent passionnément discuté de la notion de contrôle social, celui qui appelait tout particulièrement un ample débat scientifique dans un Congrès tel que le nôtre : celui de la planification sociale. Nous lui avons accordé une large place, en confiant à trois rapporteurs hautement qualifiés la direction de trois groupes de travail. Enfin, nous avons laissé toute latitude à des groupes de discussion de s'organiser autour du thème principal : sociologie de la religion, de la connaissance, de l'hygiène mentale, de la politique auront ainsi leur place, ainsi qu'une réunion sur les aspects et problèmes sociaux du

développement économique en Italie, préparée par nos collègues italiens.

L'Association internationale de Sociologie a-t-elle ainsi réussi à offrir à une clientèle aussi distinguée et nombreuse le menu varié qui convient à chacun? Un proche avenir le dira.

L'unité du thème de ce Congrès ayant été ainsi rapidement évoquée dans sa génétique, il n'est pas inutile, maintenant, d'en souligner quelques liaisons fonctionnelles, en donnant ainsi à cette allocution rituelle le sens d'une introduction (ou du moins d'une esquisse d'introduction) à votre semaine de travail.

Au cours de nos entretiens préparatoires, nous avons constaté que la sociologie suscite aujourd'hui encore, dans des pays par ailleurs fort différents, certaines réactions analogues qu'illustre l'anecdote suivante. En France, il y a quelques années, au cours d'un colloque consacré à la recherche scientifique, un de nos collègues défendait avec ardeur la cause de notre discipline, demandait des crédits, des chercheurs mieux rétribués, des locaux, enfin tout ce qu'un sociologue, en France, et ailleurs, aussi, peut souhaiter. Parmi ceux qui l'écoutaient il y avait des hommes appartenant à toutes les branches du savoir. Un physicien connu qui ne goûtait pas ce plaidoyer dit alors à ceux qui l'entouraient: "Quand la maison brûle, ce n'est pas le décorateur qu'on appelle, c'est le pompier".

Cette boutade s'inspire de jugements que l'on rencontre dans des milieux variés: savants appartenant aux sciences de la nature (comme dans ce cas), mais aussi ingénieurs, hommes d'affaires, gens de l'industrie et de la politique, grand public. Ils impliquent une opposition tranchée entre le seul "véritable" scientifique qui procède par expérimentation, calcul, déduction—et tout le reste, qui est littérature ou, comme le disait notre physicien, "décoration". Il s'agit là d'une des réactions de la société industrielle à la sociologie telle qu'elle s'est développée depuis un demi-siècle. En Grande-Bretagne, en Allemagne, en Italie, aux Etats-Unis même, on trouve dans l'opinion publique des jugements analogues. Et je me demande si en U.R.S.S. la nouvelle Association Soviétique de Sociologie, fondée en 1958, ne doit pas faire face, dans certains milieux, à d'impatientes critiques du même genre.

Ces attitudes, composées, à dose variée, d'ignorance, de dédain et aus si, il faut le dire, d'exploitation de certaines de nos lacunes et de nos faiblesses, s'appuient par ailleurs sur l'enthousiasme suscité par les applications des sciences physico-chimiques, leurs succès grandioses frappant aussi bien l'élite que les foules. La sociologie, cette tard-venue, n'a certes pas la prétention de concurrencer l'expansion fracassante des sciences de la nature et pas davantage le désir d'attiser de stériles querelles. Ce que nous disons ici est au contraire motivé

par un désir de clarification et de compréhension réciproque. Notre Congrès, par le choix de son thème, pourra contribuer à dissiper des malentendus. La sociologie, étroitement liée aux autres sciences sociales, s'affirme de plus en plus comme une nécessaire prise de conscience de la société industrielle par elle-même. Face à des "pompiers" dont le rôle est, hélas, souvent malgré eux, de préparer l'incendie, le sociologue devrait être de plus en plus celui qui peut aider à prévenir ou même à éteindre le feu. Autrement dit, face au progrès technique dont les sciences de la nature sont les infatigables promoteurs, le sociologue, s'il était mieux équipé et plus souvent consulté, pourraît en contrôler l'introduction, y mieux adapter les collectivités et les individus, aider les sociétés industrielles à trouver un équilibre qu'elles n'ont encore, quelle que soit leur structure, nulle part atteint dans le monde.

Dans ces rapports complexes entre société et sociologie, la société, influencée par sa structure (classes sociales, mouvements politiques, religion, traditions culturelles, organisation universitaire, etc. . .), peut développer, mais aussi retarder la connaissance sociologique, prise de conscience de ses institutions, de ses problèmes.

Il sera intéressant, à la suite de ce Congrès, d'étudier de plus près, dans divers pays, l'hostilité à cette prise de conscience et les idéologies, valeurs, préjugés, mythes à travers lesquels elle s'exprime. Disons seulement qu'aujourd'hui la sociologie se trouve parfois confrontée à des attitudes négatives qui vont du dédain à l'hostilité, à la fois du côté de certains milieux scientifiques ou techniques, centrés sur les sciences de la nature, et du côté de certains défenseurs traditionnels des humanités classiques, pour des raisons très différentes. Pour les premiers, dont notre physicien français était un spécimen, les sociologues sont des "littéraires", des gens pas sérieux, adonnés à de vaines et indémontrables spéculations;—pour les seconds, ce sont des techniciens, pédants de la statistique et de l'enquête, étrangers aux problèmes essentiels de la culture,—en somme de dangereux représentants de la barbarie moderne. Les maladies infantiles de la sociologie dont il sera question dans un instant, ont été en partie responsables de ces reproches contradictoires.

Il faut ajouter que la société gêne la connaissance sociologique non seulement en la niant, mais aussi, parfois, en la soutenant maladroitement: par exemple lorsque l'Etat prétend mettre en circulation, sous le nom de sociologues, des serviteurs conformistes d'idéologies officielles ou d'intérêts particuliers. Le même rôle nocif peut être, notons-le, joué par des institutions privées, entreprises industrielles ou commerciales, associations professionnelles ou syndicales.

Les maladies infantiles de la sociologie apparaissent clairement à travers l'exposé des ses vicissitudes dans divers pays. Elles expli-

quent en partie les réactions néfastes de la société et, par contre-coup s'en trouvent parfois prolongées. Mentionnons seulement celles qui paraissent avoir été les principales, coexistant ou prédominant selon les moments :

1°—Une systématisation philosophique trop ambitieuse, accompagnée de généralisations trop rapides, en Allemagne, par exemple, mais aussi bien, selon d'autres modalités, en France, en Italie—aujourd'hui encore dans certains pays d'Amérique latine.

2°—Un empirisme vulgaire, rassemblant des matériaux souvent utiles en soi, mais accumulés sans méthode et sans choix et au milieu desquels l'usager se noie faute d'idée directrice, de classification, d'explication et de preuves.

3°—A l'autre extrémité, un mathématisation naïf, inspiré d'un culte dévot des méthodes statistiques plus ou moins mal digérées, d'une poursuite de la quantification à tout prix, souvent d'un emploi artificiel de la méthode expérimentale appliquée comme une panacée, dans l'ignorance de toute mise en perspective historique, de tout contexte anthropologique et culturel. Trop de recherches conduites dans cet esprit font penser à la montagne qui accouche d'une souris.

C'est par une intuition juste de cette situation que beaucoup d'entre vous avaient exprimé le voeu que le IV^e Congrès mondial étudiât de près les méthodes de la sociologie, la manière dont elles sont influencées par l'appel croissant à ses applications, la possibilité ou la nécessité, et sur quels points, de les réviser. Le développement de la sociologie est inégal, selon l'état technique, économique et culturel du pays envisagé. Dans l'ensemble, les maladies infantiles ont été reconnues et leurs symptômes se font plus rares. En revanche, on voit de plus en plus les signes d'une évolution vers une science authentique, capable de retrouver sous la complexité des faits sociaux des relations intelligibles, d'expliquer leur genèse, leur évolution, leur forme présente. Sur beaucoup de grands problèmes, nos connaissances demeurent insuffisantes (l'effort d'investigation étant à peine commencé et trop peu soutenu). Mais il en est déjà d'autres où elles s'étoffent, s'ordonnent, offrant à la fois des explications théoriques et des moyens d'action. La section de ce Congrès consacrée aux applications en porte témoignage.

Si l'on compare l'état des ressources dont disposait la sociologie scientifique à l'époque de ses "Pères Fondateurs", et aujourd'hui, et même si l'on restreint cette comparaison au dernier demi-siècle, les progrès sont incontestables. Les moyens de la sociologie en chaires, crédits, chercheurs qualifiés, sa place dans les universités, les administrations, la vie des affaires et des associations professionnelles de beaucoup de pays (les Etats-Unis au premier rang) se sont accrues. Mais face aux moyens prodigieux dont disposent les sciences de la

nature et leurs applications, ces progrès, au reste fort inégaux selon les régions, paraissent infimes. Les ressources pour l'enseignement, l'équipement en personnel et en matériel des Instituts, l'organisation de recherches empiriques bien conduites demeurent limitées de manière inquiétante et même dangereuse.

Car la société a besoin de la connaissance sociologique. Plus la société se complique, plus elle crée autour de l'homme un milieu dense, opaque, exerçant sur lui une action multiforme par des stimuli incessants. C'est un lieu commun de dire que l'industrialisation rapide des sociétés (qu'elle soit désordonnée ou diversement méthodique) appelle la coopération des sciences sociales et de la sociologie. A vrai dire, l'influence pratique de la sociologie est aujourd'hui encore le plus souvent indirecte: l'appel direct à des connaissances sociologiques existantes est trop rare. Néanmoins, dans beaucoup de domaines d'application que vous étudierez, la sociologie a déjà fait les preuves de son efficacité. Parmi vous, des marxistes et des non-marxistes discuteront de la capacité du sociologue à activer et orienter la transformation du monde. Mais ils s'accorderont sans dout pour admettre que le sociologue peut aider l'adaptation réciproque des structures socio-économiques, d'une part, et des individus de l'autre. Naguère l'humanité disposait de siècles pour s'adapter à un nouveau type de traction animale ou de charrue. Aujourd'hui, chaque jour, chaque heure apportent des changements techniques. La connaissance sociologique puet être un précieux substitut du temps dans les processus d'adaptation.

Parmi les changements, il en est qui forment une catégorie particulièrement intéressante pour le sociologue: ceux qui sont introduits dans une société d'après un programme étudié à l'avance et avec une prévision coordonnée des résultats. Ces phénomènes —régulation consciente, contrôle social, planification—constituent, par leur extension et leur ambition, un des traits sociaux essentiels de notre époque. Ici encore se pose un problème d'adaptation au changement qui appelle la connaissance sociologique: en fait, les planificateurs ont jusqu'à présent rarement fait appel aux sociologues et c'est bien entendu pour nous une excellente raison d'expliquer certains de leurs échecs. La compétition théorique et pratique entre les divers types de planification est devenue un débat politique trop souvent passionné. Les économies de type capitaliste multiplient les interventions concertées de l'Etat dans la vie économique par les investissements, le crédit, les prix, l'implantation industrielle, etc.... Selon les marxistes, seule la collectivisation totale (et en fait, l'étatisation) des moyens de production permet une planification authentique et efficace. En revanche, une planification de ce type, centralisée, autoritaire, peut-elle se réaliser sans la prépondérance d'une idéologie, d'essence universaliste et totalitaire, sans la suppression du pluralisme politique,

scientifique, artistique et de ce que la démocratie occidentale appelle la liberté d'information et d'opinion. Je me contente de rappeler ici ces problèmes parmi les plus importants de notre temps, qui seront présents à vos esprits lors des discussions de la section II de ce Congrès.

Enfin, en élaborant le thème du congrès, nous avons pensé que vous seriez intéressé par l'examen des rapports actuels du sociologue et de la société qu'il étudie et dont il est membre. De l'ensemble des textes préparés pour nos réunions, se dégagent quelques tendances générales dont vous aurez à examiner la compatibilité et la valeur.

A travers la production de sociologues travaillant dans des contextes très différents, par exemple U.R.S.S., Amérique latine, Etats-Unis, Pologne, Europe occidentale, on constate que l'ambition de la connaissance scientifique se mêle à l'exigence (ou à la nostalgie) de l'action. L'action du sociologue peut être concue par lui essentiellement comme la *transformation* militante du milieu. Mais il peut aussi considérer que sa mission est avant tout d'aider l'homme dans son *adaptation* à ce nouvel environnement. Disons, en gros, que les sociologues soviétiques, invoquant la célèbre thèse de Marx sur Feuerbach, jugent que leur rôle, loin d'être celui d'une passive compréhension des faits sociaux, est de contribuer consciemment et énergiquement à la transformation du monde. Les sociologues non-marxistes d'Amérique et d'Europe, à travers leurs différences d'école et de tempérament individuel, paraissent, dans l'ensemble, mettre plutôt l'accent sur les problèmes d'adaptation. Les nombreuses recherches de la sociologie occidentale consacrées depuis vingt ans à l'introduction de changements et aux réactions qu'ils suscitent, en sont la preuve. L'environnement social est une réalité que le sociologue doit affronter et dominer par la connaissance pour permettre aux collectivités et aux individus de s'y adapter le plus harmonieusement possible, d'y trouver le plus de bien-être physique et moral—and de liberté. Dans cette perspective, le sociologue, et tout particulièrement aux Etats-Unis, se considère souvent comme un pionnier qui se bat sur cette nouvelle frontière, moins pour la déplacer que pour défricher le terrain conquis, aider l'homme à s'y construire une existence rationnelle et libre.

En fait, ces oppositions théoriques sont très nuancées par la réalité. Il y a, de part et d'autre, volonté de transformation, de part et d'autre souci de l'adaptation. Sans vouloir le proclamer explicitement (car leurs moyens et leurs résultats sont souvent limités), les sociologues occidentaux contribuent à la transformation, et en tout cas à la réforme, du milieu social par les recherches sur l'urbanisation, les grandes organisations administratives, la santé mentale, le système hospitalier, les relations raciales, etc. . . Réciproquement, la contribution des sociologues soviétiques à la création de ce qu'on appelle en U.R.S.S.

“l’homme nouveau”, n’est-ce pas en d’autres termes, la recherche d’un nouveau type de relations humaines adaptées aux nouveaux rapports de production? Quant aux sociologues polonais, j’ai pu, au cours d’un récent voyage, constater à quel point ils sont intéressés par les problèmes de l’adaptation (sous tous ses aspects, physiologiques, psychologiques et sociaux), des travailleurs d’origine rurale transplantés dans de grands centres industriels, tels que Nowa Huta.

Un autre courant, sensible par ailleurs dans la production sociologique, suscite une autre image que le sociologue veut avoir et présenter de lui-même: celle de l’*expert*. Il vous appartiendra de juger dans quelle mesure et sous quelles conditions ce rôle d’expert peut s’accorder avec ceux que nous venons de définir, à savoir d’un côté la participation militante à la transformation du milieu, et, de l’autre, l’adaptation des individus et collectivités qui en font partie. Il vous appartiendra aussi, si vous le désirez, de pousser plus loin l’analyse. Le rôle du sociologue est différent selon la collectivité qui fait appel à lui: une grande administration publique (c’est-à-dire l’Etat) une entreprise industrielle, commerciale, financière, une corporation économique, un syndicat, une association professionnelle—différent aussi bien entendu selon le contexte de la société globale, selon les modalités de la propriété étatisée et de la propriété privée des moyens de production. De plus, en Occident, le rôle de l’expert est différent selon le domaine où ses connaissances doivent être appliquées, sociologie rurale administrative, industrielle. Peut-il se considérer comme un expert non responsable de l’*utilisation* qui sera faite de ses recherches? Peut-il, dans un conflit qu’il arbitre, se désintéresser du risque que ses conclusions soient détournées au profit de la collectivité la plus puissante? S’il s’agit de recherches appliquées aux relations humaines dans une entreprise, doit-il ignorer qu’elles serviront à des manipulations du personnel contraires aux intérêts matériels ou moraux de celui-ci?

A ces questions, les sociologues, quel que soit l’horizon d’où ils viennent, répondent nettement par la négative. Marxistes ou non marxistes, s’inspirant ou non d’une doctrine de tendance universaliste, ils sont, plus ou moins consciemment, inspirés par des systèmes de valeurs. S’efforçant de donner à la société une prise de conscience valable d’elle-même, de ses difficultés, de ses problèmes, le sociologue est, du même coup, voué à dissiper les mythes, les préjugés, les passions, les images aberrantes de toutes origines. De cette vocation l’histoire nous a donné au cours du dernier quart de siècle une démonstration par l’absurde. Dans les régimes où régnait des idéologies soumises aux théories raciales contraires aux droits de l’homme, y a-t-il eu des sociologies dignes de ce nom? Il n’y a pas eu de sociologues dans le IIIe Reich et pas davantage, d’après les rapports qui vous sont soumis, dans l’Italie fasciste. Une sociologie

de la terre et du sang, nécessairement irrationnelle, est une contradiction dans les termes.

Une analyse du contenu de la production sociologique montrerait dans chaque pays l'existence d'un consensus autour de valeurs fondamentales, par exemple, aux Etats-Unis, l'effort pour réaliser plus pleinement l'égalité et la liberté individuelle. En France, malgré toutes les différences de tempérament, d'orientation intellectuelle, d'attitude politique, ce consensus autour de valeurs fondamentales est sensible dans la nouvelle génération de sociologues. Il serait facile à déceler et paraît s'être accentué depuis dix ans au choc des grands problèmes intérieurs de notre pays et des événements internationaux. Le sociologue a cessé d'être explicitement un philosophe. Toutefois, même lorsqu'il est le plus zélé protagoniste des méthodes modernes d'investigation, il joue, en fait, à l'égard de la société qu'il étudie, le rôle d'un témoin, d'un nouveau type de moraliste, le moraliste de la société industrielle. Nous retrouvons ici cette sorte de dialectique qui est, dans le fond, le thème de notre Congrès : la société industrielle appelant, promouvant la connaissance sociologique et le sociologue, réciproquement, agissant sur elle par l'observation armée, la critique, l'intervention concertée.

Il serait, au reste, vain et dangereux de nier des différences parfois profondes dans les systèmes de valeurs des sociologues, et dans leurs relations avec la société dont ils font partie, différences qui marquent les rapports dont vous avez eu communication et qui s'exprimeront ici au cours de nombreuses discussions publiques et privées. Néanmoins, la communauté d'effort pour transformer l'univers social, y mieux adapter l'individu, y assurer son équilibre psychologique et son épanouissement personnel est un lien réel qui unit les sociologues par dessus les frontières géographiques et doctrinaires. Il contribuera, nous n'en doutons pas, à la fécondité de cette manifestation, à laquelle nous vous remercions cordialement de participer, au succès de ce grand Congrès voué au progrès scientifique et à la coopération pacifique des nations.

General Report on the Congress

T. B. BOTTOMORE

(Executive Secretary, International Sociological Association, 1953-59)

The International Sociological Association held its Fourth World Congress of Sociology in Milan and Stresa from the 8th-15th September 1959. The meetings on the first day took place in Milan. The opening session, in the morning, was held in the new Assembly Hall of the Province of Milan, and the first plenary session, in the afternoon, was held in the principal lecture hall of the State University of Milan. The Congress then moved to Stresa, and the subsequent meetings took place in the Palazzo dei Congressi, Stresa.

The Congress was held under the auspices of UNESCO and of the Italian Government. Signor Gronchi, President of the Italian Republic, graciously consented to be the Honorary President of the Congress.

The Congress was sponsored by a large and representative Italian Committee, supported by the Italian member association of the ISA, the Associazione Italiana di Scienze Sociale, and by the Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale.

A Programme Committee comprising Professors Georges Friedmann (Chairman), Raymond Aron, Felice Battaglia, Pierre de Bie, D. V. Glass, A. N. J. den Hollander, René König, Radomir Lukić, R. K. Merton, Jan Szczepanski, Tullio Tentori, Renato Treves, and Dr. A. Beria di Argentine, made the arrangements for the scientific sessions.

The local arrangements for the Congress were made by an Italian Organising Committee whose members were Adrio Casati (Chairman), L. Ancona, A. Ardigò, R. Banfi Rossanda, F. Barbano, A. Beria di Argentine, C. Brambilla, S. Burgalassi, M. Castelli, L. Cavalli, F. Ceriani Sebregondi, M. Colombo, L. Diena, F. Ferrarotti, A. Garofalo, G. Glisenti, S. Lombardini, L. Mescheri, E. Minoli, F. Momigliano, A. Ozzola, A. Pagani, E. Pennati, A. Pizzorno, F. Rossi Landi, U. Scarpelli, T. Sepilli, R. Treves (members), and F. Arborio Mella, D. Gualtierotti Rondini, and M. E. Reina (secretaries).

The Italian organisers not only provided all the facilities for the Congress sessions, including the reception of participants, interpretation, and the recording of discussions; they also arranged an elaborate and enjoyable programme of entertainments, which included a concert at

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La Scala, an excursion to Como, and a number of receptions and banquets.

The travel expenses of the principal contributors were met largely by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

There were 980 registered participants, of whom some 800 took an active part in the Congress proceedings. A list of the participants, compiled by the Italian Organising Committee, is given in the Appendix.

OPENING SESSION

The Opening Session of the Congress was also the occasion for the inauguration of the Provincial Assembly Hall, and it was attended by many people eminent in the public life of the City and Province of Milan. The session was presided over by Signor BORELLI, President of the Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale, who welcomed the Congress participants, and in particular the representative of the Italian Government, Signor DEL BO, Minister of Foreign Trade; the representative of the United Nations, MR. MCGRANAHAN; the Director-General of UNESCO, Dr. Vittorino VERONESE; and the representatives of the City and Province of Milan. Signor BORELLI then referred to the Italian contributions to sociology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and he expressed the hope that the present Congress would give a fresh impetus to the recent revival of sociological studies in Italy.

Dr. Adrio Casati, who spoke next, welcomed the participants on behalf of the City and Province of Milan, and emphasized the practical value which the Congress discussions might have for those engaged in public administration.

Signor DEL BO conveyed the good wishes of the Italian Government for the success of the Congress. He underlined the significance of a meeting which brought together scholars from widely differing cultures in the common enterprise of studying as objectively as possible the phenomena of human society, and he referred especially to the value of sociology in the study of the new situations and aspirations which economic and social development was bringing about everywhere in the world.

Dr. VERONESE expressed the interest and good wishes of UNESCO, observing that sociology had a central place in UNESCO's activities, and that the growth of the International Sociological Association, attested by the expansion of its activities and by its increasingly successful congresses, constituted an important element in the success of the UNESCO programme.

Mr. MCGRANAHAN conveyed the greetings and good wishes of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. He noted that many topics in the Congress programme were of direct interest to the United Nations,

particularly those related to the development of under-developed countries, and those concerned with problems of method.

The next speaker was Professor FELICE BATTAGLIA, the chairman of the Sociological Section of the Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale, who evoked the contribution to sociology, in its early stages, of Pareto and Mosca, and in more recent times of Luigi Sturzo.

Professor RENATO TREVES, President of the Associazione Italiana di Scienze Sociale, welcomed the choice of Italy as the host country for the Congress and expressed the hope that the work of the Congress would stimulate interest in sociological studies and would aid the development of the newly founded Italian association. The publication of the Congress *Transactions* in an Italian translation was intended to diffuse knowledge of modern sociology and methods of research more widely in Italy.

Professor A. N. J. DEN HOLLANDER, Vice-President of the International Sociological Association, apologised for the absence of the President, Professor FRIEDMANN, who had been taken ill. He passed briefly in review the work of the Association and the preparations for the Congress, and paid a warm tribute to the Italian organisers for the tremendous effort which they had devoted to making the Congress a success.

Dr. CASATI announced that messages of goodwill had been received from Signor Segni, President of the Council of Ministers; Signor Pella, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Signor Medici, Minister of Public Instruction; Signor De Nicola; and Professor Einaudi. He then declared the session closed.

SCIENTIFIC MEETINGS

On this occasion there were fewer plenary sessions and more group meetings as compared with previous congresses. Three plenary sessions were held; on Sociology in its Social Context, on Sociological Aspects of Social Planning, and on Developments in Sociological Methods. Most of the time, however, was devoted to group discussion; twelve meetings, held concurrently and extending over three full sessions, were concerned with the applications of sociological knowledge in different areas of social life, and ten seminars, also held concurrently and occupying two sessions were devoted to sociological methods. In addition, three of the seminars joined forces to hold a special meeting on the historical and sociological study of rebellions and revolutions.

The arrangements for discussion were somewhat disturbed by two factors. First, the printing strike in Britain made it impossible to publish the second volume of *Transactions*, which contained many of the introductory papers, before the Congress met. However, some of the papers were distributed at the Congress in the form of offprints.

Second, some of the shorter mimeographed papers quite inexplicably failed to arrive in Stresa by the due date, or even at all, although despatched in good time. But in spite of these difficulties the group meetings were generally successful and, as will be seen from the reports published in this volume, the discussions were interesting and profitable.

A number of additional meetings were also held. Those on the sociology of knowledge, the sociology of religion, political elites, psychiatric sociology, and the sociology of film, had been announced before the Congress and discussion papers had been invited. Brief reports on some of these meetings will be found later in this volume. The papers on the sociology of knowledge, as mentioned earlier, will be published in Volume IV of the *Transactions*. The papers on political elites are also to be published in Italy.

On Saturday, September 12th, Signor MEDICI, Minister of Public Instruction visited the Congress. He attended a reception with members of the Italian Organising Committee and the Executive Committee of the International Sociological Association, and subsequently took part in one of the group meetings.

ADMINISTRATIVE MEETINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

During the Congress the ISA Council held its fourth session, and meetings of the Executive and Administrative Committees were held. The Council and Committees received reports on membership, finance, publications, and research.

A special meeting of the Executive Committee was held to consider membership applications which had been received immediately prior to the Congress, and five new members were admitted. The membership of the Association was reported to the next meeting of the Council as being:

REGULAR MEMBERS	Regional and National Associations	37
	Institutes	25
ASSOCIATE MEMBERS	4
INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS	40
This membership represented 58 countries.		

The Executive Secretary presented a report on the publications of the Association. The *Transactions* of the Second World Congress were now out of print, while there was a continuing steady sale of the *Transactions* of the Third World Congress. The following issues of *Current Sociology*, which was now published for the Association by Basil Blackwell (Oxford), had appeared since the last Congress:

- Vol. VI, No. 1. T. Lynn Smith, "Rural Sociology"
 No. 2. R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, "Political Sociology"
 No. 3. Lyle Shannon, "Social Factors in Economic
 Growth"

Vol. VII, No. 1. Reuben Hill, "Sociology of Marriage and Family
 Behaviour, 1945-56"
 No. 2. S. N. Eisenstadt, "Bureaucracy and Bureaucratiz-
 ation"

The Council received the resignation of Mr. T. B. Bottomore as Executive Secretary and appointed Professor Pierre de Bie, of the University of Louvain, to be Executive Secretary of the Association for the period 1959-64. The offices of the Association will in future be at 118, rue des Flamands, Louvain, Belgium. The Council agreed that Mr Bottomore should continue to act, for the time being, as editorial secretary of *Current Sociology*.

The Council elected Professor T. H. Marshall as President of the Association for the term 1959-62, and also elected new Vice-Presidents and members to replace those whose terms of office had expired. The Executive Committee for the term 1959-62 is constituted as follows:

President:	Professor T. H. MARSHALL (UK)
Vice-Presidents:	Professor RENE KONIG (German Federal Republic) Professor D. P. MUKERJI (India) Professor S. OSSOWSKI (Poland)
Members:	Professor HERBERT BLUMER (U.S.A.) Professor A. N. J. DEN HOLLANDER (Netherlands) Professor GEORGES FRIEDMANN (France) Mr. HENNING FRIIS (Denmark) Professor GINO GERMANI (Argentine) Professor W. J. H. SPROTT (U.K.) Professor RENATO TREVES (Italy)

The Council appointed an Administrative Committee to comprise the President and Vice-Presidents (*ex officio*) and two other members, Professor K. A. BUSIA (Ghana) and Professor D. V. GLASS (U.K.).

The Council also appointed a Committee on Teaching and Training with the following members:

Professor RAYMOND ARON (France)
Mr. T. B. BOTTOMORE (U.K.)
Professor S. N. EISENSTADT (Israel)
Professor A. M. ROSE (U.S.A)
Professor JAN SZCZEPANSKI (Poland)

The Council and the Executive Committee reviewed the work of the three research sub-committees, on social stratification and social mo-

bility, on industrial sociology, and on urban-rural sociology, all of which had held working conferences since the last Congress. They also considered proposals which had been made for the formation of new research sub-committees, in the fields of political sociology, sociology of religion, sociology of the family, psychiatric sociology, and sociology of mass communications. The proposals were accepted, but the Executive Committee, having regarded to the burden of work which would result from the activities of eight research sub-committees, ruled that each sub-committee should appoint a secretary and should be responsible for its own administration.

The Council considered suggestions for the organisation of the Fifth World Congress and agreed to accept the invitation of the American Sociological Association to hold the Congress in Washington D.C. in 1962. The Executive Committee discussed the arrangements in greater detail and appointed a Programme Committee to draw up plans for the meetings.

CLOSING SESSION

The closing session of the Congress was addressed by Professor GEORGES FRIEDMANN, the retiring President of the ISA; by Professor KÖNIG, Vice-President of the ISA, who paid a tribute to the work of the Italian organisers and of the ISA officials; by Signor GONELLA, Minister of Justice, on behalf of the Italian Government; by Signor BORELLI, on behalf of the Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale; and by Professor T. H. MARSHALL, the newly elected President of the ISA. Brief assessments of the work of the Congress were given by Professor R. LUKIC, who reviewed the discussions on the social context of sociology; by Professor FRANKLIN FRAZIER, who commented on some of the group meetings concerned with the applications of sociological knowledge; and by Professor J. SZCZEPANSKI, who discussed the work of the sessions devoted to sociological methods.

The Fourth World Congress came appropriately to mark the progress of the International Sociological Association in the first decade of its life. The membership of the Association now represents 58 countries; that is to say, almost every country where sociology is taught and sociological research is conducted. The conferences and congresses of the Association, and its publications, have played a major part in creating the present widely diffused knowledge of, and interest in, the international aspects of sociology, and in establishing that close and friendly collaboration between sociologists from different countries which now exists in many fields of study. The Fourth World Congress was more successful than any of its predecessors in bringing together distinguished representatives of the discipline from very diverse fields of enquiry and schools of thought, together with large numbers of young scholars.

These achievements should make it possible for the International Sociological Association, in its next decade, to develop more intensively the cultural contacts and the fruitful exchanges of experience in social enquiry which it has already established in an extensive way, by devoting more of its resources to the organisation of research conferences and regional meetings, in the intervals between Congresses perhaps held less frequently.

SECTION I

SECTION I
PLENARY SESSION ON SOCIOLOGY
IN ITS SOCIAL CONTEXT

Chairman: Professor FELICE BATTAGLIA (University of Bologna)

Main Papers: Professor RAYMOND ARON (University of Paris)

Professor R. K. MERTON (Columbia University)

Editorial Note: Professor Aron's paper was published in Volume 1. Professor Merton's paper is published here.

Social Conflict over Styles of Sociological Work

ROBERT K. MERTON

(Professor of Sociology, Columbia University)

After enjoying more than two generations of scholarly interest, the sociology of knowledge remains largely a subject for meditation rather than a field of sustained and methodical investigation. This has resulted in the curious condition that more monographs and papers are devoted to discussions of what the sociology of knowledge is and what it ought to be than to detailed inquiries into specific problems.

What is true of the sociology of knowledge at large is conspicuously true of the part concerned with the analysis of the course and character taken by sociology itself. This, at least, is the composite verdict of the jury of twelve who have reviewed for us the social contexts of sociology in countries all over the world. Almost without exception, the authors of these papers report (or intimate) that, for their own country, they could find only fragmentary evidence on which to draw for their account. They emphasize the tentative and hazardous nature of interpretations based on such slight foundations. It follows that my own paper, drawing upon the basic papers on national sociologies, must be even more tentative and conjectural.

In effect, these authors tell us that they have been forced to resort to loose generalities rather than being in a position to report firmly grounded generalizations. Generalities are vague and indeterminate statements that bring together particulars which are not really comparable; generalizations report definite though general regularities distilled from the methodical comparison of comparable data. We all know the kind of generalities found in the sociology of knowledge: that societies with sharp social cleavages, as allegedly in France, are more apt to cultivate sociology intensively than societies with a long history of a more nearly uniform value-system, as allegedly in England; that a rising social class is constrained to see the social reality more authentically than a class long in power but now on the way

out; that an upper class will focus on the static aspects of society and a lower one on its dynamic, changing aspects; that an upper class will be alert to the functions of existing social arrangements and a lower class to their dysfunctions; or, to take one last familiar generality, that socially conservative groups hold to multiple-factor doctrines of historical causation and socially radical groups to monistic doctrines. These and comparable statements may be true or not, but as the authors of the national reports remind us, we cannot say for these are not typically the result of systematic investigations. They are, at best, impressions derived from a few particulars selected to make the point.

It will be granted that we sociologists cannot afford the dubious luxury of a double standard of scholarship; one requiring the systematic collection of comparable data when dealing with complex problems, say, of social stratification and another accepting the use of piecemeal illustrations when dealing with the no less complex problems of the sociology of knowledge. It might well be, therefore, that the chief outcome of this first session of the Congress will be to arrange for a comparative investigation of sociology in its social contexts similar to the investigation of social stratification that the Association has already launched. The problems formulated in the national papers and the substantial gaps in needed data uncovered by them would be a useful prelude to such an undertaking.

The growth of a field of intellectual inquiry can be examined under three aspects: as the historical filiation of ideas considered in their own right; as affected by the structure of the society in which it is being developed; and as affected by the social processes relating the men of knowledge themselves. Other sessions of the Congress will deal with the first when the substance and methods of contemporary sociology are examined. In his overview, Professor Aron considers the second by examining the impact on sociology of the changing social structure external to it: industrialization, the organization of universities, the role of distinctive cultural traditions, and the like. He goes on to summarize the central tendencies of certain national sociologies, principally those of the United States and the Soviet Union, and assesses their strengths and weaknesses. Rather than go over much the same ground to arrive at much the same observations, I shall limit myself to the third of these aspects. I shall say little about the social structure external to sociologists and focus instead on some social processes internal to the development of sociology and in particular on the role in that development played by social conflict between sociologists.

There is reason to believe that patterns of social interaction among sociologists, as among other men of science and learning, affect the

changing contours of the discipline just as the cultural accumulation of knowledge manifestly does. Juxtaposing the national papers gives us an occasion to note the many substantial similarities if not identities in the development of sociology in each country that underlie the sometimes more conspicuous if not necessarily more thorough-going differences. These similarities are noteworthy if only because of the great variability and sometimes profound differences of social structure, cultural tradition and contemporary values among the twelve nations whose sociology has been reviewed. These societies differ among themselves in the size of the underlying population, in the character of their systems of social stratification, in the number, organization and distribution of their institutions of higher learning, in their economic organization and the state of their technology, in their current and past political structure, in their religious and national traditions, in the social composition of their intellectuals, and so on through other relevant bases of comparison. In view of these diversities of social structure, it is striking that there are any similarities in the course sociology has taken in these societies. All this suggests that a focus on the social processes internal to sociology as a partly autonomous domain can help us to understand a little better the similarities of sociological work in differing societies. It may at the least help us identify some of the problems that could be profitably taken up in those monographs on the sociological history of sociology that have yet to be written.

One last introductory word : we have been put on notice that since the papers on national sociologies could not be circulated in advance, we should keep our general remarks to a minimum. I shall therefore omit much of the concrete material on which my paper is based.

PHASES OF SOCIOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

From the national reports, we can distinguish three broad phases in the development of sociology : first, the differentiation of sociology from antecedent disciplines with its attendant claim to intellectual legitimacy ; second, the quest to establish its institutional legitimacy or academic autonomy ; and third, when this effort has been moderately successful, a movement toward the re-consolidation of sociology with selected other social sciences. These well-known phases are of interest here insofar as they derive from processes of social interaction between sociologists and between them and scholars in related fields, processes that have left their distinctive mark on the kinds of work being done by sociologists.

Differentiation from other disciplines

The beginnings of sociology are of course found in the antecedent disciplines from which it split off. The differentiation differs in detail

but has much the same general character in country after country. In England, we are told, sociology derived chiefly from political economy, social administration and philosophy. In Germany, it shared some of these antecedents as well as an important one in comparative law. In France, its roots were in philosophy and, for a time, in the psychologies that were emerging. Its varied ancestry in the United States included a concern with practical reform, economics and, in some degree, anthropology. Or, to turn to some countries which have been described by their reporters as "sociologically under-developed", in Jugoslavia, sociology became gradually differentiated from ethnology, the history of law and anthropogeography; in Spain, it was long an appendage of philosophy, especially the philosophy of history. The Latin American countries saw sociology differentiated from jurisprudence, traditionally bound up as it was with an interest in the social contexts of law and the formation of law that came with the creation, in these states, of governments of their own.

The process of differentiation had direct consequences for the early emphasis in sociology. Since the founding fathers were self-taught in sociology—the discipline was, after all, only what they declared it to be—they each found it incumbent to develop a classification of the sciences in order to locate the distinctive place of sociology in the intellectual scheme of things. Virtually every sociologist of any consequence throughout the nineteenth century and partly into the twentieth proposed his own answers to the socially induced question of the scope and nature of sociology and saw it as his task to evolve his own system of sociology.

Whether sociology is said to have truly begun with Vico (to say nothing of a more ancient lineage) or with St. Simon, Comte, Stein or Marx is of no great moment here, though it may be symptomatic of current allegiances in sociology. What is in point is that the nineteenth century—to limit our reference—was the century of sociological systems not necessarily because the pioneering sociologists happened to be system-minded men but because it was their role, at that time, to seek intellectual legitimacy for this "new science of a very ancient subject." In the situation confronting them, when the very claim to legitimacy of a new discipline had to be presented, there was little place for a basic interest in detailed and delimited investigations of specific sociological problems. It was the framework of sociological thought itself that had to be built and almost everyone of the pioneers tried to fashion one for himself.

The banal flippancy tempts us to conclude that there were as many sociological systems as there were sociologists in this early period. But of course this was not so. The very multiplicity of systems, each

with its claim to being the genuine sociology, led naturally enough to the formation of schools, each with its masters, disciples and epigoni. Sociology not only became differentiated from other disciplines but became internally differentiated. This was not in terms of specialization but in the form of rival claims to intellectual legitimacy, claims typically held to be mutually exclusive and at odds. This is one of the roots of the kinds of social conflict among sociologists today that we shall examine in a little detail.

Institutional legitimacy of sociology

If it was the founding fathers who initiated and defended the claim of sociology to intellectual legitimacy—as having a justifiable place in the culture—it was their successors, the founders of modern sociology—who pressed the claim to institutional legitimacy, by addressing themselves to those institutionalized status-judges of the intellect : the universities. Here again, the pattern in different nations differs only in detail. Whether ultimate control of the universities was lodged in the state or the church, it was their faculties that became the decisive audience for a Weber, Durkheim or Simmel. Sociology was variously regarded by the faculties as an illegitimate upstart, lacking warrant for a recognized place in the collegial family, or sometimes as an institutional competitor. And this social situation repeatedly led to a limited number of responses by sociologists of the time.

They directed themselves, time and again (as some still do), to the questions that, satisfactorily answered, would presumably make the case for sociology as an autonomous academic discipline. They continued to deal with the question : is a science of society possible ? And having satisfied themselves (and hopefully, others in the university) that it is, they turned above all to the further question, whose relevance was reinforced by the social condition of being on trial: what is sociology ? that is to say, what is its distinctive scope, its distinctive problems, its distinctive functions ; in short, its distinctive place in the academic world.

I do not try to enumerate the many answers to these questions, which we can all readily call to mind. What I do want to suggest is that the long-lasting focus on these questions seemed peculiarly pertinent, not only because of an immediate intellectual interest in them but because these were generations of sociologists seeking but not yet finding full academic legitimation. This sort of public search for an identity becomes widespread in a group rather than being idiosyncratic to a few of its members whenever a status or a way of life has yet to win acceptance or is under attack.

The socially induced search for an institutional identity led soci-

ologists to identify a jurisdiction unshared by other disciplines. Simmel's notion of a geometry of social interaction and his enduring attention to the so-called molecular components of social relations is only one of the best-known efforts to centre on elements of social life that were not systematically treated by other disciplines. It would be too facile to 'derive' his interest in the distinctive sociology of everyday life from his experience of having been excluded, until four years before his death, from a professorship in a field that was still suspect. But this kind of individual experience may have reinforced an interest that had other sources. The early sociologists in the United States were responding to a comparable social situation in much the same way, locating such subjects of life in society as 'corrections and charities' that had not yet been 'pre-empted' for study.

A related consequence of the quest for academic legitimacy was the motivated separation of sociology from the other disciplines : the effort to achieve autonomy through self-isolation. We have only to remember, for example, Durkheim's taboo on the use of systematic psychology which, partly misunderstood, for so long left its stamp on the work stemming from this influential tradition in sociology.

The struggle for academic status may have reinforced the utilitarian emphasis found in sociology, whether in its positivistic or Marxist beginnings. However much the dominant schools disagreed in other respects, they all saw sociology as capable of being put to use for concerted objectives. The differences lay not in the repudiation or acceptance of utility as an important criterion of sociological knowledge but in the conception of what was useful.

As sociology achieved only limited recognition by the universities, it acquired peripheral status through the organizational device of research institutes. These have been of various kinds : as adjuncts to universities ; as independent of universities but state-supported or aided ; and, in a few cases, as private enterprises. Socially, they tended to develop where the university-system was felt to provide insufficient recognition. Just as in the seventeenth century, when no one arrived at the seemingly obvious thought of basing research laboratories for the physical sciences in the university, so we have witnessed a comparable difficulty, now overcome in many quarters, in arriving at the idea that the universities should house research organizations in the social sciences. They are now to be found in just about every country represented here. With their prevalently apprentice system of research training and, as the national papers report, with their greater readiness to try out new orientations in sociology, these institutes might well turn out to be a major force in the advancement of sociology. If so, they would represent an intellectual advance substantially responsive

to the social situation of institutional exclusion or under-recognition.

Re-consolidation with other disciplines

As the institutional legitimacy of sociology becomes substantially acknowledged—which does not mean, of course, that it is entirely free from attack—the pressure for separatism from other disciplines declines. No longer challenged seriously as having a right to exist, sociology links up again with some of its siblings. But since new conceptions and new problems have meanwhile emerged, this does not necessarily mean re-consolidation with the same disciplines from which sociology drew its origins in a particular country.

Patterns of collaboration between the social sciences differ somewhat from country to country and it would be a further task for the monographs on the sociology of sociology to try to account for these variations. Some of these patterns are found repeatedly. In France, we are told, the long-lasting connection between sociology and ethnology, which the Durkheim group had welded together, has now become more tenuous, with sociologists being increasingly associated with psychologists, political scientists, and geographers. In the United States, as another example, the major collaboration is with psychology—social psychology being the area of convergence—and with anthropology. Another cluster links sociology with political science and, to some extent, with economics. There are visible stirrings to renew the linkage, long attenuated in the United States, of sociology with history. The events long precede their widespread recognition. At the very time that American graduate students of sociology are learning to repeat the grievance that historical contexts have been lost to view by systematic sociology, the national organization of sociologists is devoting annual sessions to historical sociology and newer generations of sociologists, such as Bellah, Smelser, and Diamond are removing the occasion for the grievance through their work and their programme.

Each of the various patterns of interdisciplinary collaboration has its intellectual rationale. They are not merely the outcome of social forces. However, these rationales are apt to be more convincing, I suggest, to sociologists who find that their discipline is no longer on trial. It has become sufficiently legitimized that they no longer need maintain a defensive posture of isolation. Under these social circumstances, interdisciplinary work becomes a self-evident value and may even be exaggerated into a cultish requirement.

Summary

In concluding this sketch of three phases in the development of sociology, I should like to counter possible misunderstandings.

It is not being said that sociology in every society moves successively through these phases, with each promptly supplanted by the next. Concretely, these phases overlap and coexist. Nevertheless, it is possible to detect in the national reports a distinct tendency for each phase to be dominant for a time and to become so partly as a result of the social processes of opposition and collaboration that have been briefly examined.

It is not being said, also, that the social processes internal to sociology and related disciplines fully determine the course sociology has taken. But it is being said that together with *culturally* induced change in the contours of sociology, resulting from the interplay of ideas and cumulative knowledge there is also *socially* induced change, such that particular preoccupations, orientations, and ideas that come to 'make sense' to sociologists in one phase elicit little interest among them in another. The concrete development of sociology is of course not the product only of social processes immanent to the field. It is the resultant of social and intellectual forces internal to the discipline with both of these being influenced by the enveloping social structure, as the reports on national sociologies and the companion-piece by Professor Aron have noted. The emphasis on social processes internal to sociology is needed primarily because the sociology of knowledge has for so long centred on the relations between social structures, external to intellectual life, and the course taken by one or another branch of knowledge.

Continuing with this same restriction of focus on social processes internal to the discipline, I turn now to some of the principal occasions for conflict between various styles of sociological work. In doing so, I am again mindful of the need for monographs on the sociological history of sociology emphasized in the papers presented to this session. If the linkages between sociology and social structure are to be seriously investigated, then it is necessary to decide which aspects of sociology might be so related. These would presumably include, as Professor Aron has indicated, the questions it asks, the concepts it employs, the objects it studies and the types of explanations it adopts. One way of identifying the alternative orientations, commitments and functions ascribed to sociology is by examining, however briefly, the principal conflicts and polemics that have raged among sociologists. For these presumably exhibit the alternative paths that sociology might have taken in a particular society, but did not, as well as the paths it has taken. In reviewing some of these conflicts, I do not propose to consider the merits of one or another position. These are matters that will be examined in the other sessions of the Congress that deal with the various specialities and with the uses of sociology. I intend to consider them only as they exhibit alternative

lines of development in sociology that are influenced by the larger social structure and by social processes internal to sociology itself.

SOME UNIFORMITIES IN THE CONFLICT OF SOCIOLOGICAL STYLES

A few general observations may provide a guide through the jungle of sociological controversy.

First, the reports on national sociologies naturally centre on the dominant kinds of sociological work found in each country ; on the modes rather than on the less frequent variants. But to judge from the reports, these sociologies differ not only in their central tendencies but also in the *extent of variation* around these tendencies. Each country provides for different degrees of heterodoxy in sociological thought, and these differences are probably socially patterned. In the Soviet Union, for example, there appears to be a marked concentration in the styles of sociological work with little variability : a heavy commitment to Marxist-Leninist theory with divergence from it only in minor details ; a great concentration on the problem of the forces making for sequences of historical development of total societies ; and a consequent emphasis, with little dispersion, upon historical evidence as the major source material. It would be instructive to compare the extent of dispersion around the dominant trends of sociological work in the United States, which are periodically subjected to violent attacks from within, as in the formidable book by Sorokin, *Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology*, and in the recent little book by C. Wright Mills which, without the same comprehensive and detailed citation of seeming cases in point, follows much the same lines of arguments as those advanced by Sorokin. As we compare the national sociologies, we should consider how the social organization of intellectual life affects the extent to which the central tendencies of each country's sociology are concentrated.

Much of the controversy among sociologists involves social conflict and not only intellectual criticism. Often, it is less a matter of contradictions between sociological ideas than of competing definitions of the role considered appropriate for the sociologist. Intellectual conflict of course occurs ; an unremitting Marxist sociology and an unremitting Weberian or Parsonian sociology do make contradictory assumptions. But in considering the cleavages among a nation's sociologists, or among those of different nations, we should note whether the occasion for dispute is this kind of substantive or methodological contradiction or rather the claim that this or that sociological problem, this or that set of ideas, is not receiving the attention it allegedly deserves. I suggest that very often these polemics have more to do with the allocation of intellectual resources among different kinds of

sociological work than with a closely formulated opposition of sociological ideas.

These controversies follow the classically identified course of social conflict. Attack is followed by counter-attack, with progressive alienation of each party to the conflict. Since the conflict is public, it becomes a status-battle more nearly than a search for truth. (How many sociologists have publicly admitted to error as a result of these polemics?) The consequent polarization leads each group of sociologists to respond largely to stereotyped versions of what is being done by the other. As Professor Germani says, Latin American sociologists stereotype the North Americans as mere nose-counters or mere fact-finders or merely descriptive sociographers. Or others become stereotyped as inveterately speculative, entirely unconcerned with compelling evidence, or as committed to doctrines that are so formulated that they cannot be subjected to disproof.

Not that these stereotypes have no basis in reality at all, but only that, in the course of social conflict, they become self-confirming stereotypes as sociologists shut themselves off from the experience that might modify them. The sociologists of each camp develop selective perceptions of what is actually going on in the other. They see in the other's work primarily what the hostile stereotype has alerted them to see, and then promptly mistake the part for the whole. In this process, each group of sociologists become less and less motivated to study the work of the other, since there is manifestly little point in doing so. They scan the out-group's writings just enough to find ammunition for new fusillades.

The process of reciprocal alienation and stereotyping is probably reinforced by the great increase in the bulk of sociological publication. Like many other scholars, sociologists can no longer 'keep up' with all that is being published in their field. They must become more and more selective in their reading. And this selectivity readily leads those who are hostile to a particular line of sociological work to give up studying the very publications that might possibly have led them to abandon their stereotype.

All this tends to move towards the emergence of an all-or-none doctrine. Sociological orientations that are not substantively contradictory are regarded as if they were. Sociological inquiry, it is said, must be statistical in character or historical; only the great issues of the time must be the objects of study or these refractory issues of freedom or compulsion must be avoided because they are not amenable to scientific investigation; and so on.

The process of social conflict would more often be halted in mid-

course and instead turn into intellectual criticism if there were non-reciprocation of affect, if a stop were put to the reciprocity of contempt that typically marks these polemics. But we do not ordinarily find here the social setting that seems required for the non-reciprocation of affect to operate with regularity. This requires a differentiation of status between the parties, at least with respect to the occasion giving rise to the expression of hostility. When this status-differentiation is present, as with the lawyer and his client or the psychiatrist and his patient, the non-reciprocity of expressed feeling is governed by a technical norm attached to the more authoritative status in the relationship. But in scientific controversies, which typically take place among a company of equals for the occasion (however much the status of the parties might otherwise differ) and, moreover, which takes place in public, subject to the observation of peers, this structural basis for non-reciprocation of affect is usually absent. Instead, rhetoric is met with rhetoric, contempt with contempt, and the intellectual issues become subordinated to the battle for status.

In these polarized controversies, also, there is usually little room for the third, uncommitted party who might convert social conflict into intellectual criticism. True, some sociologists in every country will not adopt the all-or-none position that is expected in social conflict. They will not be drawn into what are essentially disputes over the definition of the role of the sociologist and over the allocation of intellectual resources though put forward as conflicts of sociological ideas. But typically, these would-be noncombatants are caught in the crossfire between the hostile camps. Depending on the partisan vocabulary of abuse that happens to prevail, they become tagged either as 'mere eclectics', with the epithet, by convention, making it unnecessary to examine the question of what it asserts or how far it holds true; or, they are renegades, who have abandoned the sociological truth; or, perhaps worst of all, they are mere middle-of-the-roaders or fence-sitters who, through timidity or expediency, will not see that they are fleeing from the fundamental conflict between unalloyed sociological good and sociological evil.

We all know the proverb that "conflict is the gadfly of truth." Now, proverbs, that abiding source of social science for the millions, often express a part-truth just as they often obscure that truth by not referring to the conditions under which it holds. This seems to be such a case. As we have noted, in social conflict cognitive issues become warped and distorted as they are pressed into the service of 'scoring off the other fellow'. Nevertheless, when the conflict is regulated by the community of peers, it has its uses for the advancement of the discipline. With some regularity, it seems to come into marked effect whenever a particular line of investigation—say, of small

groups—or a particular set of ideas—say, functional analysis—or a particular mode of inquiry—say, historical sociology or social surveys—has engrossed the attention and energies of a large and growing number of sociologists. Were it not for such conflict, the reign of orthodoxies in sociology would be even more marked than it sometimes is. Self-assertive claims that allegedly neglected problems, methods and theoretical orientation merit more concerted attention than they are receiving may serve to diversify the work that gets done. With more room for heterodoxy, there is more prospect of intellectually productive ventures, until these develop into new orthodoxies.

Even with their frequent intellectual distortions (and possibly, sometimes because of them), polemics may help redress accumulative imbalances in scientific inquiry. No one knows, I suppose, what an optimum distribution of resources in a field of inquiry would be, not least of all, because of the ultimate disagreement over the criteria of the optimum. But progressive concentrations of effort seem to evoke counter-reactions, so that less popular but intellectually and socially relevant problems, ideas, and modes of inquiry do not fade out altogether. In social science as in other fields of human effort, a line of development that has caught on—perhaps because it has proved effective for dealing with certain problems—attracts a growing proportion of newcomers to the field who perpetuate and increase that concentration. With fewer recruits of high calibre, those engaged in the currently unpopular fields will have a diminished capacity to advance their work and with diminished accomplishments, they become even less attractive. The noisy claims to under-recognition of particular kinds of inquiry, even when accompanied by extravagantly rhetorical attacks on the work that is being prevalently done, may keep needed intellectual variants from drying up and may curb a growing concentration on a narrowly limited range of problems. At least, this possibility deserves study by the sociologist of knowledge.

These few observations on social conflict, as distinct from intellectual criticism, are commonplace enough, to begin with. It would be a pity if they were banalized as asserting that peace between sociologists should be sought at any price. When there is genuine opposition of ideas—when one set of ideas plainly contradicts another—then agreement for the sake of peaceful quiet would mean abandoning the sociological enterprise. I am suggesting only that when we consider the current disagreements among sociologists, we find that many of them are not so much cognitive oppositions as contrasting evaluations of the worth of one and another kind of sociological work. They are bids for support by the social system of sociologists. For the sociologist of knowledge, these conflicts afford clues to the alternatives

from which the sociologists of each country are making their deliberate or unwitting selection.

TYPES OF POLEMICS IN SOCIOLOGY

These general remarks are intended as a guide to the several dozen foci of conflict between sociologists. Let me comfort you by saying that I shall not consider all of them here, nor is it necessary. Instead, I shall review two or three of them in a little detail and then merely identify some of the rest for possible discussion.

The trivial and the important in sociology

Perhaps the most pervasive polemic, the one which, as I have implied, underlies most of the rest, stems from the charge by some sociologists that others are busily engaged in the study of trivia, while all about them the truly significant problems of human society go unexamined. After all, so this argument goes, while war and exploitation, poverty, injustice and insecurity plague the life of men in society or threaten their very existence, many sociologists are fiddling with subjects so remote from these catastrophic troubles as to be irresponsibly trivial.

This charge typically assumes that it is the topic, the particular objects under study, that fixes the importance or triviality of the investigation. This is an old error that refuses to stay downed, as a glance at the history of thought will remind us. To some of his contemporaries, Galileo and his successors were obviously engaged in a trivial pastime, as they watched balls rolling down inclined planes rather than attending to such really important topics as means of improving ship-construction that would enlarge commerce and naval might. At about the same time, the Dutch microscopist, Swammerdam, was the butt of ridicule by those far-seeing critics who knew that sustained attention to his 'tiny animals', the micro-organisms, was an unimaginative focus on patently trivial minutiae. These critics often had authoritative social support. Charles II, for example, could join in the grand joke about the absurdity of trying to "weigh the ayre," as he learned of the fundamental work on atmospheric pressure which to his mind was nothing more than childish diversion and idle amusement when compared with the Big Topics to which natural philosophers should attend. The history of science provides a long if not endless list of instances of the easy confusion between the seemingly self-evident triviality of the object under scrutiny and the cognitive significance of the investigation.

Nevertheless, the same confusion periodically turns up anew in sociology. Consider the contributions of a Durkheim for a moment:

his choice of the division of labour in society, of its sources and consequences, would no doubt pass muster as a significant subject, but what of the subject of suicide? Pathetic as suicide may be for the immediate survivors, it can seldom be included among the major troubles of a society. Yet we know that Durkheim's analysis of suicide proved more consequential for sociology than his analysis of social differentiation; that it advanced our understanding of the major problem of how social structures generate behaviour that is at odds with the prescriptions of the culture, a problem that confronts every kind of social organization.

You can add at will, from the history of sociology and other sciences, instances which show that there is no *necessary* relation between the socially ascribed importance of the object under examination and the scope of its implications for an understanding of how society or nature works. The social and the scientific significance of a subject-matter can be poles apart.

The reason for this is, of course, that ideally that empirical object is selected for study which enables one to investigate a scientific problem to particularly good advantage. Often, these intellectually strategic objects hold little intrinsic interest, either for the investigator or anyone else.

Again, there is nothing peculiar to sociology here. Nor is one borrowing the prestige of the better-established sciences by noting that all this is taken for granted there. It is not an intrinsic interest in the fruitfly or the bacteriophage that leads the geneticist to devote so much attention to them. It is only that they have been found to provide strategic materials for working out selected problems of genetic transmission. Comparing an advanced field with a retarded one, we find much the same thing in sociology. Sociologists centring on such subjects as the immigrant, the stranger, small groups, voting-decisions or the social organization of industrial firms need not do so because of an intrinsic interest in them. They may be chosen, instead, because they strategically exhibit such problems as those of marginal men, reference group behaviour, the social process of conformity, patterned sources of nonconformity, the social determination of aggregated individual decisions, and the like.

When the charge of triviality is based on a common-sense appraisal of the outer appearance of subject-matter alone, it fails to recognize that a major part of the intellectual task is to find the materials that are strategic for getting to the heart of a problem. If we want to move toward a better understanding of the roots and kinds of social conformity and the socially induced sources of nonconformity, we must consider the types of concrete situations in which these can be

investigated to best advantage. It does not mean a commitment to a particular object. It means answering questions such as these : which aspects of conformity as a social process can be observed most effectively in small, admittedly contrived and adventitious groups temporarily brought together in the laboratory but open to detailed observations ? which aspects of conformity can be better investigated in established bureaucracies ? and which require the comparative study of organizations in different societies ? So with sociological problems of every kind : the forms of authority ; the conditions under which power is converted into authority and authority into power ; limits on the range of variability among social institutions within particular societies ; processes of self-defeating and self-fulfilling cultural mandates ; and so on.

If we ask, in turn, how we assess the significance of the sociological problem (rather than that of the object under scrutiny), then, it seems to me, sociologists have found no better answer than that advanced by Max Weber and others in the notion of *Wertbeziehung*. It is the relevance of the problem to men's values, the puzzles about the workings of social structure and its change that engage men's interests and loyalties. And the fact is that this rough-and-ready criterion is so loose that there is ample room for differing evaluations of the worth, as distinct from the validity and truth, of a sociological investigation even among those who ostensibly have the same general scheme of values. The case for the significance of problems of reference-group behaviour, for example, stems from the cumulative recognition, intimated but not followed up by sociologists from at least the time of Marx, that the behaviour, attitudes, and loyalties of men are not uniformly determined by their current social positions and affiliations. Puzzling inconsistencies in behaviour are becoming less puzzling by systematically following up the simple idea that people's patterned selection of groups other than their own provide frames of normative reference which intervene between the influence of their current social position and their behaviour.

In short, the attack on the alleged triviality of much sociological work, found apparently in all the national sociologies, is something less than the self-evident case it is made out to be. It often derives from a misconception of the connection between the selection of an object for study, the object having little intrinsic significance for people in the society, and the strategic value of that object for helping to clarify a significant sociological problem. In saying this, I assume that I will not be misunderstood. I am not saying that there is no genuinely trivial work in contemporary sociology any more than it can be said that there was no trivial work in the physical science of the seventeenth century. Quite otherwise : it may be that our soci-

ological journals during their first fifty years have as large a complement of authentic trivia as the *Transactions* of the Royal Society contained during their first fifty years (to pursue the matter no further). But these are trivia in the strict rather than the rhetorical sense : they are publications which are both intellectually and socially inconsequential. But much of the attack on alleged trivia in today's sociology is directed against entire classes of investigation solely because the objects they examine do not enjoy widespread social interest.

This most pervasive of polemics sets problems for those prospective monographs on the sociological history of sociology. As I have repeatedly said, we are here not concerned with the substantive merit of the charges and rejoinders involved in any particular polemic of this kind. These can be and possibly will be discussed in the later sessions of this Congress. But for the sociological analysis of the history of sociology, there remains the task of finding out the social sources and consequences of assigning triviality or importance to particular lines of inquiry. It seems improbable that the angels of light are all on one side and the angels of darkness, all on the other. If the division is not simply between the wise and the foolish, there must be other bases, some of them presumably social, for the various distributions of evaluation. The discussions that are to follow in this session might usefully be devoted to interpretations that might account for the opposed positions taken up in the assignment of merit to particular kinds of sociological work.

The alleged cleavage between substantive sociology and methodology

Another deep-seated and long-lasting conflict, requiring the same kind of interpretation, has developed between those sociologists who are primarily or exclusively concerned with inquiry into substantive problems of society and those who are primarily or exclusively concerned with solving the methodological problems entailed by such inquiry. Unlike the kind of intellectual criticism often developed within each of these camps, designed to clarify cognitive issues, this debate has the earmarks of social conflict, designed to best the opponent.

The main lines of attack on methodology and the replies to these are familiar enough to need only short summary.

Concern with methodology, it is said, succeeds only in diverting the attention of sociologists from the major substantive problems of society. It does so by turning from the study of society to the study of how to study society.

To this, it is replied, in the words of one philosopher : "you cannot know too much of methods which you always employ." Respon-

sible inquiry requires intellectual self-awareness. Whether they know it or not, the investigators speak methodological prose and some specialists must work out its grammar. To try to discover the rates of social mobility, and some of their consequences, for example, first requires solving the methodological problems of devising suitable classifications of classes, appropriate measures of rates, and the like, as some sociologists have learned, to their discomfiture.

Again, it is charged, that a concern with the logic of method quickly deteriorates into 'mere technicism.' These wouldbe precisionists strain at a gnat and swallow a camel : they are exacting in details and careless about their basic assumptions. For an interest in substantive questions they substitute an interest in seeming precision for its own sake. They try to use a razor blade to hack their way through forests. These technical virtuosos are committed to the use of meticulous means to frivolous ends.

The rebuttal holds that it is the methodologically naive, those knowing little or nothing of the foundations of procedure, who are most apt to mis-use precise measures on materials for which they are not suited. Further, that it is the assumptions underlying the quick and ready use of verbal constructs by investigators of substantive problems which need, and receive, critical scrutiny and clarification by the methodologist.

It is argued that the methodologist turns research technician, in spite of himself, and become an aimless itinerant, moving in whatever direction his research techniques summon him. He studies changing patterns of voting because these are readily accessible to his techniques rather than the workings of political institutions and organizations for which he has not evolved satisfying techniques of investigation.

The rejoinder holds that the selection of substantive problems is not the task of specialists in methodology. Once the problem is selected, however, the question ensues of how to design an inquiry so that it can contribute to a solution of the problem. The effort to answer such questions of design is part of the business of methodology.

During at least the last half-century, ideological significance has also been ascribed to methodological work. The methodologist is said to choose a politically 'safe' focus of work rather than attending to substantive inquiries that might catch him up in criticism of the social institutions about him.

This allegation is treated by methodologists as not only untrue, but irrelevant. Practically all disciplines, even the strictly formal ones of logic and mathematics, have at one time or another been

assigned political or ideological import. As we have been told here, even certain procedures of sociological research, such as "large-scale fieldwork" and the use of attitude-scales, have been regarded as politically suspect in some nations. The irrelevance of the charge lies on its surface where the indefensible effort is made to merge intellectual and political criteria of scientific work.

The complaint is heard that the methodologist supposes knowledge to consist only of that which can be measured or at least counted. He is addicted to numbers. As a result, he retreats from historical inquiry and from all other forms of sociological inquiry where even crude measures have not been devised or where, in principle, they cannot be.

To the methodologist, this is a distorted image, fashioned by the uninformed who run as they read. He regards himself as no more committed to working out the logic of tests and measurements than the logic of historical and institutional analysis. This, he points out, has been understood by sociologists of consequence, at least from the time of Max Weber who, as Professor Adorno reminds us, "devoted a large part of his work to methodology, in the form of philosophical reflections on the nature and procedures of sociology," and who considered the methodology of historical inquiry, in particular, an important part of the sociological enterprise.

Since the opponents in this controversy show no trace of being either vanquished or converted, this raises anew the question of the grounds, other than intellectual, for maintaining their respective positions. Like the other persistent conflicts I shall now summarize far more briefly, this one sets a problem for the sociologist of knowledge.

The lone scholar and the research team

Until the last generation or so, the sociologist, like most other academic men, worked as an individual scholar (or, as the idiom has it, as a 'lone scholar'). Since then, as the national reports inform us, institutes for sociological research have multiplied all over the world. This change in the social organization of sociological work has precipitated another conflict, with its own set of polarized issues.

The new forms of research are characterized, invidiously rather than descriptively or analytically, as the bureaucratization of the sociological mind. The research organization is said to stultify independent thought, to deny autonomy to members of the research staff, to suffer a displacement of motive such that researches are conducted in order to keep the research team or organization in operation rather than have the organization provide the facilities for significant research; and so on through the familiar calendar of indictments.

In return, it is pointed out that the individual scholar has not been as much alone as the description may imply. He was (and often is) at the apex of a group of research assistants and graduate students who follow his lead. Moreover, he has had to limit his problems for serious research to those for which the evidence lay close to hand, principally in libraries. He cannot deal with the many problems that require the systematic collection of large-scale data which are not provided for him by the bureaucracies that assemble census data and other materials of social bookkeeping. The research institute is said to extend and to deepen kinds of investigation that the individual scholar is foreclosed from tackling. Finally, it is suggested that close inspection of how these institutes actually work will find that many of them consist of individual scholars with associates and assistants, each group engaged in pursuing its own research bents.

This continuing debate affords another basis for inquiry, this time into the ways in which the social organization of sociological research in fact affects the character of the research. This would require the kind of systematic comparison of the work being done by individual scholars and by research teams, a methodical comparison which, so far as I know, has yet to be made. Not that the results of this inquiry will necessarily do away with the conflict but only that it will contribute to that as yet largely unwritten sociological history of sociology whose outlines all of us here aim to sketch out.

Cognitive agreement and value disagreement

A particularly instructive type of case is provided by seeming intellectual conflict that divides sociologists of differing ideological persuasion. Upon inspection, this often (not, of course, always) turns out to involve cognitive agreements that are obscured by a basic opposition of values and interests.

To illustrate this type of conflict, we can draw upon a few observations by Marx and by so-called bourgeois sociologists. You will recall Marx's observation that in a capitalist society, social mobility "consolidates the rule of capital itself, enabling it to recruit ever new forces for itself out of the lower layers of society." This general proposition has won independent assent from all manner of non-Marxist sociologists, not least of all, from one such as Pareto. The lines of disputation are not therefore drawn about the supposed fact of these systematic consequences of social mobility. The conflict appears only in the evaluation of these consequences. For, as Marx went on to say, the "more a ruling class is able to assimilate the most prominent men of the dominated class the more stable and dangerous is its rule." A Pareto could agree with the stabilizing function of such

mobility while rejecting the judgment of it as "dangerous." What empirical investigations by "bourgeois sociologists" can do, and are doing, is to find out how far the cognitively identical assumption of a Marx and a Pareto holds true. To what extent do these mobile men identify themselves with their new-found class? Who among them retain loyalty to the old? When does it result in a consolidation of power and when, under conditions of retained values, does it modify the bases of cleavage between classes?

You can readily add other instances of agreement in sociological ideas being mistaken for disagreement, owing to an overriding conflict of values or interests between sociologists. When the function-alists examine religion as a social mechanism for reinforcing common sentiments that make for social integration, they do not differ significantly in their analytic framework from the Marxists who, if the metaphor of the opium of the masses is converted into a neutral statement of alleged consequences, assert the same sort of thing, except that they evaluate these consequences differently. Religion is then seen as a device for social exploitation.

Again, it has often been noted that Marx, in his theory, underrated the social significance of his own moral ideas. The emphasis on communist doctrine and ideology is perhaps the best pragmatic testimony that, whatever Marxist theory may say in general of the role of ideas in history, Marxists in practice ascribe great importance to ideas as movers, if not as prime movers, in history. If this were not so, the communist emphasis on a proper ideological commitment would be merely expressive rather than instrumental behaviour.

Or, to take one last instance, Marx repeatedly noted that the patterns of production—for example, in large-scale industry and among small-holding peasants—have each a distinctive social ecology. The spatial distribution of men on the job was held to affect the frequency and kind of social interaction between them and this, in turn, to affect their political outlook and the prospects of their collective organization. In these days, a large body of investigation by non-Marxists, both in industrial and in rural sociology, is centred on this same variable of the social ecology of the job, together with its systemic consequences. But again, this continuity of problem and of informing idea tends to be obscured by conflicts in political orientation. Detailed monographic study is needed to determine the extent to which lines of sociological development fail to converge and instead remain parallel because of ideological rather than theoretical conflict.

Formal (abstract) and concrete sociology

Time and again, in the papers on national sociology, reference is

made to the dangers of a 'merely' formal sociology. This signals another familiar cleavage, that between concrete and abstract sociology. The first centres on interpreting particular historical constellations and developments. Sometimes these are society-wide in character; sometimes they are more limited social formations. The problem may be to explain the rise and transformation of Christianity or of capitalism, of particular class structures, family-systems or social institutions of science. The second, the formal orientation, is directed toward formulating general propositions and models of interpretation that cut across a variety of historically concrete events. Here the focus is on such abstract matters as role-theory, social processes of legitimation, the effect of the size of a group on its characteristic patterns of social interaction, and so on.

To some, formal sociology is an invidious epithet. It is ascribed to "defenders of the established order" who expressly neglect social change and deny that there are discoverable uniformities of social change. For these critics, formal sociology is like a sieve that strains out all the awkward facts that fail to suit its theory. To others, concrete sociology is seen as having some utility but at the price of abdicating the search for those social regularities that presumably occur in cultures of most different kind.

It would serve little purpose to note the obvious at this point, for it is precisely the obvious that gets lost in this conflict between commitments to primarily concrete and primarily abstract sociologies. Little will be gained in repeating, therefore, that concrete sociological investigations of course make at least implicit use of abstract models—that, for example, in order even to depict social change, let alone account for it, one must identify the formally defined elements and patterns of social structure that are changing—and conversely, that these models often grow out of and are modified and judged by their applicability to selected aspects of concrete social events. With respect to this conflict, the sociology of knowledge confronts such problems as that of finding out whether, as is commonly said, formal sociology is linked with politically conservative orientations and concrete sociology with politically radical orientations. Furthermore, how this social cleavage affects the prospects of methodical interplay between the two types of sociology.

A short miscellany of sociological conflicts

There is time only to list and none at all to discuss a few more of the current conflicts in sociology.

The microscopic and the macroscopic. More than ever before, conflict is focussed on the social units singled out for investigation. This is

often described by the catchwords of 'microscopic' and 'macroscopic' sociology. The industrial firm is said to be studied in isolation from the larger economic and social system or, even more, particular groups within the single plant are observed apart from their relations with the rest of the organization and the community. A microscopic focus is said to lead to "sociology without society." A counter-emphasis centres on the laws of evolution of "the total society". Here, the prevailing critique asserts that the hypotheses are put so loosely that no set of observations can be taken to negate them. They are invulnerable to disproof and so, rather a matter of faith than of knowledge.

Experiment and natural history in sociology. A parallel cleavage has developed between commitment to experimental sociology, typically though not invariably dealing with contrived or 'artificial' small groups, and commitment to study of the natural history of groups or social systems. Perhaps the instructive analogue here is to be found in the well-known fact that Darwin and Wallace found certain problems forced upon their attention when they reflected on what they saw in nature "on the large, on the outdoor scale" but that they failed to see other related problems that came into focus for the laboratory naturalists. Polarization into mutually exclusive alternatives served little purpose there and it remains to be seen whether it will prove any more effective in the advancement of sociology.

Reference-groups of sociologists. Conflict is found also in the sometimes implicit selection of reference-groups and audiences by sociologists. Some direct themselves primarily to the literati or to the 'educated general public'; others, to the so-called 'men of affairs' who manage economic or political organizations; while most are oriented primarily to their fellow-academicians and professionals. The recurrent noise about jargon, cults of unintelligibility, the overly-abundant use of statistics or of mathematical models is largely generated by the sociologists who have the general public as their major reference-group. The work of these outer-oriented sociologists, in turn, is described by their academic critics as sociological journalism, useful more for arousing public interest in sociology than for advancing sociological knowledge. They are said to persuade by rhetoric rather than to instruct by responsible analysis—and so on. It would be instructive to study the actual social roles and functions of these diversely oriented sociologists, rather than to remain content with offhand descriptions such as these, even though again we cannot expect that the results of such study would modify current alignments.

Sociology vs. social psychology. One last debate requires mention, at least. It is charged that many sociologists, especially in the United

States, are converting sociology into social psychology, with the result that the study of social institutions is fading into obscurity. The trend toward social psychology is said to be bound up with an excessive emphasis on the subjective element in social action, with a focus on men's attitudes and sentiments at the expense of considering the institutional conditions for the emergence and the effective or ineffective expression of these attitudes. To this, the polarized response holds that social institutions comprise an idle construct until they are linked up empirically with the actual attitudes and values and the actual behaviour of men, whether this is conceived as purposive or as also unwitting, as decisions or as responses. These sociologists consider the division between the two disciplines an unfortunate artifact of academic organization. And again, apart from the merits of one or the other position, we have much to learn about the social bases for their being maintained by some and rejected by others.

A CONCLUDING OBSERVATION

In a final remark on these and the many other lines of cleavage among sociologists, I should like to apply a formulation about the structure of social conflict in relation to the intensity of conflict that was clearly stated by Georg Simmel and Edward Ross. This is the hypothesis, in the words of Ross, that

a society . . . which is riven by a dozen . . . (conflicts) along lines running in every direction, may actually be in less danger of being torn with violence or falling to pieces than one split along just one line. For each new cleavage contributes to narrow the cross clefts, so that one might say that society *is sewn together* by its inner conflicts.

It is an hypothesis borne out by its own history, for since it was set forth by Simmel and by Ross, it has been taken up or independently originated by some scores of sociologists, many of whom take diametrically opposed positions on some of the issues we have reviewed. (I mention only a few of these : Wiese and Becker, Hiller, Myrdal, Parsons, Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee, Robin Williams, Coser, Dahrendorf, Coleman, Lipset and Zelditch, and among the great number of recent students of 'status-discrepancy,' Lenski, Adams, Stogdill and Hemphill.)

Applied to our own society of sociologists, the Simmel-Ross hypothesis has this to say. If the sociologists of one nation take much the same position on each of these many issues while the sociologists of another nation consistently hold to the opposed position on them all, then the lines of cleavage will have become so consolidated along a single axis that any conversation between the sociologists of these

different nations will be pointless. But if, as I believe is the case, there is not this uniformity of outlook among the sociologists of each nation; if individual sociologists have different combinations of position on these and kindred issues, then effective intellectual criticism can supplant social conflict.

That is why the extent of heterodoxies among the sociologists of each nation has an important bearing on the future development of world sociology. The heterodoxies in one nation provide intellectual linkages with orthodoxies in other nations. On the world-wide scale of sociology, this bridges lines of cleavage and makes for the advance of sociological science rather than of sociological ideologies.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

Editorial Note. The rapporteur appointed for this Section was unable, at the last moment, to attend the Congress. The Editor has therefore written the following brief report.

Professor ARON, whose introductory paper discussed some general aspects of the social context of sociology, opened the session with some reflections upon the national reports which had been presented. One element in every report was the evaluation of sociology and of the society itself. Professor Aron, after indicating a problem by speculating on how the reports would have looked if each contributor had been asked to write about sociology in some country other than his own, went on to explore its implications. The "sociology of sociology" is extremely difficult because we are not sure what sociology is; i.e. we do not agree upon the extent to which different sociological theories or interpretations depict or explain social reality. To speak frankly: Western sociologists consider that Soviet society is falsely depicted in the work of Soviet sociologists, and Soviet sociologists have a similar opinion about the work of their Western colleagues. How then is it possible to escape from a situation in which each sociologist would criticise the mythology of others and be criticised in turn? Professor ARON had long accepted the answer given by Max Weber: the involvement of the sociologist in his society appears in the questions which are formulated, the concepts which are employed—but facts are facts, and the answers to the questions are objective. But this is too simple, for in practice it is impossible to distinguish questions, concepts, and facts. Objectivity depends upon a number of factors: respect for empirical data, critical awareness of the limits of generalisation, and the endeavour to see problems in their total context. The most desirable influence of society upon sociology is that its own diversity favours the diversity of sociological theories and their mutual criticism. A single regime throughout the world, founded upon an orthodox ideology, would mean the death of sociology.

Professor MERTON presented a shortened version of his paper, which was not available before the Congress but which is now published in full above.

The ensuing discussion became concentrated upon one or two topics, and many points of interest in the contributed papers received no attention. Professor LUKIC (Yugoslavia) said that Professor Aron had outdone Marx if he seriously held that the social sciences were wholly a "false consciousness" of society. Professor Lukic claimed that theories of the middle range were verifiable and that even very general theories might be testable by reference to the actual course of events.

Professor FEDOSEEV (U.S.S.R.) thought that the importance of the Congress lay in the opportunities it provided for better mutual understanding. Soviet sociologists were not indifferent to, or ignorant of, Western sociology; but they held strongly to the view that sociology is a synthesising science, which must be concerned with society as a whole and its development.

Professor OIZERMANN (U.S.S.R.) argued that sociology as a science involved the possibility of prediction, and that Marxism was capable of predicting the future course of social development.

Professor SCHELER (German Democratic Republic) had read for him an English summary of his paper in which he urged sociologists to devote their efforts to the study of the conditions of peace and of peaceful co-existence.

Professor GRAMMATICA (Italy) suggested, in opposition to the relativistic views which had been propounded, that an objective science of society might be based upon a recognition of the objective characteristics and needs of man.

Professor SAUVY (France) argued that while it was chiefly Utopian thinkers who ventured upon predictions they were right to do so, since it was only by testing predictions that ideas and theories could be verified.

Professor OCHAVKOV (Bulgaria) criticised Professor Aron on two points. First, if it is denied that there are general laws of social development, has sociology any *raison d'être*? Secondly, against the charge of dogmatism, he claimed that the undogmatic character of Marxism has been shown by its ability to incorporate in the theory the fact of the establishment of socialism in non-industrial countries.

Mr. ANDREJEWSKI (U.K.) made a brief comment on some dangers of triviality in Western sociology.

Professor ARON in a brief reply defended himself against the charge of relativism, and pointed out that he had been at pains to specify the conditions of objectivity. He also referred to the problem of prediction.

He did not wish to exclude prediction or deny its importance—everything depended upon its character. It was one thing to predict, with qualifications, the growth of the economy over a period of 10 or 15 years, but quite another to predict the whole future course of social development; particularly when, as in Marxism, the predictions turned out to be unfalsifiable.

Professor MERTON, in his concluding remarks, observed that the discussion had largely illustrated his view that sociological controversy had to do less with the conflict of ideas than with the allocation of resources to different kinds of work.

SECTION II (1)

The Application of Sociological Knowledge

SECTION II(1)a

THE APPLICATION OF
SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO INDUSTRY

Chairman: Professor RENE CLEMENS (Université de Liège)

Rapporteur: Mr. A. LUNDQUIST (Uppsala University)

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

SOLOMON BARKIN (Director of Research, Textile Workers' Union of America)

THE PERSONALITY PROFILE OF AMERICAN SOUTHERN TEXTILE WORKERS: A STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON PERSONALITY.

Understanding the personality of the southern textile worker, both unorganized and organized, requires not only an awareness of his individual propensities, but also a comprehension of the effect exercised upon him by his textile mill job, his relatively low standard of living, the culture in which he lives and his immobility and comparative isolation from the mainstreams of American social development. His profile is distinctive for, even now, he has little awareness of the American dream to better himself, to share a constantly rising and expanding standard of living. Nor does he believe that collective power can effect this change. Fearing the outside world, he has continued to accept the social and economic pressures within his own closed community. The southern textile worker continues to accommodate himself to his low income, thankful for the intermittent progressive improvements which appear to come to him with little exertion on his own part. Restlessness is expressed primarily in out-migration rather than internal protest. Dissent has been submerged in the very decision to remain within the community. Repression, discrimination and past failures discourage renewed direct group efforts to effect change.

The organized workers have not been markedly different. They have gained a new feeling of security and protection with the mill. A sense of pride has grown in the union that they have built; they prize the symbol of independence it provides but it has not fundamentally altered this outlook. Its coverage has been too limited to exert an influence of any magnitude on the textile South.

PIERRE de BIE et MAURICE CHAUMONT (Université le Louvain)
QUELQUES CONCEPTIONS DES RAPPORTS ENTRE LA RECHERCHE ET L'ACTION EN SOCIOLOGIE INDUSTRIELLE

Les diverses possibilités d'application en sociologie présentent des avantages et des inconvénients variant d'après les rapports entre la recherche et l'action.

1. La recherche peut-elle être un mode d'action ?

En ce sens, la recherche introduite dans un milieu de travail peut, en amenant à une prise de conscience, être utilisée en vue d'une transformation du milieu. Dans ces conditions, la recherche ne peut conserver l'objectivité indispensable.

2. La recherche peut-elle faire découvrir les moyens susceptibles de modifier une situation défectueuse?

Il s'agit des recherches entreprises en vue de fournir les moyens d'action les plus efficaces de redressement. Limités par cet objectif, les quelques facteurs

obtenus sont fragmentaires; maniés à la légère ils peuvent déclencher des réactions qui échappent à la maîtrise des responsables de l'entreprise.

3. La recherche ne saurait-elle être considérée comme une source d'information systématique qui concerne un cas particulier?

La recherche ainsi conçue vise moins la découverte de mécanismes contrôlables que la description d'une organisation sociale. Elle échappe aux impératifs de l'action.

Cependant, les besoins d'information seront ressentis surtout dans les moments de tension; il peut en résulter des déviations systématiques dues à la brièveté des délais de recherche et à la sélection: les entreprises analysées ne sont pas représentatives d'un moyen de conditions de fonctionnement.

Toutefois, cette conception paraît plus valable, car elle atteint une vision plus globale, qui dresse les cadres d'une action plus qu'elle n'en prescrit les modalités.

4. Le chercheur est-il expert?

On demande à l'expert une vue systématique d'une situation, avec toutes ses composantes et la connaissance de tous les moyens d'action applicables.

Le chercheur n'a pas cette compétence, lui qui n'analyse une situation que du point de vue sociologique sans entrer dans le détail des relations individuelles et des modalités pratiques. De plus, tout conseil en vue d'une action force les chercheurs à prendre une position idéologique d'une part, à participer d'autre part à un pouvoir dont ils doivent au minimum accepter les normes.

En conclusion, quelle est la nature du service que les chercheurs sont le plus capables de rendre dans la vie industrielle?

Leur plus grand apport serait de mettre à la disposition des hommes d'action des cadres, des réflexions, des schémas d'analyse. Comme l'écrit Max F. Millikan: "Le but de la recherche sociale ne devrait donc pas être de fournir aux hommes politiques une réponse, mais d'approfondir, d'élargir et d'étendre leur capacité de judgement".¹

T. E. CHESTER and G. FORSYTH (University of Manchester)

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT.

Perhaps the most characteristic aspect of European industry in the post-war period has been the growing interest in organising management development programmes and the establishment of institutions specifically designed for this purpose. Although some observers have been cynically critical, dismissing the movement as a striving for new status symbols to attract new managers in an age of full employment and high taxation, this paper attempts to analyse some of the deeper issues involved.

It starts with an examination of the increasing scale of industrial organisation — the typical form of industrial activity in the vital sectors of British industry tends to be large-scale in the number of employees and the capital investment required—and goes on to assess the consequences of this trend for the managerial function.

This, with the simultaneous increase in the social responsibilities of management commensurate with the demands and ethos of the Welfare State, have

¹Max F. Millikan, *Sciences sociales et action politique—Esprit-janvier 1959—Paris.*

produced a need for a new type of manager, the general manager with co-ordinating functions. Moreover, whereas in the past small-scale industry could rely on kinship and the "open market" as satisfactory sources of managerial talent, large-scale organisation had increasingly to turn to formal management development programmes.

At the same time, educational reform made universities more accessible to all classes of society and thus one of the major sources of management recruitment. In effect, management development can be seen as an integral part of the educational system, and as an instrument of social mobility.

GASTON DEURINCK (Délégué général de l'Office belge pour l'accroissement de la productivité.)

COLLABORATION DES ENTREPRISES AVEC LES CENTRES DE RECHERCHE SOCIOLOGIQUE : UNE EXPERIENCE A L'ECHELON NATIONAL

L'Office belge pour l'accroissement de la productivité—établissement privé, d'utilité publique—a pris conscience de la nécessité de cette collaboration, à la suite d'une série d'initiatives que lui avaient dictées les circonstances. La mission d'étude dans l'industrie du verre, envoyée par lui aux Etats-Unis, avait abouti à l'organisation d'enquêtes sur les relations humaines dans ce secteur. Les études de ce genre se révélant fructueuses, mais requérant un personnel nombreux et qualifié, l'Office décida de poursuivre dans cette voie mais de les sous-traiter, par contrats, aux centres de recherche universitaires spécialisés. Les sujets sont principalement inspirés par la Déclaration commune sur la productivité, signée en mai 1954 par les organisations d'employeurs et de travailleurs.

Depuis 1958, le Conseil d'administration a fixé son plan en la matière. Les deux grands objectifs sont d'arriver à une formulation plus précise des problèmes sur lesquels portent les recherches, et de promouvoir la science et ses applications dans tout ce qui concerne les réalités humaines de l'entreprise. Une telle politique est indispensable à long terme, même si, financièrement, elle ne se justifie pas à brève échéance.

L'Office poursuit ces buts au travers de commissions fondamentales mixtes incluant des représentants de tous les intéressés, et par le soustraitemennt de ses projets à des institutions universitaires. Il a adopté des modalités de financement très souples, de façon à permettre les aménagements dictés par les circonstances. L'expérience a également amené l'Office de productivité à prévoir des mesures particulières visant à la stabilité des contrats de recherche et à l'amélioration de la qualification des chercheurs. L'Office veille, enfin, à la coordination des activités de recherche sur le plan national comme sur le plan international, où il maintient la liaison avec l'Agence Européenne de Productivité, ainsi qu'à l'évaluation et à la diffusion de leurs résultats.

Comme on le voit, pour mener avec succès l'étude des problèmes de relations industrielles, l'université doit disposer d'une élite de chercheurs possédant une connaissance approfondie des réalités humaines de l'entreprise. Quant à l'Office, il lui incombe de fixer les objectifs, de fournir les moyens financiers, d'assurer la coordination des programmes ainsi que la coopération entre les institutions, et de veiller à la diffusion des résultats obtenus.

CLAUDE DURAND et ALFRED WILLENER (Institut des Sciences Sociales du Travail, Paris)

*LA MODERNISATION ET L'INTERVENTION DE L'OUVRIER
DANS LA PRODUCTION¹*

I

La *description du travail* aux différents niveaux techniques de laminoirs montre comment évolue l'organisation du travail et sa préparation et comment se distribuent et se divisent les rôles et les fonctions :

—Elle montre en quel sens évolue la nature des relations du travail (dépendance hiérarchique, structure et extension des communications.)

—Elle indique comment se transforment les postes de travail : cette transformation est décrite par une typologie des postes caractérisée dans le cadre d'un certain nombre de critères concernant la situation du travail et le degré d'organisation des tâches, les caractéristiques du comportement au travail et les exigences des tâches, enfin le mode de formation qu'elles demandent.

II

Dans les anciens trains la machine et l'équipe étaient dominés par le lamineur; aux trains modernes c'est la machine qui domine, tant l'équipe que les postes clefs.

Plutôt que de juger si l'intervention ouvrière perd en importance avec la modernisation, nous décrivons l'évolution constatée : de certains types d'influence (initiative) on passe progressivement à d'autres types d'influence (prévention d'incidents).

III

Dans les usines étudiées l'influence ouvrière est perçue, de part et d'autre, de façon réaliste. L'évolution sur le plan technique a été suivie d'une adaptation parallèle sur le plan de la formation professionnelle et des modes de rémunération. Si le système de production ne fonctionne pas normalement, malgré tout, c'est pour d'autres raisons.

AMITAI ETZIONI (Columbia University)

STUDY OF REWARDS AS AN ANALYTICAL TOOL FOR INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

The study of allocation of rewards in plants and in the communities in which they are located makes it possible to combine structural-functional with motivational analysis. One major element of the study of social structures is the allocation of rewards among statuses. Likewise, allocation of rewards is one major aspect of motivational analysis, such as that of personnel recruitment, training, and performance control. Cross-cultural studies benefit from a careful distinction between rewards offered by industries and those sought by the workers. Studies of decision making such as occupational choice, as well as studies of occupational mobility and career patterns, gain a new dimension when reward structures are examined systematically. Symbolic intermediary rewards aimed at sustaining Affective-Neutrality are of special interest in this context.

The limited application of this analytical tool may well be due to the methodological difficulties it raises. There exists no analytical and exhaustive classification of rewards. Identical rewards may have a different meaning for actors. The lack of

¹ Communication basée sur une étude menée dans l'industrie sidérurgique française, à la demande de la C.E.C.A., par C. Durand, C. Prestat et A. Willener, dans le cadre de l'Institut des Sciences Sociales du Travail, Paris.

common denominators makes it difficult to assess the total reward-value of a position. Prestige and power constitute especially complicated types of rewards. Some suggestions bearing on the solution to these problems are briefly presented.

WILLIAM M. EVAN (Columbia University)

INDICES OF THE HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Common to the structural-functional theory of social stratification and to organization theory is the postulate that hierarchical organization is functionally necessary. A more heuristic postulate is that different degrees of hierarchical organization have different consequences for total and partial social systems. This directs attention to the problem of empirically establishing what degree of variation in fact exists in the hierarchical structure of organizations.

The present inquiry into the problem of measuring organizational hierarchy begins with the selection of three central dimensions of organization: the hierarchy of skills, the hierarchy of rewards, and the hierarchy of authority. For each dimension an attempt is then made to develop and codify one or more indicators. The question of the empirical application of the indicators of the hierarchical dimensions in turn leads to a consideration of the problems of index construction, analysis of change over time, analysis of causes and consequences of variation in degrees of organizational hierarchy, and cross-national research.

Research, particularly of a cross-national character, on the hierarchical structure of industrial organizations would add to our practical and theoretical knowledge of organizations as well as systems of social stratification.

U. G. FOA (The Israel Institute of Applied Social Research)

SOME DEVELOPMENTS OF A STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN ISRAEL

The development of a programme of research in industrial relations in Israel is described against the changing sociological and ideological background of an industry in rapid expansion.

Three stages of the programme are considered:

1. Morale surveys.
2. The investigation of the foreman-worker relation.
3. The development of a dynamic theory of interpersonal relations.

The substantive, methodological and applied problems encountered at each stage and the attempted solutions are briefly described. It is also shown that a continuous line of development runs through the various stages. Each successive step was indeed stimulated by the problems and the findings that preceded it. This account has been motivated by the hope that the results obtained may prove useful to other countries and in particular to those areas where the possibility of industrial development depends on the absorption into industry of large masses of unskilled manpower, trained in patterns of living different from those of an industrial culture.

WILLIAM H. FORM and WARREN L. SAUER (Labor and Industrial Relations Center, Michigan State University)

ORGANISED LABOR'S IMAGE OF COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

The tactics employed by interest groups in arriving at community decisions are a function of their objective power and their appraisal of their place in

the local power structure. Forty union influentials were interviewed to ascertain their image of the local power scene and their place in it. In only very general terms did they perceive the community as dominated by an integrated management clique which controlled the outcome of significant community issues. Labour influentials most deeply committed to community participation were most perceptive of internal cleavages in local power arrangements.

TERENCE K. HOPKINS

INNOVATION AND STRUCTURES OF AUTHORITY

Under certain conditions, a change in an organization's routine produces not the great efficiency intended but instead high rates of absenteeism and turnover, poor morale, and low productivity. The hypothesis examined here is that an innovation has these unintended effects if, in the course of introducing it, the manner of exercising authority in the organization becomes altered. After a brief review of what it means to have authority and to exercise authority, the assumption is made that statuses in an organization's "line of authority" are defined differently by various subgroups and not similarly, as is usually assumed: a given "line" status can therefore have varying degrees of authority at the same time, depending upon who is defining it, and its occupant can exercise authority in a number of ways, depending upon whose definition of the status he accepts. Three modes of exercising authority, or "patterns of supervision", and their characteristic effects are then described. Finally, these patterns are used to interpret the correlation between organizational change and high rates of absenteeism, etc., the argument being that such unwanted effects occur when innovation causes the more common patterns of supervision to be replaced by one which in itself usually produces these very effects.

J. E. HUMBLET (Division des Problèmes du Travail, C.E.C.A.)

RECHERCHE COMPARATIVE SUR LES CADRES DE L'INDUSTRIE DANS TROIS PAYS EUROPEENS

Les recherches comparatives dans le domaine de la sociologie du travail sont susceptibles d'enrichir les recherches théoriques en facilitant l'élaboration de concepts de portée générale mais elles aident également les praticiens de l'industrie en situant les caractéristiques des différents pays, les uns par rapport aux autres.

Nous avons effectué, en Belgique, en France et au Royaume-Uni, une recherche sur les cadres de l'industrie et spécialement de la sidérurgie, principalement par la collecte d'informations dans 42 entreprises et en procédant à 296 interviews. Notre rapport a pour objet la comparaison des trois pays, en ce qui concerne le syndicalisme des cadres, l'âge lors du premier emploi et les diplômes.

Le mouvement de syndicalisation des cadres est essentiellement un phénomène français. Les structures syndicales de ce pays sont d'ailleurs un facteur de syndicalisation.

Les cadres anglais ont commencé à travailler en usine plus tôt que ceux des deux pays du continent; ceux qui ont des diplômes d'enseignement supérieur sont beaucoup moins nombreux. Du point de vue de l'efficacité des entreprises les deux méthodes présentent des avantages et des inconvénients.

Mais la formule britannique est à la fois une conséquence d'une plus grande capillarité sociale et un facteur d'accroissement de cette capillarité.

ERWIN L. MALONE (Newark College of Engineering, Newark, N.J., and Hunter College, Graduate School, New York)

*THE DIFFERING FOCI OF SELF-INTEREST:
A STUDY IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY*

The ways through which men's self-interest finds expression are innumerable and diversified and often difficult to explain. The example is given of a company whose industry position had become jeopardized because of low production and price competition. The union had steadily refused to consider an incentive wage system to replace the hourly wage rates that always had prevailed in the plant.

Within one month after the union's last refusal to consider incentive rates, the men in one department voluntarily increased their production with no increase in wage rates. Twice more within the succeeding twelve months, production was voluntarily increased. So, within a period of twelve to fourteen months, each workman of an original group had increased his production one hundred per cent.; he held no regret and showed no hostility because of receiving the same hourly wages and the same take-home pay as a year earlier, though he knew that had he accepted an incentive system his take-home pay would have been considerably augmented. Each man is certain that throughout he has been serving his own best self-interest. Search for an adequate explanation pursues various channels.

E. MASSACESI et J. E. HUMBLET (Division des Problèmes du Travail, C.E.C.A.)

LA CONTRIBUTION D'UNE INSTITUTION SUPRA-NATIONALE A LA CONNAISSANCE DES PROBLEMES SOCIAUX

La Haute Autorité de la Communauté Européenne du Charbon et de l'Acier, dans le cadre des pouvoirs qui lui ont été attribués par le Traité¹, doit promouvoir l'amélioration des conditions de vie et de travail de la main-d'oeuvre et à cette fin, rassembler les informations nécessaires.

Comme telle, elle n'a pas pour tâche de provoquer le développement de la recherche sociologique générale ou d'intervenir dans son financement, mais la connaissance des législations², des situations sociales, des événements sociaux et des transformations économiques et sociales, concernant directement ou indirectement les 1.600.000 travailleurs de la Communauté peut faire l'objet d'études menées soit par les propres services de la Haute Autorité, soit par les Instituts spécialisés.

Toutefois, en matière de sécurité du travail, le Traité lui fait un devoir d'encourager la recherche³.

C'est compte tenu de problèmes précis qui se sont posés à elle que la Haute Autorité a provoqué certaines recherches. Il s'agit en particulier des travaux suivants :

1. Etude des obstacles à la mobilité et des problèmes sociaux de réadaptation, et examen des positions des organisations syndicales internationales

¹ Signé par l'Allemagne (R.F.), la Belgique, la France, l'Italie, le Luxembourg et les Pays-Bas, le 18 avril 1951.

² Il ne sera pas question dans le présent rapport des études de caractère principalement juridique ni des recherches médicales auxquelles la Haute Autorité a procédé ou fait procéder.

³ Art.55 du Traité.

et nationales en matière de migration et d'adaptation des travailleurs migrants.

Objet : Eclairer les problèmes posés par la réadaptation des travailleurs et le libre emploi des travailleurs qualifiés.

2. Etudes régionales d'emploi :

Basse Saxe, Borinage, Auvergne-Aquitaine, Ligurie, Limbourg néerlandais.

Objet : Eclairer les problèmes d'emploi et de réadaptation dans certaines régions en cours d'évolution montante ou descendante.

3. Etude sur les niveaux de mécanisation et les modes de rémunération (dans cinq entreprises).

Objet : Préciser les rapports entre mécanisation et rémunération, notamment du point de vue de l'influence des travailleurs sur le rendement.

4. Comparaison des salaires réels (pouvoir d'achat à la consommation) et comparaison des niveaux de vie par une étude de budgets de 2.000 familles, dans les six pays de la Communauté.

5. Etudes sur les facteurs humains dans la sécurité du travail.

Des recherches actuellement *en préparation* auront principalement pour objet:

—la prédisposition individuelle aux accidents

(pour le texte anglais : accident proneness)

—les conditions psychologiques et sociologiques du milieu

—l'organisation du travail.

Ces différentes études ont une portée pratique considérable. Bien que la Haute Autorité ne vise pas comme telle au développement de la recherche sociale, sauf dans le domaine de la sécurité, les informations qu'elle a rassemblées jusqu'à présent peuvent être utiles aux sociologues, même comme éléments d'une élaboration théorique.

DAVID MATTHEWS

SOCIAL CHANGE AND COMPARATIVE LABOUR MOVEMENTS

Interest has grown, in recent years, in the study of the labour problems which attend upon the socio-economic and industrial development of non-metropolitan countries. Of importance in this regard is the critical assessment of the relevance of metropolitan trade-union organisation and methods as a foundation for the emergent labour movements of underdeveloped countries. In this paper, the author endeavours to examine, in the light of several years' research experience in the comparative industrial relations' field, the aptness of the British labour-management relations' system as a working model for the labour movements of British colonies in the Caribbean region and in Central Africa. The impact of the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation on the social institutions of indigenous peoples in these territories is discussed in terms of their prior lack of social procedures for effecting adaptations in, and influencing the behaviour of, those governmental and other social organisations which characterise modern developed countries and which, in many instances, have been, or are in course of being, applied to dependent territories overseas.

S. MOOS (University of Durham)

THE EFFECT OF AUTOMATION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Change in Work. Automation is more than continuation of mechanisation. It reverses trend towards "mindless robot-workers". Change in proportions of

muscular effort and mental-nervous effort. Increasing responsibility and growing isolation in work process.

Automation's separating tendencies : it dissolves what mechanisation had strengthened : the group and its cohesion. With automation, a major incentive, developed under mechanisation becomes obsolete : the payment-by-result scheme.

Change in Security. Changes in structure of labour force and in location of firms introduce elements of insecurity, even in times of full employment ; only minority of labour force are mobile.

Effect on industrial relations difficult to measure ; frequency of industrial disputes is not a reliable measure ; required sufficient comparable data on labour turnover, absenteeism, restrictionism, etc., under conditions of automation.

Change in Management. New responsibilities of labour force require new managerial attitudes. Possible neglect of human implications of automation : problem of growing proportion of scientist-technologists in management of industry. Role of personnel management and of line-and-staff principle greatly affected by automation.

Conclusion. Difficult to measure quality of industrial relations. Essential : application of social sciences to industry, and learning of "sociological know-how" under conditions of rapid technological progress. Important : ultimate aims of industrial organisation.

OTTO NEULOH (Sozialforschungsstelle an der Universität Münster, Dortmund)

METHOD AND PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN INDUSTRY

- I. Basic considerations of the realistic approach of the sociological research in industry and of its methods.
 1. Importance and extent of contacts with industrial plants as research objects.
 2. Study and knowledge of in-plant events and proceedings by means of participant or nonparticipant observation.
 3. Sociological field work and plant reality.
(Instances from sociological research into mining, into the steel and iron industry, and other industrial branches in Germany serve to demonstrate the above aspects.)
- II. Special problems of the applicability of sociological knowledge to concrete cases.
 1. Sociological research and scientific management.
 2. Industrial sociology and its related disciplines (research into industrial economics, and into the physiology as well as psychology of work).
 3. The special difficulty of applying sociological knowledge to the concrete situation in the industries consists in securing transparency and measurability of the method, of the application and its success as well as of the duration of its effect. (Illustrated by examples drawn from investigations into social relations in mining, into co-determination in the steel and iron industry, and into the inter-relations between shortening of work hours and productivity in different other industrial branches.)
- III. Practical importance of sociological research for the social order of the industrial plant.

1. The classic case of the Hawthorne-Study.
 2. Examples from the investigations directed by Max Weber under the sponsorship of the 'Verein für Sozialpolitik': 'Selection and Adaptation of Workers in Large Scale Industrial Plants'.
 3. Additional examples and illustrations provided by industrial-sociological studies of the past decade (Problems of wage-rates and of the relations between supervision and the rank and file labour in mining; social planning in the steel and iron industry; research into accident causation in large industrial plants; methods for evaluating work hours as well as wages in middle-sized industrial plants).
- IV. The quiet way of applying sociological knowledge in industrial plants.

KUNIO ODAKA (University of Tokyo)

APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH TO MANAGEMENT PRACTICES—EXPERIENCES IN JAPAN

Since 1952, the writer of this paper has conducted a series of attitude surveys at four large-scale enterprises in Japan, in order to analyze, besides other characteristics, the "sense of belonging" of workers toward union and management. In each study, a similar questionnaire was administered to a stratified random sample including supervisory as well as non-supervisory employees. Responses to questions testing management and union attitudes of workers were classified on a scale as pro (P), neutral (N), and con (C). With one exception, all surveys were undertaken at the request of the company concerned, and close co-operation was obtained from company representatives as well as union officials by the research team consisting mainly of staff members and students of the Department of Sociology at the University of Tokyo.

It was found that (1) the distributions of workers' attitudes toward management and union varied with the companies studied, and even within the same company, they varied from plant to plant. (2) Contrary to the initial hypothesis, individuals who were either positive toward both management and union (PP) or were negative toward both (CC) were generally much more numerous than those who were for one and against the other (PC or CP). (3) The workers positive toward both management and union (PP) were more inclined to support the ideology of "production increase through union-management co-operation," higher in their morale, and more satisfied with company policies than those positive only toward management (PC). (4) These workers (PC), although their morale was considerably high, tended to be more conservative and traditional in their attitudes, and were greater believers in the paternalistic ways of management. (5) By contrast, the workers solely supporting union (CP) were characterized by their tendency to believe in the ideology of the "class struggle," and by their critical attitudes toward company policies. (6) The most discontented and radical elements were found in those against both management and union (CC). (7) Generally speaking, the PP workers were older, had less education, longer years of service, and received higher wages. (8) The CC workers, by contrast, were younger, of higher education, shorter in service, and received lower wages.

The surveys proved of considerable practical value. (1) They had the effect of improving employee morale within the companies studied. (2) They also contributed to improving management practices by locating communication bottlenecks or discovering the spots where complaints and trouble were likely to arise. (3) Their results were utilized by management, either to avoid anti-

cipated resistance of workers to the introduction of new policies, or to secure reliable materials based upon which the management could prepare for the carrying out of the new policies. (4) Their results have also been utilized in an attempt now being carried out, under the name of "feedback," at one of the companies studied. In this venture in application, which was originally intended to democratize management practices in that company, the employees were invited to examine and comment on the findings which basically consisted of their own opinions about the company policies, and to make suggestions on reform measures for the management.

LOUIS H. ORZACK (University of Wisconsin)

PROFESSIONALS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR PRESTIGE

I

Deference and prestige may be received by individuals in a profession in two ways: (a) through the recognition granted to their profession as a whole; and (b) through the recognition given to their work achievements by others in the immediate work situation.

Empirical data collected from members of several professions, including registered nurses and licensed optometrists, were collected and jointly analyzed. This is justified on the basis of their common concern with the highly-valued area of health and their relative status marginality.

Analysis demonstrates that respondents distinguish between the amounts of prestige received in the two manners. Both manifest greater concern for the profession's prestige than for the professional's prestige.

II

Professionals are likely to believe that their profession as a whole receives varied amounts of prestige from different sources. Four probable sources of prestige were selected, to represent different kinds of relationships with the professionals studied. Each represented a combination of the following two criteria: (a) status parity or non-parity, as perceived by the professionals; and (b) participation or non-participation in the work environment of the professionals. Predictions were made regarding the relative order of magnitude with which the four sources will be thought by professionals to grant prestige to their particular profession as a whole.

The data uniformly support the predictions thus derived.

J. H. SMITH (London School of Economics and Political Science)

SOCIOLOGY AND THE TEACHING OF MANAGEMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

This paper offers some observations on the role of sociology in the university teaching of management. In Britain so far little recognition has been given to sociology in management teaching partly because of the relatively low status of the subject, and partly because of the absence of any distinct sociological tradition in industrial research; yet a strong case can be made for including sociology as a background discipline, as some examples from courses already given in British Universities will demonstrate. Two main purposes will be served by including sociology (1) a development of management's awareness of the social background against which it must make decisions; (2) the development and application of research on specific management questions.

BENOIT VERHAEGEN (Aspirant F.N.R.S. Belgium)

APPORTS DE LA SOCIOLOGIE DANS LA POLITIQUE DE SECURITE DES ENTREPRISES

En matière d'accidents de travail les constatations les plus nettes portent précisément sur la multiplicité et la complexité des facteurs causals et tendent à rejeter les hypothèses de travail patronales concernant le facteur humain.

Il apparaît qu'aucun accident ne peut être attribué au seul facteur humain ou au seul facteur technique. A l'origine d'un accident on ne trouve pas une cause, mais une multitude de facteurs; chacun pris isolément n'aurait pas provoqué l'accident mais la conjonction de ces facteurs entraîne l'accident. Parmi les facteurs les plus immédiatement susceptibles de provoquer des accidents il n'y a en réalité que des facteurs potentiels: ils existent à l'état latent. Ce n'est que lorsque les facteurs complémentaires sont réunis qu'ils provoquent le dépassement d'un seuil et que l'accident survient.

La multitude de facteurs n'exclut pas que dans chaque événement accidentel, l'incidence d'un seul facteur puisse se manifester de manière privilégiée. Par contre la politique de prévention, se limitant à ce seul facteur, se condamnerait à être perpétuellement en retard sur l'événement.

La relation entre les facteurs et l'accident n'est donc pas simple ni directe; elle est complexe par le nombre des facteurs en jeu, par leur situation à différents paliers et par l'interdépendance des divers facteurs.

Parmi la multiplicité des facteurs on peut distinguer deux paliers principaux celui des éléments individuels (caractère, santé, habileté, attention) et celui du déterminisme du milieu (physique, social). Le déterminisme collectif est lui-même susceptible d'être découpé en plusieurs paliers dont le plus éloigné de l'événement accidentel est sans doute le système économique et les rapports de production, et dont le plus proche correspond aux conditions physiques du travail. A priori rien ne détermine à quel palier la politique de sécurité doit porter ses efforts.

Il apparaît donc qu'en matière d'accidents de travail, comme dans les autres domaines de la recherche sociale, il faut substituer à la conception de la causalité efficiente celle d'une interdépendance de facteurs étagés en profondeur, verticalement et horizontalement complexes, de manière à envisager l'accident comme un phénomène social total.

R. BAR-YOSEF (The Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

ROLE CONFLICT IN THE MANAGERIAL ROLE

The paper deals with the conflicts inherent in the definition of the managerial role in Israel. The sudden expansion of industry and the newfound interest in productivity and rationalization have increased the number of managers and led to awareness of the need for efficient management. However, Israel has no managerial tradition and within each of the major role dimensions conflict is evident.

(a) *The conflict of goals:* Although it is accepted that it is an important managerial goal to further the interest of the company, Israel managers are also strongly sensitive to general national goals such as overall development and absorption of immigrants. The interests of the single company may come into conflict with these general goals. The conflict may be particularly sharp in publicly owned companies, where the recognition of national goals is reinforced by the owners, but the manager is still responsible for the welfare of the company.

(b) *Status—uncertainty:* Most managers fulfilled secondary elite roles prior to their managerial role. The occupational hierarchy is not clearly defined in Israel and

management has not yet been allocated a status position. Within the plant, the position of the manager is not clear either. While workers and owners are organized in their respective associations, there is no "trade union" for managers. Many managers are affiliated with the General Federation of Labour (any employee can be a member of the GFL)—while in the factory they are representatives of the owners.

(c) *Lack of role-image*: Role behavior tends to be patterned after a role-model. Lacking a managerial tradition, Israel managers use "borrowed images" of their former non-managerial roles.

The ambiguous role situation creates considerable stress for the managers. One of the mechanisms for alleviation of the stress is professionalization of the managerial role, which also meets the need for recognized status. The training criteria and the professional standards are modelled after those of American Business Management, and the American image of the manager as an "expert of organization" is taken as frame of reference. The problem thus arises, to what extent this American image is suited to Israel conditions. Should a manager indeed abstain from policy making and thus leave industrial planning to the politicians? Do the Western techniques designed to achieve efficiency and smooth organization have general validity, or are they culture-bound and thus applicable to the Western cultural milieu only? Only by an analysis in the context of the society as a whole, will it be possible to evaluate the probable consequence of well-meant but usually insufficiently analysed adaptations of foreign models.

HEIKKI WARIS (University of Helsinki)

WORKERS' PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT IN SCANDINAVIAN INDUSTRY

As in most European countries the industrial workers in the Northern countries of Europe (Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden) have a right to be represented on committees on the plant level.

These plant committees were established either through agreements between the employers' national federations and the trade union federations or by a special law which decreed such plant committees compulsory in plants having more than 25 or 50 employees. Their functions are: 1) communication between management and workers, 2) cooperation between management and workers for higher productivity, 3) discussion on workers' safety and welfare, 4) discussion on schooling and training of workers and apprentices. Wages and hours of work are, as a rule, excluded from the competence of these committees. All plant committees are consultative in nature. The minimum number of meetings is prescribed.

Immediately after the Second World War the need for increased production prompted the search for all possible ways leading to higher industrial productivity. The plant committees were viewed with deep distrust by the employers and with high hopes by the workers.

Their achievements have been limited. The committees' discussions have centred mainly on safety and social welfare measures. Only in rare instances have the committees developed into channels of communication on important problems of productivity, marketing or management of the plant. Further members of plant committees develop a different attitude towards the plant and problems of industry in general than the workers who had not been exposed to the flow of information and the influence of management. An estrangement of representatives from those represented was apparent. It can be concluded that the *achievements of the plant committees have not come up to the high expectations* of their strongest proponents.

The relations of management and workers in all Northern countries are governed

by detailed labour legislation as well as by extensive collective agreements between well organized employers and powerful trade unions. The influence of trade unions in the society as a whole has greatly increased and this has added to the prestige of the shop stewards.

The plant committees cannot compete with shop stewards in prestige and influence. They are two rival social institutions in industrial plants.

Existing studies indicate that the function of shop stewards is easily recognized by all workers who seek solutions to their daily working problems. The plant committees on the other hand, are not born out of the needs at plant level but have been decreed from above.

A. OKULOV (USSR)

SOME SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE USE OF ATOMIC ENERGY

In my brief communication I should like to dwell on some problems connected with the social and moral consequences of the Use of Atomic Energy.

Firstly, with the discovery of this vast source of energy, a new kind of weapon has appeared. Atomic war is highly devastating. Thus the need for peace becomes most urgent.

Secondly, the discovery of atomic energy more than any other discovery in history has raised the problems of the connections of science and the interests of society, the problems of social control of science. Mankind has reached a stage of development when science begins to have a greater influence on industry and the living conditions of men all over the world. Great scientific discoveries must be controlled by the people and used in its interests. They should not be left to monopolies and in the hands of irresponsible people.

Thirdly, the discovery of atomic energy gave rise to all kinds of specific economic and social problems. A new location of industrial enterprises, the necessity to work out most effective labour safety devices, realistic perspectives of transforming farming into agricultural industry and the corresponding change in the system of social relation and many other problems require to be solved on a scientific basis. Nobody would deny that the way in which and the purposes for which the achievements of science and technology are used, depend wholly on the social system. The main feature in the progress of technology in our time is that at each step the problem of the development of social relations is raised.

One of the important consequences of a peaceful use of atomic energy in the Soviet Union will be a more rapid elimination of the discrepancy between mental and manual work. An unlimited source of atomic energy will make possible the increase of production and lead to an abundance of material goods. It will make work more efficient, cut down the working hours and provide conditions for an all-round intellectual and cultural development.

Atomic energy will also assist in solving more rapidly an important problem facing the Soviet people, elimination of the essential difference between town and country, between industrial and agricultural work. Atomic energy is to play an important part in the development of the productive forces in the faraway, thinly populated regions possessing vast natural resources.

A wide use of atomic energy in economy and the creation of new industries on its basis requires a reshaping of the system of vocational education in order to train the necessary skilled workers. Moreover, a new complicated problem of reconstructing the whole system of education is arising, its further improvement and adaptation to the task of an atomic age. For that purpose a wide net of special higher and lower educational establishments is required.

A wider use of atomic energy in economy inevitably raises the problem of preserving the health of the workers subjected to direct radiation while working with radioactive elements. That requires a whole complex of measures and special laws: the introduction of a unified limit of permissible radiation and concentration of radioactive isotopes in the atmosphere and in the water; the length of the working hours and of holidays; the working out of prophylactic rules for workers coming into contact with radioactive substances and subjected to radiation; special medical service for a systematic control of the health of the workers and finally control of the implementation of the existing laws on this subject.

The Soviet Union considers international co-operation in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes as highly important.

The existing forms of international co-operation in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes concern mostly the technical and economic aspects of the problems. The social and moral aspects have not yet become, as they should, the object of international co-operation.

FRIEDRICH WELTZ (München)

CONFLICTING DEMANDS IN THE DISCIPLINARY FUNCTION OF THE INDUSTRIAL SUPERVISOR

During a recent survey in several plants in basic industry a marked differentiation in the outlook and behaviour of the supervisory staff was found. One type was predominantly oriented by what might be called the "principle of standards"; i.e. he saw his main task as the maintenance of standards set by the management. The other type was oriented by what could be called the "principle of cooperation", which means that he saw his main task as eliciting the willingness of his subordinates to cooperate.

The two more or less contrasting types of orientation and behaviour can be seen as the outgrowth of contrasting demands of work in basic industry. On the one hand there are still rather unpleasant working conditions and the necessity of strict regulation of conduct, often in conflict with the expectations of those subjected to it. On the other hand, recent technical progress has increased the importance of willing and intelligent cooperation by the workers.

An attempt at a solution of this conflict may be seen in the endeavours for good human relations.

But as long as a conflict exists between the demands of the principle of standards and the principle of cooperation, this will have its effect upon the exercise of authority within the enterprise. This dilemma was solved, in the plants investigated, by a sort of informal division of tasks. Certain departments or individual superiors predominantly adopt the principle of standards, others the principle of cooperation. For instance, in one plant, the line superiors predominantly stuck to the promotion of good cooperation. It was only the managerial department that adhered consistently to the principle of standards.

The example of the foreman in coalmining shows the difficulties which arise if such possibilities to avoid these conflicting demands are absent. The conditions of production in coal mines put practically all ranks of the hierarchy under pressure. Dangerous and continually altering conditions, however, render the strict definition of the output to be demanded of the miners more difficult. The foreman is to a certain extent always dependent upon the willing cooperation of his workers. He solves the conflict between the requirements of standards and cooperation by a kind of compensatory transaction with his miners. But neither the endeavours for good human relations, nor the "division of tasks", nor the compensatory procedure of the foreman

in coal mines, offer a genuine solution of the conflict between the demands of standard and cooperation. A solution can only be spoken of in the event of these demands not conflicting any more; and this seems possible only if the exercise of authority within the enterprise can be rationalised and shorn of its non-functional implications.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

Professor CLEMENS introduced the discussion by pointing out that the papers under discussion dealt mainly with six topics of industrial sociology:

1. Application of the results of industrial sociology
2. Management and supervision
3. The sociology of organization
4. Attitudes and motivations of employees
5. The influence of external factors on the enterprise
6. The rôle of industrial sociology

The Chairman then proposed that the procedure in the meeting should take the form of introductory remarks by each author of a paper, followed by comments from the other participants.

1. Application of the results of industrial sociology.

The papers by R. CLEMENS and P. EVRARD (Belgium), J. SZCZEPANSKI (Poland), E. MASSACEZI and J. E. HUMBLET (Luxembourg) were summarized and commented by the authors.

2. Management and supervision.

The papers by T. E. CHESTER and G. FORSYTH (U.K.), J. E. HUMBLET (Luxembourg), R. BAR-YOSEF (Israel) were summarized and commented by the authors.

Discussion.

Professor FERRAROTTI (Italy) Professor Chester knows very well that the problem of professionalization of management is a problem that should be considered and I was thinking quite a bit of it. I don't think that professionalization of management can be considered the solution for industrial development, and I don't think that we can restrict the consequence of professionalization of management to the private industries only.

In a recent research in Italy we have been trying to find: what the motivations of managers are, what does a manager do, what is management, why do people become managers. We considered three types of managers:

1. The family oriented manager or the dynastic type of manager.
2. The politically appointed manager of the bureaucratic type.
3. The ideologically oriented manager

In these three types there is a common trait: they all have power and the interesting thing to study is their attitudes to power.

MISS R. STEWART (UK) I just want to make one addition to something Professor Chester has said. The educational changes in Great Britain have resulted in very considerable stressess as to the kind of rôle that the manager should perform. I think that it is possible that some of our friends from other countries may have got the impression that all managers in Britain are university trained or all recruited to management were University trainees. This is certainly far from being true in a good many companies.

One of the difficulties a sociologist might expect is the clash of outlook between managers who have different educational backgrounds; some of the puzzles that this has produced in certain companies have led some companies, particularly engineering companies, to decide that we won't have any more university graduates, it would be better if we could get them earlier before they are being spoilt by the university, before their outlook has become too different from our own outlook as managers. These companies look hopefully towards what we call a sandwich system which is half the time in the factory and half the time at a technological college. I would suggest that an interesting field of further study might be the kind of differences in expectations, the kind of clashes of attitudes that you get between the University trained managers, which tend to be a particular group in England, and the managers who are now trained by the sandwich system.

Professor T. E. CHESTER (UK) I would just like to make one or two remarks on what Professor Ferrarotti has said. I don't intend to overstress the importance of education; at the same time, as Miss Stewart has outlined, the educational changes are just as much social revolutions as anything else even if no blood has been shed. And perhaps I can illustrate very briefly in a little story, which happened to me, the role-confusion which arises when workers can't identify any more the stereotyped image of what we think of a manager. There were twelve shop stewards and eleven of them were discussing the traditional enmity of workers and managers and the twelfth got up and said "Brothers, my son has just graduated in engineering and is entering the factory to-morrow. Is he my enemy or is he still my son?"

I would like to underline the research of Professor Ferrarotti in private and public industries. In my investigations which were originally started in our nationalised industries and then led me to investigate large scale private industries I came to the conclusion that the main

differences between public and private large scale industries if I can use a colloquial phase in England, is that the private industries can wash their dirty linen in private and the public companies have to wash it in public.

In one of our industries which was nationalised and then denationalised I did a lot of attitude surveys and I asked managers "Are you private or public?" To my surprise the greater part did not know and indeed they could not care less, unless they were absolutely at the top level of board memberships. I think Professor Ferrarotti is absolutely right and I am surprised that our investigations, which were by no means co-ordinated, came to the same results. Then he mentioned his point of studying top management, of what they really do: the demystification. I came to the conclusion, that there is not so much mystery about it, that when you approach the top management rightly they are prepared to co-operate. We are at present carrying out one project, where one of our research assistants sits in to find out not only how the managers spend their time on the time table but what they really do, because they themselves can't observe themselves. We always see quite different things, what really happens.

And finally why do the managers become managers? I do believe that Ferrarotti is absolutely right when he stresses the problem of power. When, very tentatively, we made an attitude survey why people want to climb up the ladder, we found that it was mainly because of the feeling that you will be free, that nobody would sit on you, that you can take decisions on a wider level without any supervision. Centralization and decentralization, of course, is the real problem.

3. The Sociology of organization.

The papers by T. HOPKINS (U.S.A.), W. M. EVAN (U.S.A.), F. WELTÖ (German Federal Republic) and A. ETZIONI (USA) were summarized and commented upon by Mr. Wallerstein (the paper by Mr. Hopkins), Mr. Evan, Mr. Weltz and Mr. Linz (the paper by Mr. Etzioni).

Discussion:

DR. H. MEISSNER (German Democratic Republic) I have read with interest the paper of Mr. Weltz. The central problem of this paper is the conflict between the principles of standards and the principles of cooperation. Unfortunately, the extraordinarily important question as to the socio-economic causes of this conflict of interest was not dealt with. But it is only this question that makes it possible to show the way towards the solution of the conflict between management and workers. Mr. Weltz is of the opinion that such a solution at present is not possible, because he has not taken into consideration the already accomplished change of socio-economic conditions in other countries. In our country the most important large industrial enterprises were socialised

and thus a large sector of nationally owned industries was created. This sector to-day produces approximately 90% of industrial gross products. For that reason, objectively there can be no fundamental conflict of interests between management and workers. This becomes clear also by the phenomenon that the majority of managers and members of the management committees are former workers, they have immediately developed from the ranks of the workers. To-day of course a large number of our industrial leaders are university trained. But most of these industrial leaders also come from the working class since the average percentage of children of workers at our universities amounts to 60%.

The manager receives his commission from the owners of the means of production and he expresses their interests. The conflict dealt with by Mr. Weltz between managers and workers is therefore basically a conflict between wage labour and capital. This contradiction is abolished wherever capitalist property has been overcome. This does not mean that in our country there cannot be any conflicts between management and workers and that they are not actually there. But these differences can only concern secondary questions such as the improvement of the organisation of work, the improvement of the premium system, etc.

DR. H. SHEPPARD (U.S.A.): I only want to make a few comments quickly on the last speaker's remarks. They reveal, to some of us at least, the need for empirical research in every country instead of mere statements. Some of the hypotheses stated by the previous speaker need empirical research because they do not fit with what we know about for example the change of role. The mere fact that a foreman or manager was once a worker does not mean that he remains a worker. We have seen it around the world and we know it in terms of other experiences. We would welcome some empirical research by objective observers in the country which the gentleman represents. Let me give one analogy: the fact that a father and a son are of the same family does not necessarily mean that there is no conflict, conflict for studies, conflict for prestige, conflict for power. I said the same thing in criticising certain capitalist sociologists, if I may use the term. The term I did use in some previous writings was "managerial sociology" in particular in criticising the work of Elton Mayo, from Harvard University. So I cannot be accused of being a bourgeois sociologist. Well, I am asking for some truly objective empirical research and not these theological statements.

Professor M. MANESCU (Roumanie): A propos des communications de M. Szczeplanski sur l'application pratique de la sociologie dans l'industrie, permettez moi de dire quelques mots relatifs à la connaissance sociologique de la vie industrielle de notre pays. En Roumanie les sociologues ont de grandes possibilités de recherche sociologique

parce-que toutes les entreprises industrielles sont propriété sociale, propriété d'Etat. Les recherches et les méthodes sociologiques chez nous s' appliquent en fonction du développement des forces de production et des relations de production. Les conditions économiques, politiques et sociales sont les éléments fondamentaux de la recherche sociologique. Par exemple, avant la guerre la Roumanie fut un pays agricole, aujourd'hui la Roumanie est un pays industriel qui a de l'industrie lourde extractive, des constructions de machines, qui importent à toute l'économie nationale. Le développement continu de l'industrie et de l'économie nationale caractérisent les recherches sociologiques dans mon pays. Les recherches sociologiques s'y font par exemple sur le problème suivant: le classement de la productivité, l'organisation du travail dans les entreprises industrielles, le classement de la classe ouvrière, la sécurité du travail dans les entreprises, le classement de la qualification des ouvriers, les niveaux de vie, de revenu, de salaire réel et de consommation des ouvriers, le niveau culturel. Dans notre pays la sociologie est une sociologie de classe; c'est la sociologie de la classe ouvrière.

Professor S. M. MILLER (U.S.A.): The two sessions have been very interesting and seem to represent two different strands of thought. It might be worth while to take a few moments to bring the two strands together. A number of speakers have emphasized the problems of industrial sociology in their countries, which principally concern the issue of productivity, absenteeism and labour turnover.

Another mode of thought that prevailed in the papers was the emphasis upon the concern with authority and I thought that those papers gave a rather important contribution in changing our view of authority as an atom, in trying to break up the atom into elements which fasten together into different kinds of patterns. It seems to me that in discussion of authority and its different patterns there is little discussion of the effects of different types of authority upon concrete problems of absenteeism, labour turnover and productivity. The kind of emphasis that many western sociologists have upon an analytic understanding of the patterns of authority can be merged with the emphasis that some speakers have had today on the problem of how to produce higher efficiency and to reduce absenteeism and labour turnover.

Let us begin to become concerned with the consequences of different types of authority and instead of looking on authority as one kind with necessarily undeviating consequences, let us look at authority as having different kinds of patterns, each giving different kinds of structural situations with different consequences for the problem of productivity. So that even if we start from widely different directions, one concerned with broad analytic categories, the other with immediate problems of productivity, it seems to me that these two concerns can come together when we deal with the problem of consequences. And I

suspect that if we begin to deal with the problem of consequences, we will have to turn back to the problem of causes, which will lead us to a re-evaluation of some of the remarks made today which were rather unanalytical in attempting to see the relationship between different patterns of behaviour and their consequences.

DR. F. WELTÖ (German Federal Republic): I just want to reply to the remarks of Mr. Meissner. I am not quite sure I made it clear in my paper, which probably is due to the shortness of the paper, that my point was that the conflict between the principle of standards and the principle of cooperation is due to the conditions characteristic of certain stages of technical and organizational development. That means: this conflict will arise in any industrial plant and system during that stage.

4. Attitudes and motivations of employees

The papers by K. Odaka (Japan), U. G. Foa (Israel), B. Lutz and A. Willener (German Federal Republic), E. L. Malone (U.S.A.) and A. Sarapota (Poland) were summarized and commented upon by the authors.

Discussion:

DR. W. EICHHORN (German Democratic Republic): In the German Democratic Republic we are facing many sociological problems, mainly the drawing of millions of working people into the administration and regulation of industry. There are sociological problems involved in the planning of the economy, the relation of human beings and technique under the socialist conditions and so on. I am one of a large group doing research on these problems, and participating in this research there are philosophers, sociologists, economists, jurists as well as workers and foremen. Thus in one large Berlin enterprise, the cable works Oberspree, which has about 6,000 workers, this group is at present preparing a congress of brigades of socialist workers. The sociological problem of that congress is the problem of the human being in the period of socialism, the problem of the allround development of the personality of the working men. You can see from this that we draw the material for our sociological work immediately from practice.

5. The influence of external factors on the enterprise

The paper by W. H. Form and W. L. Sauer (U.S.A.), C. Durand and A. Willener (France and German Federal Republic) S. Moos (U.K.), A. Okulov (U.S.S.R.) and H. Waris (Finland) were summarized and commented upon by the authors (Dr. Seppanen for Professor Waris).

Discussion:

Professor G. VIVIANI (Chile):

Tout le monde est d'accord pour attribuer une grande importance aux rapports entre les problèmes de la sociologie et ceux de l'économie. Ce qui est important c'est le bien-être de tous, du peuple particulièrement. Il doit y avoir un rapport entre salaire et minimum vital. Il ne faut pas que l'on fasse travailler les femmes et les enfants pour permettre à la famille de vivre. L'homme n'est pas une machine, le travail doit avoir un caractère humain. Le travail doit être varié. Cela dépend de la Direction.

Problème central: problème des relations humaines. Il faut éviter la répétition dans le travail. Il doit y avoir pour la classe ouvrière la possibilité d'accéder à des conditions de vie meilleures, à s'élever dans la hiérarchie sociale et à participer à la direction technique. Cela récompense le travail humain.

DR. KOEPPERT (German Democratic Republic)

That conflicts between employees and workers still exist in the U.S.A. Mr. Malone has himself reported yesterday when he explained how the workers of the R & M Company only under the threat of dismissal agreed to higher output. It is self evident that under such conditions there can be no community of interest between the workers and the employees. Only socialist property of the means of production forms the basis for a position where the interest of the individual coincides with the interest of the whole society. That does not of course exclude temporary conflicts in socialist societies.

Professor F. H. Blum (U.S.A.)

It seems to me that the only way to overcome the split between the West and the East, which was quite apparent in several contributions, is on both sides to think in broader terms. If we do that we will obtain a very valuable insight which will allow us to test some of our basic hypotheses. Then I would not be astonished if those who look at the West from the East would find, that what is wrong in U.S.A. is not so much what is called the exploitation of the workers but the tremendous similarity of outlook between the workers and management. They will also find a basic similarity in the exclusive emphasis on productivity in the East and the West. I mention these as examples to propose that we look at industry from the human point of view and that we make our basic criterion some human values that we believe in. Unless we do that I don't think we can claim to have a sociology of work in industry.

MR. BUGUSHVYLLI (U.S.S.R.)

I would suggest a classification of industries, including five forms.

- (i) Domestic industry. The aim of this is satisfaction of the needs of the family itself. Not only the raw material but the means of

production are produced in the home. This form of production does not know specialization.

- (ii) Handicraft industry and trade. This is the first form of industry which is separated from agricultural labour. Now the different industrial professions appear. Production and consumption are separated. The production is according to orders of consumers. The master is the owner of the products and of the enterprise. The masters are the owners of their enterprise because of their knowledge of a special trade, not because of their ownership of the means of production. The division of labour was not yet practised.
- (iii) Home industry. It is distinguished from the domestic industry by the fact that it mostly is small commodity production. It differs from the handicraft industry by the fact that in the former the labour produces for customers, while in the later the products are distributed by merchants. The home industry has usually developed out of the domestic industry. In the home industry the place of work and of leisure is the same.
- (iv) Manufacture and

(v) Factory industry. It is not necessary to describe these two forms of industry here, because you can find a description of them in the literature of the Marxist sociologists.

Professor EVA J. ROSS (U.S.A.)

I did just wish to refer to the remarks made by the participant from Chile. In modern industrial enterprises we really look at workers as human beings. The errors of early capitalism no longer exist. Modern capitalism realizes that only a worker largely satisfied with working-days and living a free and adequately human life in his after-hours contributes adequately to a highly productive economy.

Madame M. SCHLAG-REY (Belgium)

Je voudrais simplement faire une remarque en rapport avec la communication de M. Verhaegen concernant l'apport de la Sociologie à la politique de sécurité des entreprises. Il me semble bien évident qu'un sociologue doit toujours faire une sorte d'auto-critique au sujet de ses hypothèses de travail. Mais je crois qu'il lui est aussi permis d'avoir des ambitions limitées. Sans avoir nécessairement la prétention de débrouiller le jeu complexe de tous les facteurs de l'accident, il arrive qu'une recherche sociologique, axée sur une hypothèse banale, aboutisse tout de même à une conclusion dont l'utilité se vérifie par des évidences empiriques, comme le demande le Professeur Sheppard.

Dans une recherche sur les communications concernant la sécurité dans les charbonnages nous avons été amené à constater une relation

entre le mode de transmission des consignes de sécurité aux ouvriers et le respect de ces consignes.

Par exemple, dans un charbonnage où le soutènement se fait exclusivement par des étançons métalliques, on constatait régulièrement, tous les mois, un certain pourcentage d'accidents de doigts écrasés dus à une fausse manoeuvre dans le déplacement de l'étaçon. La manoeuvre correcte avait été enseignée et était non moins régulièrement rappelée aux ouvriers par le moyen d'avis affichés, d'advertisements oraux, de rappels aux contremaîtres, etc.

Un jour le chef du service de sécurité eut l'idée de prendre deux photos d'un mineur populaire parmi ses camarades, l'une dans la pose d'exécution incorrecte de la manoeuvre avec le doigt apparemment écrasé et l'autre dans la position d'exécution correcte. Pendant les deux mois qui suivirent les statistiques enregistrent une diminution hautement significative de ce type d'accident (je n'ai malheureusement pas les statistiques des mois suivants).

Il me semble que, si à partir d'observations de ce genre la recherche sociologique permet de préciser de façon plus générale les conditions psychologiques et sociales d'une information efficace au sujet des moyens de protection, une telle recherche apporte à la politique de sécurité des entreprises une contribution qui, pour se limiter à un problème spécifique, n'en est pas moins valuable.

DR. K. RICE (U.K.)

It is my belief that within the enterprise there is a considerable capacity for cooperation available, whatever the economic or political system. In other words, that everybody—workers and managers alike—gets considerable satisfaction of doing a good job with efficient equipment. One of the things I think we might be inclined to neglect in our concentration on the difficulties of workers in adopting high mechanization is that, in fact, if you have a high form of energy, then you have the great satisfaction of belonging to a highly efficient organization. Indeed it is a fairly common experience that people who are members of such organizations like it. A further point: if you have a high mechanization, the discipline tends to be imposed by the process itself, rather than by other people. And such discipline is usually easier to tolerate. Therefore I do believe, that with high mechanization (an example is the oil refineries) the relationship between the so-called workers and the so-called managers are in fact very much closer.

6. *The role of industrial sociology.*

The papers by O. Neuloh (German Federal Republic), P. de Bie and M. Chaumont (Belgium) and A. Touraine (France) were summarized and commented upon by the authors.

Discussion

Professor R. LIKERT (U.S.A.)

I should like to make a general point. It is important that sociology be viewed as a science, and a condition of sciences is that their observations are replicable. Many of the papers presented here are not based on replicable observations. They are based on a series of assumptions and various kinds of perceptions. I think that many of these assumptions are incorrect. The perceptions, I believe, are distorted. May I propose, therefore, that in preparing the Fifth Congress it might be desirable to try to make it more truly scientific by having it based on observations, the methods of which are such that anybody who uses the same methods will come up substantially with the same observations.

A. LUNDQUIST

SECTION II(1)b

THE APPLICATION OF
SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO AGRICULTURE

Chairman: Professor E. W. HOFSTEE
(Agricultural University, Wageningen)

Rapporteur: Dr. B. BENVENUTI
(Communauté Economique Européenne)

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

J. ALLAN BEEGLE (Michigan State University)

SOCIAL COMPONENTS IN THE DECISION TO MIGRATE

This paper views the explanation of internal migration in terms of decision-making process in which three elements play a crucial role. Migration is regarded as the voluntary movement of individuals beyond and outside their interaction systems. The elements of the decision-making process regarding migration are : "satisfactions", or feelings of cohesiveness and security rooted in identification with groups and structures; "social costs", or rootlessness and/or perceptions of rootlessness attending migration ; and "aspirations", or the desired future state or condition sought.

The paper also considers the problem of community impact resulting from population gain or loss. Suggestions are offered regarding sociologically relevant lines of investigation concerning structural, functional, and relational changes in community sub-systems coincident with population gain or loss.

Finally, results from a field study among non-migrants in a community of out-migration are presented. These findings suggest the utility of the three elements listed above in the explanation of migration, in this instance of non-migration.

S. P. BOSE (Harinchata Nadia, India)

*CHARACTERISTICS OF FARMERS WHO ADOPT RECOMMENDED
AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES IN SOME SELECTED VILLAGES IN
WEST BENGAL*

In order to find out whether there is any association between the adoption of improved agricultural practices and the socio-economic characteristic of the farmers a survey of ten villages was undertaken.

These ten villages were selected in West Bengal in widely scattered areas. In every village each family were asked which of the following five improved practices they had adopted in the preceding year : use of (1) fertilisers, (2) improved seeds, (3) improved poultry, (4) plant protection and (5) artificial insemination for cattle. Information was also obtained on their socio-economic characteristics, such as, land held, land cultivated, land tenure, education, caste, participation in community activities and outside contact, etc. The results of the investigation have shown that those farmers who belong to the non-scheduled castes adopt improved practices in larger numbers than farmers who belong to the scheduled castes. Similarly farmers who are literate adopt improved practices in larger numbers than those who are non-literate and those who participate in community activities have larger numbers adopting than

those who do not participate. The difference in adoption between cultivating owners and share croppers is not very pronounced.

It has been found that certain characteristics do not go together. Thus there are few scheduled caste cultivating owners and fewer still scheduled caste literates.

In order to trace a relationship between investment per acre of land and land owned, level of education, extent of outside contact, a multiple regression was fitted.

ODD GRANDE (Head of Division for Rural Sociology, Agricultural College of Norway, Vollebekk)

APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGY TO PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVES

The study of agricultural co-operatives is a field where sociological knowledge can be fruitfully applied.

In this paper a sociological analysis is attempted on the basis of economic and sociological theory and research, in order to establish a basis for further systematic research.

The co-operatives are looked upon as aggregates of economic units (farms), and as organizations with economic functions as the primary ones. Important secondary social functions may be latent in small local co-operatives. In larger co-operative societies, however, they become manifest and of immediate concern to the leadership both in regard to membership and community relations.

Strong disintegrating forces are always active in the co-operatives, and lack of understanding of their true nature may cause severe disturbances and sometimes complete failure of the organizations, because of an unfavourable atmosphere for the proper functioning of the social system, internally or externally.

Sociological research has already provided results that may be practically applied and which actually are already put to use in the solution of important problems in this field.

Sociological theory and research combined with other social sciences, particularly economics, can provide an integrated theory for a more complete understanding of this particular type of economic organization and social system.

A. O. HALLER

THE OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT PROCESS OF FARM-REARED YOUTH IN URBAN-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

Farm-reared people are relatively unsuccessful in urban occupations. It is known that youth who have low levels of occupational and educational aspiration are eventually low achievers. Since farm-reared people have low levels of aspiration it has been suggested that the supposedly limited general environment provided by rural society limits the horizons of the farm youth. Later research has disproved this hypothesis by showing that only those farm boys who plan to farm have low levels of aspiration.

The present paper, based on data from farm boys in a highly urban-industrial region with excellent educational facilities, is an attempt to infer a valid explanation for the farm-planner's low levels of educational and occupational aspiration and to simultaneously explain differential plans regarding farming. The explanation inferred holds that farming is the normal occupational self-conception of farm-reared boys. This normal self-conception may be abandoned if the boy has an unusually self-reliant and inquisitive personality, if

his parents are deviants in that they want him to be mobile, or if he perceives farming as inaccessible. If he develops a self-conception of non-farmer he will tend to utilize the information available in the area to develop the higher levels of aspiration needed for successfully entering urban work; if his self-conception remains that of farmer he will tend not to utilize the information. Thus those wishing to increase the levels of occupational achievement of farm-reared youth should attempt to break up the boy's expectations that he will be a farmer.

The findings may be useful for agriculture in other urban-industrial societies, and, with modifications, in other types of societies. But before this conclusion is reached, the explanation should be retested.

G. P. HIRSCH (Agricultural Economics Research Institute, University of Oxford)

THE USE AND INTERPRETATION OF QUANTITATIVE DATA IN THE STUDY OF RURAL SETTLEMENTS

The empirical approach has been criticised for its bare assemblage of facts and failure to produce any sociological generalisations. Many community studies have to plead ' guilty ' to such indictment.

It is, however, not the empirical approach which is at fault but the *aggregate* technique which has—traditionally—been used in such studies. It lumps together the totality of a population and then merely sub-classifies it according to a number of characteristics.

Only a comparison of communities on the basis of their variations both from the grand average for all of them and from the average for various groupings or sub-groups can lead to generalisations. This approach can be termed the *comparative* technique.

This technique was used in a survey of settlements in East Sussex, a county in South-East England. One of the aims of this survey was to find out if distinctive functional types of settlements exist and, if so, to attempt a classification according to their economic and social structure and function.

HENRI MENDRAS (Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris)

POUR UNE ANALYSE COMPREHENSIVE DE LA DIFFUSION DU PROGRES AGRICOLE

Les sociétés paysannes traditionnelles sont des sociétés à changement lent. Or elles se trouvent aujourd'hui plongées dans une civilisation à changement technique et social rapide. Ce conflit de civilisations pose au paysan un grand nombre de problèmes et l'incompréhension de ce conflit suscite de nombreuses difficultés aux responsables de la politique agricole et aux techniciens de l'agriculture.

Plusieurs enquêtes menées dans différentes régions françaises et en Grèce sur ce sujet montrent que le progrès technique a pénétré plus rapidement à la campagne qu'on ne le pense généralement. Mais cette pénétration s'est faite sans transformation parallèle de la mentalité. Il en résulte que les motivations et les images du progrès sont chez le paysan très différentes de celle que l'on trouve chez un "entrepreneur" capitaliste.

Il existe des différences considérables suivant les sociétés paysannes, en fonction de leur mentalité traditionnelle, de leur évolution économique et technique de la pénétration de la société globale . . . etc., Le niveau de conscience économique est sans doute un des facteurs les plus importants et les

plus variables. Les mécanismes et les canaux de diffusion du progrès varient avec le système social. Mais il faut tenir compte aussi du sentiment de participation à la société globale et du sentiment de dépendance vis-à-vis des conditions naturelles.

Enfin pour comprendre ce phénomène il faut le replacer dans la totalité de la vie sociale et en particulier ses manifestations politiques. Le progrès agricole apparaît le plus souvent dans une société rurale comme un instrument de pouvoir au service d'un groupe ou d'une classe.

LEONARD W. MOSS and STEPHEN C. CAPPANNARI (Wayne State University, Detroit)

A SOCIOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF AN ITALIAN RURAL COMMUNITY

Utilizing an inter-disciplinary approach, a study of rural family patterns, village organization, and social stratification in selected South Italian villages was conducted with special reference to current theories of culture change.

The field experiences of the authors suggest that a valid social scientific community study may yield results which are inapplicable for the promotion of social action and change on the local level.

A contemporary anthropological position holds that a condition of *disequilibrium* is specially conducive to culture change. Investigation of these indicies of *disequilibrium* in a relatively isolated hilltop village ("Cortina d'Aglio") indicates that outside influences have failed to penetrate precisely because of these same factors which here promote a high degree of resistance to change. Such factors as high rate of emigration; education; familial solidarity; *individualismo*; economic and social stratification; and *campanilismo* all tend to work against formation of voluntary associations and change from within the community.

The authors conclude that limited theoretical models have hampered the extension of planned social change which must often go beyond the village frame of reference. Uni-dimensional planning at the village level is unlikely to succeed.

JERZY TEPICHT (Institut d'Economie Agricole de Varsovie)

RECHERCHE SOCIOLOGIQUE EN VUE D'UNE TRANSFORMATION SOCIALE

Trois séries de recherches sociologiques sont menées en Pologne sous l'angle d'une contribution concrète à l'élaboration d'un programme agraire socialiste.

D'un bref aperçu de *recherches sur la structure sociale des campagnes* ressort une atténuation des conflits sociaux dans le village polonais au cours des dernières quinze années, parallèle à une mobilité sociale très accrue et un développement de formes d'aide mutuelle entre les paysans moyens, incitant à chercher les premisses d'une future transformation collectiviste.

Une étude des changements opérés dans les fermes co-opératives nous montre la valeur des dernières expériences, souvent spontanées et variées suivant les régions, pour la formation des modèles susceptibles d'être acceptés à l'avenir par la majorité des paysans polonais.

La troisième série de recherches, présentée par l'auteur d'une façon plus détaillée, concerne le mouvement de "cercles d'agriculteurs". Elle est basée sur une vingtaine de monographies, préparées simultanément dans diverses régions du pays.

Parmi les problèmes—clés de cette étude il convient de relever : la composition sociale du cercle par rapport à celle du village, l'activité économique, sociale, culturelle du cercle à la lumière des problèmes les plus importants à résoudre dans le village, l'activité du cercle en face des intérêts divergents et convergeants de ses membres, la génèse du cercle, ses cadres, ses ressemblances et dissemblances avec le mouvement similaire d'avant guerre, enfin les diverses formes d'entraide et de propriété commune qui se créent sous les auspices du cercle.

En considérant les résultats déjà obtenus de l'étude, l'auteur fait une distinction entre les coopératives au grand périmètre d'action et les associations l'échelle du village. C'est à ces dernières qu'il attribue le plus de valeur éducative dans les campagnes polonaises à l'heure actuelle.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

The meeting was opened by the Chairman who proposed that, owing to the absence of several papers, each author should introduce his own document at some length as no discussion was possible otherwise.

The presentation of the papers was arranged in three main groups:

(1) General Cultural Aspects of Social Change in Agriculture and Rural Life in an Industrialising Society.

(2) Organisational and Administrative Aspects of Social Change in Agriculture and Rural Life in an Industrialising Society.

(3) Rural Migration and Occupational Change in an Industrialising Society.

In the first group were discussed the contributions of: Kötter, Mendras, Bose, Moss and Cappanari; in the second group the contributions of: Grande, Tepicht, Lynn Smith; in the third group those of: Beegle, Haller, Pohoski and Sianko.

The Chairman started the debate by clarifying some possible misunderstandings as to whether or not the discussion should really be restricted only to the demonstrable influences of sociology on agriculture. In his opinion such limitation could not be accepted. Such a conception, he said would show a lack of understanding as to the field of application of rural sociology. Rural sociology at present is basically different from industrial sociology in that it studies rural society as a whole; the latter, instead, generally studies only a certain role of man in the industrial society. At this stage of rural sociological knowledge, the cognitive aspects of the discipline are far more important than the possible practical applications of this knowledge to the life of rural society.

This opinion was partially shared by Professor Rossi-Doria who, starting from a different, more pragmatic point of view, pleaded for

the creation of a well-defined body of rural sociological theory. Rural societies are very different from each other and from urban society; furthermore nowadays they generally are in great need of help. In order to be able to help them, social scientists must first be able to know and to understand them. Therefore, since the fields of study of rural sociology are such well defined societies, rural social scientists must try to develop specific concepts and yardsticks for the analysis of such societies and of the phenomena of life in the rural world in general.

The rightness of Prof. Rossi-Doria's statement was questioned by Mr. Benvenuti who remarked that the most important issue was to know first whether or not it is right to speak of rural sociology at all, intended as a discipline different from general sociology. In his own opinion this is not right, although mainly for historical and practical reasons the expression has come into existence and is being now widely used. However, there is only one sociology, which studies society and the relations among human beings. The several adjectives which are being given to sociology derive only from the variations of the latter. On the other hand, since the social context varies, and there can practically be an unlimited series of combinations between "urban" and "rural", between "developed" and "primitive" etc., the speaker does not see how it is possible to maintain the conception of the uniqueness of the rural world and of rural sociology as a discipline. He does not see the possibility nor the need for rural sociology to develop concepts, and yardsticks of its own. While industrial sociology can be said to be, in a certain way, a specialisation, since it studies man during the fulfilling of a particular role into a specific aspect of societal life, rural sociology studies the whole of social life. This social life can be more or less "urban" and more or less "rural" according to time and place.

From the discussion of every paper presented, in spite of the variety of local economic and political conditions referred to in it, constantly one common point emerged: it seemed clear that the clash between a traditionalistic culture (and its self-sufficient form of economic organisation) and a dynamic-progressive culture (and its forms of organization for a market economy) is a total one. That is, the human being is involved in it with every aspect of his life. But if, on the one hand, the process of industrialisation of the countryside means a total clash between two types of culture, on the other hand, this does not mean that the old local pattern of culture will always finish by being replaced by the new one. There are local culture factors making for lags and resistances. Thus M. Mendras pointed to the individualism of the French farmer, which is deeply rooted in the rationalistic ideology of the French Revolution. This makes for a rejection of many new cultural influences coming from persons or institutions which are felt as antagonistic (class consciousness, etc); the same very strong resistance resulting from the mistrust of every new cultural characteristic coming from out-

side the community was reported by L. W. Moss for a southern Italian village. The analyses presented by Mendras and Moss and Cappanari were criticized by Professor Tepicht (Poland), who felt that they were too empirical and too little constructive in their approach, as a result of the lack of a theory of general validity for the interpretation of social phenomena.

MR. V. MALINSKI (Roumania) acknowledged that local cultural differences are very frequent nowadays, particularly in certain countries. Nevertheless, whenever cases of accentuated mistrust and opposition to the integration into the wider national societies occurred, such as the ones quoted by Mendras and Moss and Cappanari, we must not think that such maladjustments will disappear by themselves, if we follow a liberal policy of "laissez-faire". It is the social scientist's and the political authority's task to try to understand the reasons of such maladjustments and to help solve them in the best way. Professor Hofstee thought that strong resistances against new cultural influences coming from outside the local community are found, in many cases, in those parts of the society, or of the country, which are lagging behind the rest in their development. Very often the cause of such lag lies (or is felt to lie by local people) in the bad administration of the central authorities. As nowadays any initiative to solve regional social and economic problems practically come from central authorities, the refusal of local population to accept from outside innovations in their life is mainly due to their instinctive mistrust of the central authority, to which they have been accustomed to ascribe unpleasant socio-economic influences of non-local nature.

The contributions of Mr. Tepicht, Mr. Rühle, Mr. Wiezbicky and Mr. Malinski showed clearly that the changes in the social structure of the countryside, which have occurred spontaneously in the Western world under the influence of industrialism, can also be stimulated and promoted artificially by the central authorities. The most important conclusion of this part of the discussion was that, no matter whether spontaneous or induced, industrialization essentially means a fundamental change in outlook, way of thinking and way of life of the former rural individual. This takes the form of an increase in the individual's degree of social awareness. Mr. Haller's paper showed that such changes are clearly reflected also in the individual's personality type. It seems possible to maintain that the phenomena referred to above are common to every rural individual who has undergone the impact of urban-industrial culture, whereas other cultural variables such as the persistence of certain social institutions, or the coming into being of new ones, vary from place to place. This seems to give automatically an answer to Professor Rossi Doria's plea for the creation of a systematic typology of the different rural societies. It also gives an indirect answer to his question about the actual state of development of rural sociological theory.

The need for the integration of the isolated farmers into wider and new forms of social organizations was stressed by Professor Ardigo. The same point was made by Professor Tepicht, who, however, stressed that the stage of economic development reached by the country concerned (socio-economic system) is the determinant for the farmer's degree of freedom of action and attitudes with respect to cooperatives. Thus at different stages of economic development the importance and function of cooperatives as "bridges" between the traditionalistic cultural phase and the dynamic one is different. The importance placed by Professor Tepicht on cooperatives as "bridges" between individual and collective agriculture, or as new forms of societal organization between the two mentioned types of agriculture, was felt to be somewhat ill-placed by Professor Hofstee. In his opinion associative forms can manifest themselves everywhere at a certain stage of societal development. For instance, in the Netherlands associative forms, similar to some referred to in Mr. Tepicht's report existed until about half a century ago. In Professor Hofstee's opinion forms of this kind are typical of pre-capitalistic economic systems. Of the same opinion was Professor Bicanic. There are certain fixed economic laws which cannot be evaded, no matter what the political system. For instance the relation between productivity of labour (and hence, income) and farm size, farm size and part-time farming, etc. are constant phenomena of economic character. Professor Bicanic criticized the frequent attempts to present long since known phenomena as the results of new social and political ideas.

A clear example of the link between the individual's integration into the larger social context, the need for higher incomes, the modernity of the farm operator, and the degree of efficiency reached in the organization of the farm business was furnished by Prof. O. Larson. He pointed out that in America the small farmers who usually take part in some form of vertical integration of the productive process are apt to have been previously professionally active in some kind of urban institution or in the urban economy at large. This shows the gradual transition from a "rural" way of farming (and hence of living) and an "urban" way of farming and of living. The farmers who take part into a vertical integration frequently resemble very little the traditional farmers.

The following participated in the discussion: E. W. Hofstee (Netherlands), H. Kötter (German Federal Republic), H. Mendras (France), S. P. Bose (India), L. W. Moss (U.S.A.), O. Ruhle (German Democratic Republic), B. Benvenuti (Italy), V. Malinski (Roumania), B. Korstanje (Netherlands), A. Ardigo (Italy), M. Rossi-Doria (Italy), E. Cape (Italy), O. Grande (Norway), J. Tepicht (Poland), O. Larson (U.S.A.), A. Beegle (U.S.A.), M. Pohosky (Poland), C. Kostick (Yugoslavia), E. Abma (Netherlands), R. Bicanic (Yugoslavia), Wierzbicky (Poland).

B. BENVENUTI

SECTION II(1)c

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO EDUCATION

Chairman: Mrs. JEAN FLOUD

(University of London Institute of Education)

Rapporteur: Dr. A. H. HALSEY (University of Birmingham)

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

GEORGE BARON (University of London Institute of Education)

THE NOTION OF THE SCHOOL IN ENGLAND

In this paper it is argued that, despite the diversity of school forms in England they all, in large measure, derive their characteristics from certain basic assumptions, viz.

that a school should possess individuality and a measure of independence; that it should be a community, sufficiently limited and cohesive for all within it to have a common purpose and for it to be controlled by a single individual; that each school is concerned with the transmission and inculcation of:

- a. Certain established and orthodox ideas of national significance
 - b. The spread of a common cultural pattern derived initially from middle-class conceptions and now finding expression in the newer school forms;
- that all schools must be concerned, not only with general education and with instruction directed to vocational ends but with the development of the character of each individual boy or girl.

The transmission of these assumptions, mainly but not wholly derived from long-established *Public Schools*, is due to English schools forming their own close-knit and highly institutionalised value-structure linked not with the local communities they serve but with the cultural traditions of the nation as a whole and especially with those of middle class origin.

Within the school the headmaster (or headmistress) has a distinctive role and there is particular resistance to any challenge to his leadership from outside agencies. Furthermore, every effort is made to draw older boys and girls into the core of authority within each school by giving them responsibilities which cause them to identify themselves with its purposes.

The persistence of this notion of the school in England is shown by the extent to which the new secondary modern schools that have replaced the upper ranges of the old elementary schools have developed an individuality and an independence which their predecessors, hampered by codes and regulations, never possessed. In them and still more in the still newer comprehensive schools there is a marked tendency towards an acceptance of the assumptions already discussed.

If the new technological society now taking shape requires more and more diversified institutions, each possessing its own "ethos", it may well be that the notion of the school put forward in this paper is in closer accord with future patterns of social organisation than its origins suggest.

IDA BERGER (Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris)

TROUBLES MENTAUX ET CONDITIONS DE TRAVAIL DES INSTITUTEURS

Dans tous les milieux compétents on s'est rendu compte depuis quelque temps déjà, que les troubles mentaux des instituteurs, de plus en plus fréquents, semblent être dûs en grande partie aux mauvaises conditions de leur travail dans le sens le

plus large du terme (rétribution, nombre d'heures de classe, nombre d'élèves, état des locaux, présence ou absence d'un matériel scolaire convenable, prestige social auprès de la population, possibilités d'avancement et de promotion sociale).

Ce sont les instituteurs urbains, nous semble-t-il, en France au moins, qui sont les plus affectés par les troubles mentaux, dûs à ces mauvaises conditions de travail.

Les médecins-psychiatres de la Mutuelle Générale de l'Education Nationale qui soignent un grand nombre de membres de l'Enseignement Primaire ont fait deux observations importantes qui nous confirment nous mêmes dans nos hypothèses de travail.

1. L'abîme entre l'imagination de l'adolescent, en ce qui concerne sa vocation et la réalité semble avoir souvent créé des traumatismes psychiques très graves.

2. Les causes traumatisantes ne sont pas les mêmes pour les deux sexes. Les femmes souffrent surtout des mauvaises conditions de l'exercice de leur travail et les hommes sont affectés principalement par la modicité du traitement et la perte du prestige social de leur profession.

Les exemples communiqués par les Médecins-Psychiatres, ainsi que nos propres observations qui se basent sur les réponses données à 7.500 questionnaires des instituteurs et d'institutrices du département de la Seine vont dans le même sens.

Pour de multiples raisons, les données statistiques dont nous disposons sont insignifiantes. Néanmoins quoi qu'il en soit de la proportion d'instituteurs atteints de troubles mentaux par rapport à la population générale correspondante de la population urbaine active entre 20 et 60 ans, il est évident que les répercussions des troubles mentaux des enseignants paraissent beaucoup plus néfastes que celle de beaucoup d'autres malades.

Un des médecins-psychiatres dont la clientèle se compose principalement d'instituteurs nous disait à ce sujet: "Un enseignant, même pas très gravement malade, mais seulement inquiet, angoissé et hypernerveux, ressemble à un chirurgien dont la main tremble."

Si on prend, en effet, en considération que le "temps d'incubation" des troubles mentaux est en général très long et que, pendant toute cette époque, l'instituteur, sur le point de tomber malade, menace dangereusement pendant six heures par jour l'équilibre mental de ses élèves, on comprend parfaitement ce médecin. D'autant plus, que l'équilibre mental des enfants est déjà par leur vie familiale trop trépidante exposée à de fortes secousses. Si donc deux instabilités et états psychiques morbides se heurtent, celui des enfants avec celui de leurs maîtres, on imagine avec difficulté un travail pédagogique fructueux dans de telles conditions.

Pour réaliser la "condition sine qua non" d'un travail pédagogique valable, l'amélioration des conditions de travail, matérielles aussi bien que morales, semble donc s'imposer.

Par ailleurs, pour cerner de plus près le problème de la corrélation des conditions de travail des enseignants et leurs troubles mentaux, il faudra, à notre avis, que les chercheurs qui s'occupent de la sociologie des Enseignants, dirigent leur attention très spécialement sur cette interférence si inquiétante. Ce n'est qu'ainsi, en pleine connaissance de cause, que l'on abordera cette question d'une manière scientifique.

W. A. L. BLYTH (Department of Education, University of Manchester)
SCHOOL GROUPS AND NEIGHBOURHOOD GROUPS: A STUDY IN PREDICTIVE SOCIOOMETRY.

A sociometric survey of classes in certain primary and secondary schools in different areas of an industrial city was conducted in order to investigate the informal social structure and development of these classes and to examine the

relation of this informal structure to the formal order of the schools and to potentially influential variables (parental occupation, places of residence, membership of organisations, etc.) in the districts served by other schools. In addition, choices of friends outside the class, and outside the school, were requested.

During the analysis, it appeared possible that the children's actual "neighbourhood groups" might prove an important additional determinant of in-class choices. By transposition of the data already collected, it was possible to build up, as an extension of the main study, a descriptive picture of these neighbourhood groups by a combination of sociometric and cartographical techniques. Although they were rather crudely defined, they showed certain general characteristics such as unisexuality, persistence, and territorial localisation, while there was also some evidence of more widely-flung and overlapping groups, especially where these were associated with differing value-systems. Some children were not included in any neighbourhood group.

It was soon evident that a substantial association existed between school groups and neighbourhood groups; not surprisingly, this was more marked when reinforced by one or more of the variables originally considered, though the pattern was not entirely consistent. Subsequently, an attempt was made to predict sociometric affiliation in certain classes, on the basis of the known data including previous sociograms and neighbourhood-group attachment, and some 50% of the affiliations in a class were accurately forecast in several situations. Finally, about 50% accuracy was achieved in one school, at a very high level of probability, by the use of neighbourhood data only.

In the light of these preliminary findings, it should now be possible to make a more precise study which, according to some of the existing results, might also help to forecast children's academic and social progress.

JAMES S. COLEMAN (John Hopkins University)

THE EFFECT OF VALUE-CLIMATES AMONG ADOLESCENTS UPON ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT.

In an adolescent social system in which academic achievement is highly valued, those who achieve highly will include more people whose actual ability is high than in a social system where the activity is less valued. This is one hypothesis about the possible affects that adolescent value systems have upon education, and it is examined here, using ten schools with differing value systems. After this examination, the question of what is the source of these value systems is asked, and inferences are made about the apparently powerful effect of interscholastic athletics. This result raises questions about the general effect of interscholastic competition of any sort on the adolescent value system of a school.

CHRISTIAN VON FERBER AND CHRISTIAN GRAF VON KRACKOW
(University of Göttingen)

UNIVERSITY REFORM AND SOCIOLOGY.

The paper is based upon *Investigations into the Position of University Teachers in Germany*, published by H. Plessner, Göttingen (1956).

The authors take as their starting point three basic approaches adopted in the sociology of knowledge in Germany, that is, those concerned with:

the position of "Thinking and the limits imposed upon it by social class divisions";

the "logical relationships" between a given type of society and the organisation of knowledge; and
the interpretation of the structural organisation of university establishments and faculties according to purpose.

They then present in outline a scheme for a sociology of universities and analyse the conditions favouring or hindering the application of the results of sociological investigation in efforts towards reform; thus particular importance is attributed to the relationship of the legal aspects of university structure to sociological problems.

In two appended essays on, respectively, *The system of selection for the profession* and *The position of the new academic generation with regard to university career or outside practice*, outstanding problems of German universities are sketched in some detail.

NEAL GROSS (Harvard University)

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS TO THE JOB SATISFACTION OF THE SCHOOL EXECUTIVE

This paper reports the findings of the job satisfaction project of the Harvard School Executive Studies. (Findings of the role consensus and role conflict projects of this research programme have been presented in *Explorations in Role Analysis*.) It examines the impact of social structural and social psychological factors on the satisfaction school administrators derive from their positions. The data were derived in the course of eight hour interviews with a stratified random sample of approximately 50% of the school superintendents in Massachusetts. The measure of job satisfaction was a Guttman H-technique scale.

Evidence is presented indicating that job satisfaction of the superintendent is positively related to the following factors: the superintendent's assumption of responsibility in the division of labour with his superordinates; consensus on educational values between the superintendent and the school board; and the school board conformity to superintendent's definition of its role. Positive and negative findings about the relationship between a number of other factors and superintendent job satisfaction are also reported. These include: characteristics of the community in which the superintendent is employed, the pressures to which he is exposed, the superintendent's self concept, and role orientation.

A. H. HALSEY (University of Birmingham)

THE CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF UNIVERSITIES.

This essay is concerned with the relation of higher education to social structure and involves the notion of a type of society—the technological society—towards which Western industrial countries are more or less rapidly moving. The educational institutions of a technological society are in a special sense crucial to its maintenance and, through the institutionalization of technological research, to its further development.

In the medieval and industrial periods the history of the universities in relation to the economy is one of imperfect and usually belated adaptation to the occupational demands of a culture gradually increasing in its complexity. In the technological society the system of higher education no longer plays a passive role: it becomes a determinant of economic development and hence of stratification and other aspects of social structure.

Throughout the period of emerging industrialism in Europe and America, the principle social function of the universities has been that of status differentiation of elites with some assimilation of students from the lower strata. But the progressive

secularization of higher learning since medieval times has increased the potential of the universities as sources of technological and therefore of social change until now they are beginning to occupy a place in the economic foundations of a new type of society. In this new technological society educational institutions are expanded not only to exercise research functions but also to play a central role in the economy and the system of stratification as agencies for selection, training and occupational placement of individuals.

Movement towards this state of affairs is uneven among the Western industrial countries: for example America, Russia and Britain. It is furthest advanced in the U.S.A. where professionalization has permeated the tertiary sectors of industry and has resulted in far reaching modifications of the content of university studies. It is fastest in Russia where the supply of graduates is closely attuned to the needs of a fast developing economy. It is slowest in Britain where the legacy of the traditional status differentiating functions of Oxford and Cambridge persist and where the response to technological change is most strongly contained within an educational hierarchy corresponding to the power and prestige pyramid of the wider society.

G. DUNCAN MITCHELL (University of Exeter)

BRITISH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION AND SELECTION FOR ADMINISTRATIVE OCCUPATIONS.

The development of both economy and government in Britain since the war has provided for a great increase in the number of administrative posts. Recruitment for these positions has increasingly been carried out from among university graduates. There has been a growth in undergraduate teaching in the Universities and a further development of specialised education and training. The proportions of undergraduates following specialised courses of study have altered. The present situation is outlined. The question is posed: to what extent do the various specialised studies prepare people for undertaking administrative work? A brief analysis of types of intellectual training in specialised studies and the extent to which they are relevant to administration. Analysis of types of administrative activity—policy making, negotiation and public relations, and management of employees. A discussion of the suitability of graduates respectively trained in technology, pure science and arts subjects. Factors pertaining to intelligence but not measured by intelligence tests, relevant to different administrative tasks. A consideration of the manner in which different types of training focus attention on specific types of intellectual problems—propensities for perceiving problems as requiring moral, historical or psychological analyses in the administrative sphere. The specific and general relevance of sociological questions to both policy-making and management. Discontinuities in training administrative personnel for higher posts. Some conclusions about the place of analytical and comparative sociology in training administrators for policy-making at the post-graduate level.

ROGER THABAULT (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris)

TRANSMISSION DES VALEURS SOCIALES A L'AIDE DES INSTITUTIONS D'EDUCATION.

Les institutions scolaires d'un pays s'inscrivent dans un ensemble d'usages et de lois qui traduisent l'histoire et la mentalité du peuple qui les a créées. Elles sont particulièrement représentatives par leur organisation, par la manière même dont elles prévoient le recrutement, l'instruction et l'éducation des différents élèves, de cette histoire et de cette mentalité. L'organisation même des institutions scolaires

traduit donc et *transmet* les valeurs admises et essentielles de cette société. Ex: la public school anglaise—le lycée français.

Les Professeurs sont les agents de cette transmission. Ils sont chargés d'instruire les élèves; l'enseignement de quelques-uns comporte officiellement une part d'éducation. Ils ont *tous* une influence éducative par les habitudes d'esprit qu'ils donnent à leurs élèves, par leur comportement social et par leur conception de la vie qui se fait jour sans qu'ils le veuillent dans leur enseignement. Leur influence est d'autant plus grande que leur foi est plus vive.

Les élèves ne subissent l'action de l'organisation scolaire, l'influence des Professeurs que si elles vont dans le même sens et dans la mesure où elles sont conformes aux autres influences qu'ils reçoivent: les écoles, dans les pays colonisés aboutissent le plus souvent à favoriser la cristallisation, l'expression et finalement la victoire de nationalismes différents des intentions des créateurs de ces écoles, mais différents aussi des valeurs traditionnelles des peuples colonisés.

Il faut donc, pour que l'école transmette et appuie les valeurs d'une société que ces valeurs soient acceptées par tous. Sonrôle est alors d'élucider, de préciser et par suite d'irradier l'idéal inconscient d'un peuple. C'est par elle surtout que les sociétés closes humaines se distinguent des communautés d'hyménoptères, par cet effort de précision et d'élucidation intellectuelle des valeurs sociales transmises.

Mais le corps des Professeurs du fait qu'il vit plus selon l'esprit est, d'une façon générale, plus perméable aux idées neuves, plus prêt à critiquer les valeurs reçues que l'ensemble de la population. Les jeunes gens, du fait qu'ils sont jeunes et qu'ils étudient sont plus ou moins, mais toujours tentés de juger et de renouveler les valeurs admises. Si bien que, sans même que les institutions soient changées, les valeurs transmises peuvent être modifiées. Cela impose à la longue un changement des institutions. Le législateur qui opère ces modifications croit qu'elles sont définitives (cf. Guizot et sa lettre aux instituteurs français en 1833). Mais elles sont à leur tour remises en cause, après un délai plus ou moins long.

Tout se passe comme si l'école qui est un outil indispensable d'adaption économique dans les sociétés économiquement évoluées, un moyen nécessaire d'adaptation intellectuelle dans les cités closes ou mi-closes, était en même temps l'instrument imparfait et cependant précieux dont se sert l'humanité pour assurer son élan vers une société ouverte.

D. L. THISTLETHWAITE

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES IN RELATION TO THEIR INTELLECTUAL OUTPUT

A study of the output of higher educational institutions can be approached from various standpoints: we can use such a study to appraise the effectiveness of advanced training, with a view to improving education and thereby developing human resources; we may see it as a method for clarifying the role requirements of effective teachers; or we may see it primarily as a way of studying how social systems at college and universities affect promising young scholars and scientists.

From a comparative study of 511 American institutions of higher learning, two measures of output were developed, one for the Natural Sciences and one for the Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences. The measures for each institution represent the relative success of that school in stimulating its undergraduates to get doctoral degrees, the rating of success being adjusted so that it is independent of the quality of the school's incoming student body. The findings show that colleges differ markedly in the proportion of their graduates who go on to get doctorates, and that output is closely related to student and faculty social systems. The findings suggest

that student and faculty cultures and certain characteristics of the interactions between teachers and students are more potent determinants of the institution's output than are the geographical, religious, and organizational characteristics which R. H. Knapp's previous work on undergraduate origins of scientists and scholars emphasized.

Social systems associated with attainment of the doctorate in the natural sciences differ markedly from those associated with attainment of the doctorate in the humanities. The environment productive of natural scientists is characterized by student aggression, nonconformity, and commitment to science; the faculty tends to be nondirective in its teaching methods though adhering to strict curricular requirements. Colleges high in output in the arts, humanities, and social sciences are characterized by students who exhibit breadth of interests, reflectiveness, and limited participation in campus antics, while energy, enthusiasm, and flexibility of curriculum are more typical of faculties at these colleges.

RALPH H. TURNER (University of California, Los Angeles)

SPONSORED AND COMPETITIVE MOBILITY AND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

It is the thesis of this paper that several important differences between the American and British systems of education reflect divergent folk norms defining the appropriate mode of upward mobility in the two countries. Under the American norm of *competitive mobility* elite status is the prize in an open contest, to be taken by the aspirant's own efforts. The prize should go to the enterprising and deserving rather than necessarily to the superior individuals, and every effort should be made to keep lagging contestants in the race until the climax. *Sponsored mobility* (the British norm) involves a controlled selection process in which the elite or their agents choose elite recruits and carefully induct them into elite status. The goal is to sort persons according to their talents and to do so as early in life as possible so as to forestall waste and unrealistic aspiration. Differences between the American comprehensive secondary school and the British specialized system and differences in the value placed upon education, the content of education, the system of examinations, the attitude toward students working, the kind of financial subsidy available to university students, and the relation of social class to clique formation may be explained on the basis of this distinction in norms.

HANS L. ZETTERBERG (Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University).

A COLLEGE FOR ADULTS

This report presents a brief sociological analysis of an undergraduate college for adults, the School of General Studies at Columbia University in the City of New York.

The first problem is the delineation of an institutional study as a *sociological* study. The stress on sociology is not there to persuade the reader that sociologists make particularly reliable or scientific studies. Rather, it indicates that our study ought to deal only with those aspects of the School of General Studies which are of routine interest to the sociologist. Observers from other disciplines would be likely to pay attention to different aspects of the School. A psychologist, for example, studying a college of older persons to acquire the kind of knowledge presented at the college level of education. One psychologist who studied a school for adults published his findings under the revealing title *Adult Abilities* (Sorenson, 1938). This kind of analysis is not included in this report. An economist, to take a second example, would pay attention to other facets of the School. He might

point out that conventional colleges schedule their classes primarily in the morning hours of the day, or in the early afternoon, and that, therefore, by opening an afternoon and evening college for adults a university could collect more students fees without any significant expansion of investment in their physical plant, their classroom space, laboratories and libraries. Although internal economic analyses of this kind have been very persuasive in the process of the founding and expansion of the college we have studied, they are left out of this report, as are other financial discussions concerning the school. Instead, due to training and theoretical persuasion, we pay attention to a different set of factors. These are standard sociological categories, such as the social background of students and teachers; the groups to which they are committed apart from the School; some ways in which the positions of students and faculty in the larger Society have repercussions affecting the internal organizations of the School; and some functions furnished by the School to other social institutions.

A number of hypotheses known to students of organization are illustrated in the study.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

FOR the three meetings devoted to the application of sociology to education, the papers listed were grouped under three main headings : the sociology of higher education, the sociology of schools and the general relations of education to social structure. The present report also follows this form, though limitations of space prevent a full treatment of all contributions to the discussions.

Application of sociology to the major institutions of society must at some point involve judgments of value and nowhere is this more true than in the case of education. True, most contributors, whether critics or supporters of the systems they study, tended to separate analysis from moral affirmation. But both in the papers and the discussions certain themes were pursued relating to the values and ethical responsibilities of sociological study and these may be dealt with at the outset.

The perennial dilemma of the sociologist as critic or apologist was, for once, not explicitly at issue, although Dr. VITERBI (Italy) touched on this in a brief contribution. Professor KOTY (Greece) made a plea for the use of schools to counter what he believed were the dangerous consequences of the traditional individualism of Western culture and Dr. LAPASSADE (France) criticised the French universities from the same point of view. But the main division was between participants from the Communist countries and the rest. This division was again not so much one of ideological disputation of which there was very little, though there was evidence of ignorant stereotyping on both sides. It was rather a division reflecting the conscious position of educators and sociologists in the Communist countries as agents for the deliberate creation of new social values under novel social conditions. As Professor SZANTO (Czechoslovakia) put it, it is the task of the educational system to produce men who "sont bien préparés à édifier

consciencem la société socialiste." Similarly Mrs. CICOLINI (U.S.S.R.), Professor HEISE (German Democratic Republic), Dr. GULIAN (German Democratic Republic) and others reported enthusiastically on programmes of polytechnic education in which vocationalism is used as a gateway to rather than a barrier against a rounded humanistic education. And Professor KRAHL (German Democratic Republic) stressed the function of education as not only an agency for the promotion of necessary occupational mobility but also as the means of eradicating accompanying outmoded notions of social superiority and inferiority. And again Professor FIAMENGO (Yugoslavia) spoke at some length on efforts going forward in his country to teach internationalism.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Discussion of the sociology of higher education attracted participants reporting studies from many countries though unhappily Dr. LAPASSADE confirmed the stagnation in France on which the Chairman had commented in her introductory review (see Vol. II).

1. The first of the three main topics treated was that of *the changing functions of higher education in contemporary society*. In this connection the most general paper was that presented by Dr. HALSEY (U.K.)—an outline comparison of the relation of the universities to the economy in U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and U.K. with an historical sketch of the emergence of this relation as the dominant influence on university life. In considering the general relation of the universities to social structure, Professor GROSS (U.S.A.) stressed the reciprocity of influence, e.g. of the universities on government and Dr. MITCHELL (U.K.) insisted on not assuming a necessarily close functional relationship between higher education and the economy, the autonomy of the university system being the starting point for the problem treated in his own paper. Professor FICHTER (U.S.A.) took a similar line in his description of the special features of American higher education, but he also noted that the special values traditionally cherished by university life were increasingly threatened by economic and commercial influences.

Dr. v. FERBER (German Federal Republic), who had submitted a paper on the application of sociology to the problems of university reform in Germany, went on to criticise Halsey's thesis in the light of the history and present trends of university development in W. Germany. In particular he emphasised the growth of technological research independent of universities and the increased concentration of the latter on pedagogical functions. Professor JOJA (Rumania) challenged this view. Professor PARSONS (U.S.A.) thought that the German case was a special one and, in the course of a short review of the development of American higher learning, he argued that both

research and the training of further research workers remained firmly in university hands.

2. The second main topic was that of *the internal functioning of contemporary institutions of higher education*. Here the close and developing link of the universities to the economy of an emerging technological society was taken for granted. In different ways this is true of the papers presented by Dr. MITCHELL, Dr. THISTLETHWAITE (U.S.A.) and Professor ZETTERBERG (U.S.A.). Dr. Mitchell's paper asks for analysis of the qualities required in administrative occupations in relation to the emphasis developed in different types of degree course in the university. Professor GROSS commented on the need for empirical testing of Mitchell's speculations on this matter. Dr. THISTLETHWAITE'S paper also starts by recognising the expanding demand for university graduates and reports on developments in research begun earlier by R. H. Knapp and his colleagues and aimed at improving the efficiency of universities as producers of high scientific manpower. It was pointed out by HALSEY that the kind of research reported bridges the gap between traditional studies of the determinants of educational inequality and modern studies of schools and colleges as 'social systems' or 'sub cultures'.

Professor ZETTERBERG'S description of the School of General Studies at Columbia University is more general than the other two papers referred to above: nevertheless, in addition to its focus on the special characteristics of a full-time college for adults, it brings out the heavy conditioning of American higher learning by expanding vocational opportunities. In discussion of this type of enquiry Mr. BLYTH (U.K.) emphasised the need to take account of the informal as well as the formal organisation of universities and colleges especially under present circumstances where students tend to be socially "uprooted". Professor GROSS also pointed to a neglected field of work—the conflict within universities between the functions of teaching, research and administration.

3. The third main topic goes back to discussions begun at the 3rd World Congress at Amsterdam in 1956 on *the social origins of university students*. The discussion was re-opened by Dr. v. FERBER who challenged the validity, in the case of Germany, of Halsey's contention that throughout the post-medieval Western World, at least until the 1930s, the dominant function of the universities had been, as Weber asserted, that of status differentiation. Professor LOESER (German Democratic Republic) then claimed that the East German universities now recruited 60% of their students from the working class, compared with 3% or 4% in West Germany. Dr. UTECHIN (U.K.) reminded the conference of a disagreement at Amsterdam concerning the Russian situation and said that Mr. Kruschev had recently quoted an estimate for Moscow university of 30% to 40% recruitment from workers and

peasantry. Dr. MILIC (Yugoslavia) reported later on a relevant study of social class and educational opportunity in Yugoslavia.

SCHOOLS

In her introductory remarks on the sociology of the school the Chairman pointed out that no comprehensive analysis and description of the school as a social institution had been attempted since W. Waller's *The Sociology of Teaching*, 1932. Subsequent work had been somewhat fragmentary and the papers presented to the Congress were all concerned with various aspects of the school as a social microcosm or with particular positions in the school system. Thus Mr. BLYTH'S sociometric study was focused on neighbourhood groups and Professor COLEMAN'S on value climates as determinants of interactions and performances within schools; while Madame BERGER (France) and Professor GROSS had concentrated on teachers and school superintendents.

However, in discussion of the contributions by COLEMAN, BARON (U.K.) and BLYTH, the various facets were related in terms of the general notion of *adolescent culture*. COLEMAN pointed out that in industrial societies there is an increasing gap between childhood and adulthood because of the longer training required by the economy of industrialism. In consequence, adolescents develop their own distinctive sub-culture in that they look to each other rather than to adults for rewards and satisfactions. This circumstance sets a characteristic stamp on the American High School. BARON and BLYTH pointed out that the typically lower school-leaving age of European countries implied a different constellation of social forces as determinants of the internal life of secondary schools. It was also clear that present American experience was a useful indication of the problems to be faced in the future in Europe.

GROSS made the general point that studies of the kind under discussion were in danger of over simplifying the social system of the school and this was exemplified in particular criticisms by particular speakers: thus BARON thought that Blyth's problem ought to be put in a historical context, and Professor GROSS (U.S.A.) argued that Coleman's trichotomy of activities (athletics, social affairs and academic work) was inadequate for study of the great complexity of behaviour in a high school. However, while the danger of over simplification was accepted, it emerged clearly from the discussion that the recognition of a distinct social system of adolescence was a key to the understanding of many features of the American High School and its comparison with European schools. Moreover the criticisms advanced in no way disturbed Coleman's ingenious demonstration of the relation between variations in academic achievement and the value climates of different schools.

The papers by Madame BERGER and Professor GROSS afforded a sharp contrast in styles of research, the one descriptive and illustrative, the other a highly analytical attempt to test closely specified hypotheses. In discussion of Mme. Berger's paper, GROSS pointed out that there was no evidence that mental disorder was growing faster among teachers than among other professional groups in the United States. The discussion was carried further by Mr. SCHENK (U.K.) who argued the case for viewing teachers as agents for the spread of the "Middle-class" "achievement" mentality required to work an increasingly technological society—a social role which places them at the centre of fundamental value conflicts in contemporary society.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Through discussion of Dr. THABAULT'S (France) paper, the sociology of schools and teaching was linked to the general relation of education to social structure. Mme. BERGER introduced THABAULT'S contribution, an historical analysis of the function of schools as transmitters of values in relation to the changing social structure of France since the early 19th century. He had emphasised the problems created in a changing society by the gap in socialisation and therefore in value attitudes between teachers and pupils, parents and children. Some discussants stressed the conservative aspects of the teacher role, but Dr. TROPP (U.K.) reminded the conference that the teacher had also been an important revolutionary agent in many social movements of the modern world. In this context an interesting contribution was made by Mme. DROV-ELBOIM (Israel) who stressed the importance of the social prestige of teachers in their role as transmitters of values. Teachers in Israel thirty years ago were effective agents in the creation of new values and had high prestige. Now they have experienced a sharp decline in prestige; they no longer create but merely transmit values.

Professor TURNER'S (U.S.A.) paper, in which U.S.A. and U.K. were compared in terms of the concepts of "contest" and "sponsored" mobility, attracted a good deal of notice in the final meeting. Two main criticisms of it were put forward by HALSEY. The first, which Turner accepted, was that argument in terms of ideal types tended to ambiguity in its empirical reference. The second was more serious—viz., that the paper assumed an historical role for education which, in the U.K. at least, it had not had: mobility into the élites of business, politics, sport, etc., in industrial society had not hitherto been through educational channels.

Subsequent discussion made it clear that Professor Turner had produced a useful analytical concept for international comparisons. It was argued that the two countries were moving closer together through the development of 'post-Sputnik' sponsored mobility in U.S.A., and

the rise of contest mobility in Britain. Professor KRAHL (German Democratic Republic) thought that the paper over-stressed the differences between two essentially similar countries and condemned the condition of sponsored mobility which involved the indoctrination of the masses with conviction of their own incompetence to govern. Professor FRIEDENBERG (U.S.A.) on the other hand, argued that if "self definition" is the central psychological task of adolescence, then sponsored mobility is to be preferred to contest mobility.

Dr. UTECHIN argued that Turner's analysis could be extended to the U.S.S.R. where mobility through education was increasing in importance. Three stages could be distinguished: first a period of sponsored mobility from 1930-50 when almost all graduates from secondary education received higher education; second the recent past of growing contest mobility with secondary education expanding faster than higher education, and third a future phase of mixed contest and sponsorship.

CONCLUSION

Looking back over the contributions there seems to be an adequate confirmation of the CHAIRMAN's suggestion that the sociology of education is entering a period of rapid development. Undoubtedly there are fundamental differences in approach among research workers in the different countries. For example Professor GROSS asserted explicitly his belief in the need for analysis and experimental testing of hypotheses rather than for the 'sociography'—the accumulation of quantitative data concerning the relation of educational institutions with the wider social structure—emphasised by the CHAIRMAN as the precondition of progress in this field of sociology. But statements urging the desirability of comparative studies were made so often and so vehemently as to encourage the hope that if in the past they were ritual sentiments to be uttered at international meetings, in future they will yield fruitful research programmes.

A. H. HALSEY.

SECTION II(1)d

THE APPLICATION OF
SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO REGIONAL AND
TOWN PLANNING

Chairman: Mrs. RUTH GLASS
(Centre for Urban Studies, University College London)

Rapporteur: Mr. J. H. WESTERGAARD
(London School of Economics and Political Science)

INTRODUCTORY PAPER*

Companions In Uncertainty

The Application of Sociological Knowledge to Regional and
Town Planning¹

RUTH GLASS

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London)

I

"IN me, past, present, future, meet to hold long chiding conference".² The poet speaks for every human being, and yet there are few who need to be plagued by the consciousness of this inevitable confabulation at every moment of their professional existence. Sociologists and planners alike, however, can—and should—never escape from it. Although they share that obligation, they have rarely so far discharged it jointly. Their encounters have been rather sporadic.

Perhaps this is surprising. But at least in the western world the practical experience of partnership between sociology and planning is very limited. In the socialist countries, and also in the so-called 'underdeveloped' countries, the story might well be a different one. There, in principle, the chances of future co-operation certainly appear to be better. The Congress will, I hope, make it possible for us to compare the respective histories of, and opportunities for, the collaboration between sociology and planning in different nations.

Some of these comparisons can, however, be anticipated. The reasons for the lack of 'teamwork' in some countries are apparent. To begin with, wherever there is, in fact, not much 'planning', or not much 'sociology', or very little of both, there can hardly be any application of one of these disciplines to the other. And it is precisely this difficulty which exists, though in varied forms, in the industrialised countries of the western world, and in particular in Great Britain and the United States.

* The Chairman's introductory paper was circulated in mimeographed form at the Congress.

Unfortunately, this difficulty, however obvious, can neither be admitted nor discussed without a tedious introduction of definitions. Of course, there is 'town and country planning' in Britain and 'city planning' in the United States. But the term 'planning' is a much used and misused one, and particularly so when it appears with a special label, with the adjective 'regional' or 'physical'. The term is used even when the activities to which it refers lack some of, or all, the indispensable characteristics of the concept of planning. Gunnar Myrdal has outlined these characteristics in the first part of his paper on 'The Theoretical Assumptions of Social Planning', which he contributed to this Congress. Perhaps I might, therefore, list them in a rather elliptical form.

Five interrelated attributes are quite essential. First, planning must have explicit purposes, which are, in turn, based on a set of coherent values, formulated by the political system. (Professor Myrdal calls these purposes "political goals".) Second, it follows that the purposes must relate to a concept (or concepts) of the 'public interest', and thus to the development of the society and economy as a whole. This is, of course, the crucial distinction between social planning and the countless forms of private 'planning'—whether they concern babies ; clothes ; household budgets ; organising a business enterprise, a concert, a sociological congress, or any other personal, professional and industrial arrangements. Third, planning is not a mere projection of the *status quo*: anticipation and guidance of public development—on a moving time-belt—imply assumptions both of the need for, and the mechanisms of, social change. Fourth, planning is an experiment in rationality : its purposes, the values which they express, and the methods by which they are to be achieved, have to be subject to objective verification in terms of existing and growing knowledge.³ Indeed, it is only when planning proceeds that it has the chance of becoming increasingly rational : the experience gained in the process, if recorded systematically, will modify and elaborate both the ends and means of controlled development. And finally, planning has to be just as manifold as the society and economy whose evolution it directs ; segmented planning is a contradiction in terms. As Mr. Nehru has said :

" . . . one thing led to another and it was impossible to isolate anything or to progress in one direction without corresponding progress in another. The more we thought of this planning business, the vaster it grew in its sweep and range till it seemed to embrace almost every activity. That did not mean we intended regulating and regimenting everything, but we had to keep almost everything in view even in deciding about one particular sector of the plan."⁴

Perhaps there is nowhere in the world the kind of planning which can claim to possess all these five attributes quite plainly. The last

two, in particular—rationality and comprehensiveness—are aspirations, rather than existing features of planning systems ; they may even still be incompatible with the facts of political life in a variety of regimes. Nevertheless, it is this model of planning, with the five characteristics, that has been pursued, if not perfectly, in those countries which have adopted a series of national plans, and which have set up the appropriate institutions. It is this image, too, with some variations or additions, which we all have in mind, if not always explicitly, when we think of planning with a capital P. Confusion starts, however, when we consider the more specialised activities, such as regional and town planning. It is only too easily taken for granted that the semantic likeness implies an actual likeness to the general model of planning. In fact, these specialised activities belong to the planning family only when they contribute to a whole complex of controlled development. But it is just that which is rarely the case, at least in the western world. Usually such activities are conducted separately, not as an integral part of a coherent code of economic and social policies.

It is not a mere quibbling about terms to say that regional and town planning are thus often misnamed. In the present context, this matters a great deal. For the kind of planning that does not deserve the title will not have much use for sociology. It is the five main attributes of the model of planning—or the aspirations to acquire these attributes—which determine the partnership, actual and potential, of planners and sociologists.

When planning is conceived as the rational direction of multiple, yet coherent developments, sociological thought and knowledge (or the kind of thought and knowledge that sociologists should pursue) also become indispensable. The area of ignorance and vagueness then has to be increasingly narrowed—in the definition of value judgments which are implicit in the purposes of planning, and thus in the understanding of the ‘public interest’ ; in the formulation of economic and social policies, and in the assessment and anticipation of their mutual and combined effects. The levers of social change have to be studied and identified ; the structure of planning institutions and their processes have to be scrutinised.

Sociology, allied to social philosophy and ethics, and also empirically concerned with “the study of human interactions and interrelations, their conditions and consequences”, could in principle share in the manifold responsibilities of planning ; and indeed, it might develop with them. In practice, however, the chances of collaboration are far more doubtful at present. Sociology, as an academic discipline, has grown, if not grown up, so quickly (even since the First World Congress nine years ago) that in its adolescence it is already rigid and conservative, striving for security and thus inclined to defend

the *status quo*. It has lost a good deal of its ethical and political orientation, and with it the impetus to study and to direct social change. Despite an avalanche of 'hypotheses', genuine speculative thought is pushed aside. Social protest and images of the future appear in social science fiction,⁶ but rarely in the academic literature. So many members of the profession, in their ambition to be 'scientific', are overanxious to deal with quantities, here and now, about which one can be precise (or appear to be precise). And they are so preoccupied with the pedantic observation of minute social segments, or with the cautious confirmation of the obvious, that they tend to be alienated from social reality. Specialisation and parochialism make it difficult to perceive social interactions which are only visible—or probable—on a large scale. Altogether, at this stage, the ideological climate of academic sociology is hardly conducive to an active concern with the central problems of planning. Sociological literature on such aspects is thus very scarce.⁷

Political geography, moreover, explains the present, and perhaps temporary, distance between academic sociology and national planning. Academic sociology is established in those western countries—on both sides of the Atlantic—which do not have national planning, though they have considerable experience of various activities which are called 'planning'—of large-scale organisation on various levels and in many fields, and also of specific state controls. But such experience—including that gained by the social sciences—cannot be easily transferred to national planning in an entirely different environment; it may even be a handicap in recognising, and in dealing with, the new questions which arise. Academic sociology is, moreover, most bulky and most prosperous in the United States—in a country that is opposed to the concept of comprehensive planning, and whose past and present are quite remote from the current dramatic problems of development in other parts of the world.⁸ Therefore, western sociology, in general, and American sociology, in particular, have not shown much interest in national planning; nor can they be quickly adapted to contribute to its theory and practice.

On the other hand, national planning exists—or is beginning to exist—in countries in which academic sociology occupies only a small corner. In some of these countries, sociology is not acknowledged as a separate discipline so that its specific contribution to planning cannot be easily assessed. And as in others the subject is rather new, both teaching and research tend to be modelled on the large, and thus apparently impressive, sociological output of the 'unplanned' nations. The empirical interests and technical gadgets of western sociology are especially admired—despite the fact that these are not necessarily appropriate to indigenous conditions and problems. Whenever, as a result, sociologists in the 'planned countries', too, tend to go off on sidetracks, they are either unwilling to take part in the planning pro-

cess, or they find it difficult to do so—particularly in a situation in which concern with the economic aspects of development is predominant. In these circumstances, sociologists are regarded as being far less helpful than other professions—than economists, statisticians and administrators, for example. Thus although sociology and planning could undoubtedly learn from one another, their relationship is still everywhere a tentative one.

II

THE same is true in the specialised activities—which are concerned with the development of towns and regions—though in these fields sociologists are not so obviously outsiders as they are in national planning, nor do they have to travel far to meet the land-use planners.⁹

Planning which is concerned with townscape and landscape can be found, and is in fact especially prominent, in countries which have no aspirations, and no institutions, for national planning. For that reason alone, town and country planning in Britain, city planning in the United States, as well as similar activities, variously named, in other western countries, are bound to be restricted in scope and in their demands for rationality; they have thus also only a limited, and a hesitant, interest in sociology. Indeed, in these countries, physical planning has some characteristics which are the opposite of those that are inherent in the model of national planning.

In detail, the features—administrative and ideological—of land-use planning are, of course, different in each of these countries. There are, for example, more traces of genuine ‘planning’ in the British than in the American activities: in Britain, there is a coherent system of land-use allocation and development control, while in America such efforts are sporadic; there is also more connection between land-use policies and other social and economic policies in Britain than in the United States. American ‘city planning’ (which would be more accurately described as real estate transactions, estate management and civic design), is plainly in the interest of particular groups, and proposes changes only when they are for the benefit of these groups.¹⁰ British town and country planning, on the other hand, was established for the sake of public welfare, however vaguely understood; in principle, the public interest is still its motive, though it is hardly defined and increasingly forgotten. Nevertheless, in many respects, British land-use proposals and controls are inclined to be conservative as well: for reasons of geography, of economics and of the traditions embodied in towns and countryside, Britain has many genuine demands for preservation, and these are often expressed far more strongly than those for social change. It is thus not surprising that a good deal of British ‘planning’ is, rather paradoxically, devoted to the maintenance of the *status quo*.

In the circumstances, land-use planners in Britain, in the United States, and also in other western countries, can get by without considerable knowledge of the elements of social structure and social change ; they are not even especially curious about these matters. As they have their own preconceived notions on these subjects, they are anxious to hold on to the formulae which they have got, rather than to learn what there is to learn, and to get lost in a sea of doubt. Therefore, when they do work with social scientists, they are usually asking for specific technical assistance. And this happens far more in the United States than in Britain. Indeed, there is an apparent contradiction : in America, a good deal of 'sociological book-keeping' (to use C. Wright Mills's phrase) is requested for a small amount of sporadic city planning ; in Britain—where rationality is, so to speak, institutionalised—the position is reversed ; far less empirical social research and accounting is done for a far greater, nation-wide effort of land-use development and control.

Physical 'planning', national or local, in countries such as Britain and the United States, has become well known just because it is the only activity in these countries to which the name of 'planning' is applied, rightly or wrongly. And British land-use planning, especially, has become influential in many different parts of the world ; it is based on a well-designed, elaborate institution ; it has had the chance of developing professional specialisation, and to produce some notable results. But in importing British ideas and techniques from this field, their defects have often been imported as well : it tends to be forgotten that they are not part of a comprehensive process of national planning ; and that they are in any case not necessarily applicable to quite different surroundings.

Of course, it is not only in the western countries that the physical pattern of towns and countryside is deliberately shaped and controlled. Such activities are features of general state planning in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries ; they are also beginning to be introduced into the planning processes of India. But wherever they exist, they have a good deal in common. Indeed, it sometimes appears that they have too much in common.

The same principles of design appear in Harlow and in Chandigarh ; in Holland, in Sweden, in Israel and in Australia. Although they may have been faulty in the first place, they are still transferred across the oceans to other places where they are plainly unsuitable. And if civic design fashions catch up with contemporary conditions in one country, whose examples are well known, they change in the same way in other countries, which have entirely different physical and social climates.¹¹ There is an international alphabet of physical planning, and it tends to be used all over the world, even in circumstances in which it is incomprehensible.

This standardisation of physical design exists not only because the western ideas, in particular in their British version, have been so widely copied. As there are, together with striking differences, also genuine similarities in the processes and patterns of urbanisation in various parts of the world, experience and skills in dealing with these matters can certainly be shared. A new profession of physical planners, who work in many different countries, capitalist and socialist, has therefore grown rather quickly, especially since World War II. The members of the profession have not had much time yet to develop versatility; their training and outlook, moreover, do not make it easy for them to do so.¹²

In Britain, and in most other countries, too, land-use planning is mainly the domain of administrators, architects, engineers and surveyors, all of whom are focussed on the physical aspects of development—land, buildings and communications—and some of whom are, fortunately, preoccupied with aesthetic aspects as well. Their education has been devoted mainly to technical subjects in which knowledge and specialisation are expanding very fast; there have been few opportunities to become acquainted with other disciplines. They thus know rather little of social and economic history, philosophy, economics, statistics and sociology—or of any other subject whose approach helps in recognising the social connotations of spatial distributions. They usually have, moreover, a few rather simple mechanistic ideas on the interconnection between social structure and physical patterns. Some physical planners might learn more about these matters in their jobs. But those who work on their own—in a society in which there is no comprehensive planning—are not likely to do so. By and large, the social horizon of physical planners is a narrow one. And as they are not used to observing the diversity of social groups, they are the more inclined to use the same design recipes in different social situations.

III

THE inclination of physical planners to by-pass social complexity is one of the symptoms of the frequent misunderstandings between them and social scientists. Indeed, in many respects, the social sciences and land-use planning are rather alien to one another, even when they work in the same ideological milieu. There are features, inherent in the special activities which are called regional or town planning, and inherent also in the profession of physical planners, which make collaboration with sociology difficult—though not to the same extent in all countries, East and West.

First and foremost, it is just because sociologists and physical planners are relatives that they remain strangers who hardly know one

another. Of course, they deal with the same subject from different points of view—and as it is the same subject, the difference in approach is not taken for granted but appears to be contentious. Neither sociology nor physical planning is, or can be, moreover, an exact authoritative discipline, with its own venerable scriptures of incontrovertible wisdom, a strict code of professional conduct and precise standards of craftsmanship. Neither the one nor the other has definite frontiers; both are compelled to be highly eclectic. And as they can, therefore, hardly achieve a definite division of labour, there is bound to be friction between them.

Sociologists can become amateur town planners; town planners—even more than everyone else—are amateur sociologists. Many of them have their own brew of sociology—derived from the ideas of 19th century utopias and social reforms; with seasoning by Geddes and Mumford; a few titbits from recent community studies; and with some compatible generalisations of their own spatial and social position in society. It is a sociology which is far more convenient to town planners than anything that the rather long, often tedious and inconsistent academic literature has to offer. The home-made brew of sociology, largely based on a period in which society was less complex and apprehensive of its future than it is now, has the advantage of being apparently less confusing and less tentative than the academic variety. It is in keeping with the town planner's search for mechanistic explanations of cause and effect; it provides the formulæ for which he is looking—simple, repetitive solutions to complex, diverse problems. Above all, it promises him that in re-shaping townscape and landscape, he is also reforming society—without blood, sweat and tears.

Academic sociology, however disparate in its approach and interpretation, can never be so positive and so confident. But this will be a lasting difficulty in the relations between sociologists and planners of many kinds.¹³ Even when town planners are weaned away from utopian thought, some other social blueprints will have to take its place. (And, of course, they are not weaned away because no suitable alternatives are offered.) Planners want signposts, not question marks. And they do need precision.

It is true that in some respects town planners are far more meticulous in their demands for information than they need to be. On the one hand, they are slow in asking important questions to which reliable answers are—or could be made—available. (For instance, questions relating to priorities of development or to ordinary matters of space allocation.)¹⁴ On the other, they are inclined to ask for accurate assessments of rather trivial details which no one can anticipate. (They might want to know: How many people of various kinds will wish to park their cars and helicopters of specified types in a particular square twenty years hence? Or: How does neighbourliness vary with size

of windows ; position of doors, width of grass verges and location of shops ?)¹⁵ Some of their questions are unanswerable because the premises are wrong. (They are based on an exaggerated concept of the 'plannable', and in particular also on a false image of environmental determinism.) Others will remain unanswerable although they are valid.

In either case, there is mutual irritation between those who ask the questions and those who are unable to give direct replies. And this is understandable. The job of planners—with a capital P or with a small one—implies so much uncertainty that they do not want to be loaded with more of the same.¹⁶ And yet it is just that which sociologists are liable to do. They may have to suggest a different sequence of questions, or counter anyone which appears to be inappropriate with several others, so as to ascertain its relevance. And when they accept a question, they cannot often draw the answer straight out of a card index ; their knowledge of contemporary society is far too sketchy, or far too specialised. Nor are they soothsayers. As they themselves can rarely be sure, they cannot easily give assurance.

Sociologists find it particularly difficult to do so because their time dimensions differ from those of land-use planners. Sociologists tend to relate past and present, and also to see 'the present as history'. Their concern with the future is rather sporadic—either practical, directed to concrete aspects of tomorrow, or occasionally speculative, extending over a fairly long, and not definitely demarcated, period. Town planners, on the other hand, know little of the past (except as specialised history—architectural or administrative, for example). They do not look upon themselves as creatures of history, and thus often do not realise the origin of their own ideas. And as their concept of the future is frequently that of an idealised past, they tend to 'walk backwards into the future'—not even reluctantly. It is their function to think of time ahead at fixed intervals—in terms of five-year, ten-year, twenty-year or twenty-five-year-plans. (In the case of town planners, it is usually the last : right now, their destination is 1984.)

Sociologists observe 'trends' ; they see time on a band ; while land-use planners see time, as they see space, as parcels which exist at fixed locations. A sociologist thinks of the whole journey ; a town planner thinks of particular stations on the map. (And it is for that reason, too, that he is inclined to identify anticipation with prediction ; not content with the first, he asks for the second.) But 1984 is not like a railway junction ; nor is a plan of any kind, in fact, like a train held by its rails to a given route. In specialised land-use planning, it is by no means easy to combine the concept of the journey with the concept of the station : to construct that interaction between process and purpose which maintains intentions without turning them into *idées fixes*.

How much deviation from the plan does development produce, and how much can be allowed without making the plan meaningless? Under what circumstances can direction be maintained despite the fact that its rationality is bound to be partial? Sociologists have not shown much interest in these problems: so far, there have been hardly any studies of the natural history of regional and town plans in their various settings. Meanwhile, the question marks multiply, and each one implies a whole series of others. We have scarcely as yet begun even to list them, and to assess their relative importance.

IV

ALTHOUGH sociology has remained rather aloof from planning, in general, and also from land-use planning as a social institution, some contributions have been made. They are not the result of systematic organisation of 'operational research' on theoretical and practical aspects; nor have the possibilities of such organisation been persistently explored. Of course, blueprints of operational research have here and there been produced; but they have usually been tucked away in some desk drawer or on a library shelf. It is, moreover, the general spread of awareness of a subject called 'sociology' that has been influential in land-use planning, rather than individual teaching or particular publications.

There have been two main kinds of contribution: ideological and technical, indirect and direct ones. As they are diffuse, they can only be indicated here under a few main headings.

Several elementary concepts of sociology have been adopted by, and also adapted to, physical planning. In general, there has been some infiltration of the historical approach—an increasing interest in the varied processes and social consequences of urbanisation. It has begun to be recognised, for example, that town growth is not a mere matter of multiplication of people and buildings; and that it is not sufficient to count migrants: their origin and characteristics have to be considered. There is a good deal of talk (rightly or wrongly) about 'push' and 'pull' factors; and also about social disorganisation as one of the possible results of rapid industrial and urban growth. But as sociology is by no means up-to-date on these matters, or inclined nowadays to speculate on current and potential changes, its contribution has been one of expanding the horizon of land-use planning, rather than of supplying an impressive array of ideas and facts.

Models of the ecological pattern of cities (and especially that of the Chicago pattern) have become fairly well known. They have shown up typical zones—identified and demarcated from one another by a blend of physical and social features—which exist in most large cities of the world, though not necessarily in the shape of the Chicago dia-

gram or of its several variants. As these models have provided examples of the mutual and cumulative influence of environmental and social conditions, they have also encouraged town planners to turn from the ideas of piecemeal reforms and 'the city beautiful' to those of a broader concept of civic design. And it is no longer unusual for land-use planners to consider (at least in principle) the interactions between the environmental features, the economic functions and social characteristics of settlements, and to distinguish accordingly the different types of town, and also the areas within regions and towns.¹⁷

The land-use planner's image of society has become more realistic as well. In his work, he is bound to become acquainted with the manipulations of political power; he meets a pressure group here, a 'culture lag' there—old men who are attuned to the 20th century and young ones who ride away from it on their hobby horses. And he can hardly always attribute the sympathy or antipathy which he encounters to the individual peculiarities of Mr. X or Mrs. Y. There seems to be method in this madness. And are there not some people who study, and even occasionally explain, such things?

Thus the complexity of the social universe is increasingly apparent to land-use planners. The distinctions between the needs of different age groups and social groups are beginning to be observed—those distinctions between people's needs and aspirations for homes, work, leisure and services, for social distance and proximity, which are—or can be—translated into their territorial distribution. But the distinctions which are being made are still usually preconceived rather than empirical; they tend to be either too crude or too subtle. The varied ideas which different social groups have on privacy and sociability, for example, and on convenience in spatial patterns, have hardly yet been investigated. And it is assumed that human beings are far more hide-bound than they really are—as though they would not like to change if they were given the chance. (For instance, many town planners think that everyone who now wants to have a detached house and garden will want to have it forever, and that his children will want the same.)

There was a time when sociology was often confused with socialism. But since it has become so respectable, it is more likely to be confused with sociability—perhaps because many sociologists have a burning desire to find out, painstakingly and at considerable cost, whether and how often Mrs. O'Grady lends her big saucepan to her neighbour, Mrs. O'Connor. Land-use planners are inclined to fasten upon these discoveries of social research—especially when they live in a prosperous 'developed' country which does not suffer from hunger and homelessness, disease, illiteracy and underemployment, and which can thus afford to take trivial problems seriously. As the planners

in the 'fat' countries—aided and abetted by social 'scientism'—are often also preoccupied with such problems, it sometimes seems as though it were the main purpose of their multifarious activities to make sure that there will be a lot of clubs and organisation men, and that people will live happily ever after by saying 'good morning' to one another when they open their front doors. The more abstract notions of neighbourliness and community, which derive from a recognition of social interdependence, irrespective of close physical proximity, are entering far more slowly into the ideology of land-use planning.¹⁸

It would, of course, be a mistake to assume that it is always of benefit to land-use planning when 'sociological knowledge' is applied to it.¹⁹ The effect is not necessarily one of increasing rationality. Sometimes it is a case of the blind leading the lame. Undoubtedly, planners have become more self-conscious, and occasionally also more critical, about their own ideas. But the kind of sociological thought which could help them in clarifying their purposes—in particular their images of towns and of 'urbanism as a way of life'—has been rather neglected. It was far more frequent in the classic period of sociology, especially among German and French writers, and also in some American schools, than it is now.²⁰ Thus it is not only the inevitable time lag in the percolation of ideas from one field into another that explains why it is the contributions of an older generation of sociologists which have had a positive influence on the approach of land-use planners, rather than the far more extensive output since the thirties.

While the more recent generations of sociologists have rarely explicitly taken part in the formulation of positive planning policies, they have provided a good deal of technical assistance. And they have done this, by and large, from the point of view of their own special interests and skills—and not because land-use planning, in its various aspects, is the field of their specialisation.²¹ They have contributed in their capacity as demographers, sociographers, social statisticians, experts in social survey and research techniques; sometimes (not as often as might be expected) as urban sociologists, and occasionally as political sociologists.²² (And they have not necessarily been consulted personally; frequently it is their books, or some explanations obtained second-hand from their books, which have been used.)

Thus physical planners (who had been inclined to forget matters of life and death in their housing programmes, density calculations and in the location of services and industries) are now far better informed than they used to be on population distribution and on the elements of population growth. (It has only recently become routine for them to take natural increase into account in estimating the poten-

tial population of a new town, or the 'overspill' from an old one.) In this respect, the area of uncertainty has certainly been appreciably narrowed.

More use is being made also of the censuses and other sources of social statistics so as to obtain a more accurate 'diagnosis'²³ of current conditions—of housing and employment, for example—and of future needs. The pattern of journeys to work, especially relevant in considering decentralisation proposals, is being traced in several big cities (though in some countries, the material on these matters is still very scanty). Moreover, technical aids in the collection, analysis and presentation of data, which are familiar to the social sciences, are employed in some investigations which the physical planners themselves carry out: for instance, in studies of traffic flows and land-use. Social and physical survey data are increasingly correlated. Special social surveys of towns, of parts of towns or villages are occasionally carried out, both before a plan is made, and also to observe its effects later on. There are, however, even now far too few comparative surveys of this kind. And, so far as I know, there have been in the western countries no long-term or periodic studies of a particular settlement (that is, no consecutive follow-up studies of the kind made in the fields of criminology, social medicine and human genetics). Even the London and *Middletown* examples of a second survey are rare.

In various ways, sources and techniques from the social sciences have thus, in general, been introduced into the field of land-use planning, and chiefly into the phase of plan-making. But they are not applied consistently: there are still obvious large gaps. For example, the information which is collected in the course of physical planning, and particularly through development control, is left in the administrators' files: it is not used, as it should be used, for the appraisal of planning processes and principles. And wherever there is no national planning, the technical contribution of the social sciences is visible mainly in plan-making on the local level; few attempts are made to put the jigsaw puzzle together. The same is true when sociologists (or their relatives) are especially invited to give technical assistance to land-use planning. As the particular surveys or studies which are made also have mainly a restricted local range, they do not provide comparative and cumulative data. There is, moreover, only a faint correlation between problems, in order of importance, and the amount of fact-finding that is devoted to them. It is not unusual to find a negative correlation.

Of course, a lot of facts can be used to make no plan. And a lot of sociologists do not care whether plans are made and carried out or not—and how plans are made and carried out. So long as they do not care, they will not really be able to take part in the politics and technique of planning. Their ideological contribution to plan-

ning will be fragmentary ; they will be too timid to expand the range of their speculations and to expose their uncertainties. And thus their technical contributions, though extensive, will be sporadic—particularly so wherever planning itself is sporadic. It would be much better if sociologists accepted their commitment to the future : if they do not, they will miss a great deal.

NOTES

- ¹ As the main title indicates, I am using the sub-title, which was set by the organisers of the Congress, with some hesitation.
- ² The first two lines of a poem by Siegfried Sassoon.
- ³ I do not make the same distinction which Professor Myrdal makes. In his view, "values are not true or false" ; and he argues, therefore, that it is not the ends, but the means and results of planning which are subject to objective assessment—in terms of the ends, that is, of the "political goals". Presumably this important question will be discussed elsewhere at the Congress. It is not essential to the very limited purpose of this paper to do so here.
- ⁴ Jawaharlal Nehru, in discussing the work of the Indian Congress Party's National Planning Committee of 1938, in *The Discovery of India* (Meridian Books edition, London, 1956, p. 402).
- ⁵ This is Professor Morris Ginsberg's indispensable definition of sociology "in the broadest sense". (*Sociology*, London, 1934, p.7).
- ⁶ This is not to say that the usual role of sociology (or anthropology) in science fiction is an admirable one. On the contrary, it reflects the current trend to pseudo-science, and to social engineering with phoney precision. The sociologist is frequently presented as a superman with super-gadgets, who knows exactly which particular button (in this or any other solar system) has to be pushed to change a whole society from the ice age to the atomic age or vice versa. His timing, accuracy and speed in delivering the goods are superb.
- ⁷ For example : literature dealing with the concepts and institutions of planning in different societies and at successive stages ; with the question of 'rationality' in planning and the evaluation of planning processes ; with the different elements in anticipation and their margins of error, in theory and practice ; with the forms of organisation used (or required) to translate central into local, general into particular, decisions ; with the fusion (or lack of fusion) of many-sided considerations into a coherent whole ; with the social conditions and consequences of planned economic development. The list is a very long one. Economists have written on some of these, or relevant, matters. Sociologists (and political scientists) have been almost silent. Apparently, they are more interested in studying political interaction, such as 'decision-making', within a very narrow range of time, space and function, in some odd corner of a municipality.
- ⁸ It is not only opposition to the concept of comprehensive planning as such, but also the characteristic American dislike of governmental authority *per se*, which is relevant in this context.
- ⁹ The terms 'town and country planning' or 'city planning' have fairly explicit geographical connotations. The term 'regional planning' is, however, a far vaguer one. It could, in principle, refer to the detailed interpretation of a national comprehensive plan on the regional level, or to a combination of national plans for a region of the world (for south-eastern Asia, for example). In practice, however, the term is hardly ever used for a description of such activities. Instead, it is used as a synonym for 'physical planning', and in particular so as to imply an extension of town planning over a territory which is larger than that of an individual town or local authority area. It might be the territory within the sphere of influence of a new hydro-electrical or irrigation scheme ; or a city with its suburbs ; or a metropolitan area (Greater London, New York, Toronto, Delhi or Tokyo) ; or a yet larger traditional sub-division of a country ; or any other territory, within which there appear to be some socio-economic interactions, and which is demarcated for planning purposes. (Geographical features often contribute to such demarcation.) In the nature of things, a region is a variable entity, with

fairly arbitrary boundaries. As the distinction between regional planning and town and country planning is mainly a verbal one, and as it is in any case not an important one in the present context, I am using these terms interchangeably in this paper—avoiding the first as much as possible—together with 'physical planning' (as it is often called) or 'land-use planning', which is the more precise umbrella term.

¹⁰ Obvious examples of 'city planning' (with a very small p) for the sake of special interests are the re-development of 'central business areas', or that of those urban blighted districts, which were often occupied by Negroes and which are then refurbished for middle-class (mainly or entirely white middle-class) use. These are the main activities of 'urban renewal' in the United States. In the case of the first, the renewal of central business areas, there is, of course, some coincidence of special commercial, and of wider, interests and considerations. In the case of the second type of 'renewal', there is no merging of interests; the motive might even be described as an anti-social one. In general, moreover, the commercial transactions of 'urban renewal'—irrespective of the particular scheme—are so organised that they are to the advantage of real estate entrepreneurs.

¹¹ The change of fashion from low density to high density development is a case in point. This change was started mainly by architects and planners in the western highly urbanised countries. And these 'angry young men'—and also some older ones—are quite right to be impatient with the dull, monotonous assembly lines of suburbia, and of imitations of suburbia, which waste scarce space in and around their big cities. But then the 'new-look' fashion has travelled overseas. And the 'high-rise' buildings which are suitable for London or Milan are hardly appropriate for the rural immigrants (or for the second generation or rural immigrants) who have to be housed in Bombay or in Singapore.

¹² Western models have been followed also because town planners from other parts of the world have frequently been trained, and are being trained, in British and American universities, where the subject is taught from a domestic point of view. Comparative material from other countries has hardly yet been introduced. There has thus been very little reciprocal exchange of information and ideas so far. And it seems that it is not those aspects of European experience (British or Dutch, for example) which can be useful in Africa and Asia which have caught attention elsewhere. It is not so much the experience of grand design, but that of the more pedestrian aspects of development control, which can be shared—though it has, of course, to be adapted to different conditions.

¹³ The difficulty is not so great when land-use planning is a part of comprehensive national planning which supplies an explicit and emphatic social ideology. And the difficulty hardly exists at all when 'planning' is entirely a misnomer (when it is simply private planning) and thus does not need a developing definition of the public interest and its translation into socio-geographical patterns. American city planning, for example, does not require such a definition, though it might occasionally ask for some rationalisation (in utilitarian terms) of the special interests which it serves. In such circumstances, the hesitation of sociologists to make value judgments or forecasts would in fact be convenient to city 'planners': it provides excuses for organised *laissez-faire*. A lot can be written about such hesitation: that gives it all the more useful uselessness.

¹⁴ For example: which part of a country has the greatest need for an improvement in housing conditions? Or: what is the distribution of floor space requirements for office workers in different occupations and establishments? And what increase in employment (and thus in circulation and traffic density) is a given increase in office buildings likely to produce?

¹⁵ Both the vagueness in important matters and the precision in unimportant details are indicative of a situation in which land-use planning is divorced from comprehensive planning.

¹⁶ Of course, there is more certainty in comprehensive planning, with a capital P, than in partial planning. Both guidance and anticipation of development are far easier when a land-use plan is allied with economic policies and controls—and in particular when there is national (or municipal) ownership of land—than when these conditions are not present.

- ¹⁷ On the whole, however, the classification and analysis of areas within towns is more advanced than that of the towns themselves. And it is far more difficult to obtain reliable criteria and methods for a classification—especially for an international classification—of town types.
- ¹⁸ That is to say, these more abstract notions appear implicitly rather than explicitly. The idea of the urban village (or neighbourhood unit) for example, was originally conceived (though not always consciously) as an antidote to the potential combination and upsurge of the urban working classes.
- ¹⁹ As I cannot define 'sociological knowledge' (and have deliberately not attempted to do so) I have to put the words in inverted commas. While it would be possible to define the sociological approach, it is quite a different matter (and an unrewarding pastime) to disentangle the knowledge of sociology from that of all the other social sciences.
- ²⁰ There are, however, some signs of a revival of such interests—though perhaps more among non-academic people than among academic sociologists. An indication of such interest among the latter is provided by the paper on 'The Changing Imagery of American City and Suburb' which Dr. Anselm Strauss has contributed to this section of the Congress.
- ²¹ Despite (or perhaps because of) the increasing specialisation of sociology, there are, so far as I know, very few members of the profession anywhere in the world who regard land-use planning—or any other type of planning—as their special field of study.
- ²² The papers which have been written for this section of the Congress indicate the various interests of sociology which are directly or indirectly relevant to land-use planning, though they do not cover the whole range. The papers also give some examples of the types of sociological contribution and influence which have been referred to—mainly of the technical ones, together with some excursions into ideological matters.
- ²³ Land-use planners are rather fond of medical and cosmetic analogies—of words like 'diagnosis', 'cure' and 'face-lifting'.

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

UNO AHREN (in collaboration with G. ELIASSON and H. WOHLIN)

SOCIOLOGY AND TOWN PLANNING IN SWEDEN

The accelerated development in the technical and economic fields during recent years revolutionizes the conditions of life. The planning for this development has difficulties in keeping pace with its fast rate, and especially the consideration of "the human factor" suffers from this. Sociological aspects are not always given sufficient emphasis in connection with town planning even though several sociological investigations have been made and knowledge in this area has increased substantially.

In Sweden an extensive body of housing research has developed with a practical aim and direction that is of value for planning. A great number of investigations of various conditions in residential areas has also been carried out. Moreover general sociological and other social research produces a still better foundation for town and country planning.

But still there is a lack of intense research upon the intrinsic relations of causes, and still great uncertainty is prevailing as regards the possibilities and the ways of applying the results of sociological research for planning purposes as well as regards the appropriate methods of sociological research directed towards problems of planning. Moreover many very important practical problems of town and country planning have not yet been subject for sociological research.

There is nevertheless reason to regard with optimism the contribution which sociology can make to town and country planning in the long run. Interest in sociological problems has shown an upward tendency and co-operation between planners and sociologists has increased.

P. CHOMBART de LAUWE (Groupe d'Ethnologie Sociale C.N.R.S.—Paris).
LES TRAVAUX D'UNE EQUIPE DE RECHERCHE EN SOCIOLOGIE URBAINE

Après avoir marqué un temps d'arrêt depuis HALBWACHS, la sociologie urbaine reprend en France une place importante. Divers travaux récents ou en cours en donnent un témoignage. Pour le Groupe d'Ethnologie Sociale il s'agit moins de sociologie urbaine proprement dite que d'étude des rapports entre le milieu et les comportements en prenant le milieu urbain comme cadre par comparaison avec le milieu rural.

Divers problèmes pratiques se posent tout d'abord dans ces recherches : liaisons entre recherche fondamentale et recherche appliquée et préservation de la première, recherches collectives et recherches personnelles, formation du personnel de recherche, etc. . . .

Quelques exemples de travaux sont présentés.

1. *Une étude d'écologie urbaine* (préparation au plan d'urbanisme de Bordeaux). L'étude des structures générales de la ville, des phénomènes dits pathologiques, (psychiatrie infantile, délinquance juvénile, criminalité, alcoolisme . . .), des localisations commerciales et industrielles, la distribution des catégories socio-professionnelles, etc. . . . suscite certaines remarques sur la dissociation des fonctions, les rapports entre les rythmes dans le temps et les distributions dans l'espace, la dynamique des groupes sociaux.

2. *La sociologie de la famille en milieu urbain*. L'étude de l'influence des structures familiales et de leur évolution sur les relations parents-enfants est complétée actuellement par des recherches sur les troubles du comportement chez l'enfant (Mme. M. J. CHOMBART de LAUWE) sur les groupes spontanés de jeunes (J. JENNY) sur les rôles de l'homme et de la femme (P. H. et M. J. CHOMBART de LAUWE).

D'autre part, une série de recherches sur la famille et l'habitation a été menée dans un grand nombre de cités nouvelles. Quelques uns des problèmes généraux posés par ces recherches ont été évoqués dans un premier volume sur "Les Sciences Humaines et la Conception de l'Habitation". Les principales questions posées sont : le degré de liberté dans les rapports sociaux suivant les formules adoptées, la coexistence de classes sociales différentes, l'organisation de la vie communautaire

3. *Etude des comportements et des aspirations*. Les comportements économiques sont particulièrement intéressants à observer pour comprendre l'évolution des structures familiales. Ils permettent aussi une approche plus précise de la notion de besoin.

Diverses recherches sur les attitudes (à l'égard des classes sociales, du mariage, de la religion) et sur les aspirations sont en cours depuis plusieurs années. De plus une recherche internationale sur les attitudes à l'égard du travail de la femme et de sa position dans la société a commencé l'année dernière (P. CHOMBART DE LAUWE, France, A. KLOSKOWSKA, Pologne, G. ROCHER, Canada).

Diverses remarques terminales concernent quelques nouveaux types de recherche (en particulier par le film), et des problèmes généraux tels que : les relations villes-campagnes, les phénomènes pathologiques, la définition du milieu social, la nécessité de l'observation expérimentale.

RICHARD L. FORSTALL

PROBLEMS OF COMPARABILITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF CITIES

The classification of urban centres according to the industrial breakdown of their labour force has been the subject of an increasing number of studies in recent years. Behind any attempt to classify lies the assumption that different cities may share many common characteristics, and that a recognition of these, as well as of unique aspects, is of great importance in understanding why cities have developed in different ways in the past, and how their future development may differ. In the field of planning, the degree of similarity or difference between particular cities provides an indication of the degree to which the experience of one may serve as a guide to the others.

Among the possible classifications of urban centres, that according to the industrial breakdown of the labour force offers some of the widest possibilities, because it can be based on objective statistical data and because it deals with a fundamental factor, the city's economic activity. Studies of this type have usually grouped urban centres under such titles as Manufacturing Cities, Port Cities, Service Cities, Diversified Cities, and the like. Though there is room for improvement in the methods by which these types are distinguished, the distinctness of the groups as entities seems well established, both by the studies to date and by general observation.

Heretofore, most industrial classification studies have confined themselves to the cities of a single country. Though international comparisons would clearly be of much value, they are made difficult by the lack of consistency among different countries in the attributing of activities to the major industry groups. Although most nations recognize major groups similar to those specified in the International Standard Industrial Classification (Agriculture, Manufacturing, Commerce, Services, etc.), there are wide variations in the attribution of certain activities to these groups. Among activities of special pertinence to urban centres, the classification of construction, repair shops, hotels, restaurants, the armed forces, and the unemployed must be reasonably consistent before accurate comparisons can be made between cities in different countries. Consistency is also important in the treatment of marginal governmental activities, such as school and postal systems.

Certain other activities have been found useful in developing a classification of urban centres by industrial type, and it would be helpful if more countries specified them individually in their labour-force data for small administrative areas. These activities include fishing and water transportation (of great importance in a small number of cities), and wholesale trade, banking and finance, and business services (which have proved to be excellent indicators of the over-all economic importance of a city). Broad subdivisions of the manufacturing and services categories are also desirable, and certain sub-categories are suggested.

LUCIANO GALLINO

SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE, COMMUNITY PLANNING AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

A common problem for planners in Europe—and a crucial one in Italy—is the planning of historical communities under a perspective of economic progress. Historical communities are defined as self-sufficient, under-developed, socially isolated territories, falling entirely within natural and cultural areas,

and containing a central town of ancient origin which exerts a dominant influence all over the outlying zone. The problem for planners is to help them into changing their well-balanced, *low-productivity* space organization in a well-balanced, *high-productivity* space organization, while keeping at a minimum the ills of the transitional phase. Sociology can contribute to this task by pointing to the ways in which different layers of social reality influence each other. Spatial organization—i.e. the morphological-ecological surface of the community—can foster economic progress by inducing a functional specialization of individuals' economic roles. For reaching this goal, the *undifferentiated homogeneity of the community's ecological units must give place to an organic heterogeneity and integration*. This may best be achieved by means of a *controlled degree* of urban concentration, functional centralization and population increase. Other socioeconomic advantages of planned urbanization, all pointing to the necessity of providing a modern city for the needs of developing historical communities, are discussed. Among these should be placed the possibility to control the migration towards the metropolis, by offering to migrating villagers—within the central town of historical communities—the urban values which they are striving for.

EIICHI ISOMURA (Tokyo Metropolitan University)
SOCIAL PLANNING IN JAPANESE SLUM AREAS

The large Japanese cities contain extensive slum areas, in which the typical housing consists of poorly equipped tenement buildings, overnight lodging or 'flop' houses, and partially converted barracks originally built as temporary accommodation for victims of the 1923 Tokyo earthquake and of air raids during World War II. The population of such slums has been swollen, not only as the result of bombing, but by the large-scale repatriation of Japanese from overseas after the war. Koreans—the only distinct ethnic minority group—and the remnant of the old 'untouchable' community are also to be found in the slums.

Physical clearance and reconstruction cannot alone solve the slum problem, which is a problem of poverty and, in particular, of the characteristic social organisation of the Japanese slum. Many of the slum dwellers are rag-pickers and waste-collectors, who sell their scrap at low prices to local 'bosses' in return for a roof over their heads in the bosses' tenement houses or barracks. Their relationship to the boss who exploits them is one of semi-feudal dependence; and is, among other things, a barrier to the activities of outside welfare agencies.

Slum clearance can only be successful if it goes hand-in-hand with an attack on these aspects of the socio-economic organisation of slum life. The authorities should dislodge the bosses by setting up publicly owned 'counting places', at which scrap could be sold at controlled prices. And they should encourage the employment of slum dwellers in regular jobs outside the scrap trade.

BRANKO PETROVIC and STANKO ZULJIC (Yugoslavia)
REGIONAL "SPACE" PLANNING IN YUGOSLAVIA

Regional "space" planning in Yugoslavia is one element in the general planning of the country's development based on full powers of public control. Its important, but limited, part in this wider process is illustrated by the regional plan for Krapina County, hitherto the most complete example of such plans. This plan assumes that development in Krapina—an almost wholly agricultural region of nearly 200,000

people—will concentrate on agricultural improvement, development of industry and mining, and the improvement of living conditions and collective services for the rural population especially. But individual development projects—dependent, of course, on central economic policy—are planned and executed by the local communes. The regional authority's only function is to ensure that such local projects are spatially co-ordinated. The plan is, therefore, essentially a classification of settlements, in terms of the range of economic and service functions to be provided in each: its aim is not only to ensure a rational location of industrial and residential development; but also to provide economically, yet as fully as possible, for the extension to the countryside of the social and cultural facilities of towns. The plan is an instrument of control over development by the local authorities. But these, and other representative bodies, take part in its formulation and periodic revision. Moreover, as a diagnosis of needs and a yardstick by which achievement can be measured, the plan provides a continual stimulus to development.

ANSELM STRAUSS (USA)

THE CHANGING IMAGERY OF AMERICAN CITY AND SUBURB

The imagined polarity of countryside and city which for so long dominated popular thinking about American urbanization was succeeded by a polarity of city and suburb. That too is dissolving, and new imageries are emerging which constitute Americans' attempts to make sense of what is happening—and should happen—to their cities and urban environs.

Among the newest imageries of the city are the central city as "core" of the metropolitan region, and as the "fun center" and "shopping center" and "cultural heart" of the urban region. Redevelopers and real estate agents see the central city as the residential area of the rich. But others, including planners, are beginning to see the redeveloped city as devastatingly ugly and lacking variety, because of super-block construction and the highrise building.

Suburbia as a symbolic locale is also taking on new, and changed, meanings. Suburbia no longer represents merely fresh air, communal life and increasing social prestige for the resident. Suburbia becomes differentiated into suburbia and exurbia, into better and worse suburbs; into a locale not so different really than the city itself. As suburb-city polarity dissolves, an imagery which transcends that polarity emerges, perhaps best expressed by the concepts of "interurbia," "strip cities," and "supercities." Although used technically by planners and sociologists, these are terms which no less than the older terms carry a freight of common sense imagery and refer to symbolic rather than actual locales.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

MAIN TRENDS OF DISCUSSION

The participants in the discussion represented a wide range of experience and interests. They included town planners and architects, though the majority were social scientists. They came from many different countries—countries in which, as the chairman pointed out, physical planning had very different meanings, according to the political context in which it was carried out; and countries in which the patterns and problems of urban development varied widely, as the discussion itself showed. The diversity of subjects covered, and of views expressed, was therefore considerable. The discussion never-

theless focussed on a few main themes, which are outlined below. While the heterogeneous composition of the group provided, as the chairman had suggested in her opening remarks, an opportunity for an extensive exchange of experience and views on the nature of the contribution which social scientists could and should make to physical planning, the discussion also showed a considerable measure of agreement, whether explicit or implicit.

Thus both the planners and the sociologists present agreed that social scientists should not only provide 'technical' information for physical planning, but that they should also, and indeed primarily, assist by evaluating the objectives and results of planning in the light of their own approach and findings. A number of concrete examples were given to illustrate this argument. The discussion confirmed that the extent and character of the contribution actually made by social scientists varied greatly in different contexts. As in some 'under-developed' countries the social sciences themselves were 'under-developed', essential background information was often lacking. By contrast, sociology and related disciplines were now fairly well established in some Western countries, and their relevance to physical planning was increasingly acknowledged. But their actual contribution might still be rather insignificant, concerned mainly with the provision of voluminous, but limited and even trivial, information of a 'technical' kind. This was so, it was suggested, especially when there was 'partial' planning—when physical planning was not related to a comprehensive system of general planning in the public interest.

It was also clear from the discussion that if sociologists were to make an effective 'ideological' or 'educational' contribution, they would have to re-examine their own ideas and concepts in a radical way. The diversity of urban patterns and urban problems in the world presented a challenge which neither social scientists nor physical planners had yet met. Though the growth of towns no doubt showed certain common features all over the world, conventional images of the city were based on the previous experience of Western countries. They could not be indiscriminately applied, for instance, to Japan, to Israel or to Ghana. Indeed these images were no longer appropriate even in their own countries of origin—where, for example, the idealisation of small town life, characteristic of much thinking about the city, was obsolete, and where also increased mobility demanded new thinking about urban patterns.

There were problems of communication between social scientists and planners or architects, since the different professions thought in different ways and tended to see processes of social causation with different eyes. Similar problems of communication might, however, also exist between social scientists and other technical professions, to whose work social research was relevant. Different methods

of organising co-operation were emphasised in the discussion. But it was also stressed that while it was necessary to acquaint planners with the 'sociological approach', this could only be done when sociologists themselves realised that they would not be "soiling their hands" by concerning themselves with concrete problems of development. Sociologists might not be able to provide direct formulae for design; they might also differ in their specific policy recommendations for planning. But they could co-operate effectively only when they themselves were "committed to planning."

The discussion is summarised in more detail below. The contributions of individual speakers are not reported, speech by speech, in chronological order. Instead, the chief points raised by different contributors have been re-arranged under various headings, corresponding to the main themes of the discussion.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIOLOGY AND THE CONTEXT OF PLANNING

Introducing the discussion, the Chairman, MRS. GLASS, said that the variety of experience represented at the meeting offered unusual scope for an exchange and comparison of views on the contribution of sociology to what—in order to avoid the ambiguities of the term 'regional'—she preferred to call physical planning. In her view, that contribution should not be confined to the provision of 'technical' information, important though this was. The social sciences had also an 'ideological' contribution to make: to evaluate the purposes explicit or implicit in policies of physical planning, and their relationship to broader social objectives, as well as to assess the social consequences of particular planning measures.

She suggested that it would be of particular interest to discuss to what extent the contribution of the social sciences varied, actually and potentially, according to the general context in which such 'planning' took place. Some assumptions and observations could readily be made. If physical planning formed part of a system of comprehensive planning, as in the socialist countries, a large amount of essential information would presumably be readily available, compiled as a matter of course in the general process of control over development. Problems of prediction would be simplified. At the same time, the wider scope of planning would make greater demands on the accumulation of precise knowledge and on the evaluation of objectives. In Western countries, on the other hand, land use planning was an isolated and partial activity; indeed, the term 'planning' in these circumstances was a misnomer. Here, demands on rationality would be less, the uncertainty of predictions greater. In such circumstances, physical planners were likely to be unused to thinking in broad social terms; and the contribution of the social sciences was primarily a 'technical' one.

Several speakers took up these questions in the course of the discussion. DR. A. STRAUSS (U.S.A.) found some of Mrs. Glass's points confirmed by American experience. Effective physical planning in the United States was confined to "real estate" planning in the interests of private profit. Correspondingly, the vast bulk of urban research was essentially 'technical' in character. General sociological thinking about the nature of cities had hardly advanced from the old and out-moded 'images' which were based on nostalgia for the rural way of life.

PROFESSOR U. ÅHREN (Sweden), on the other hand, found the situation in his country a good deal more satisfactory. Effective and fairly extensive co-operation between social scientists and town planners was now established. Even so, much of the relevant research was limited in scope: descriptive rather than analytical, too often concerned with *minutiae*, too rarely with broad questions of the urban patterns appropriate for today and tomorrow. MR. WESTERGAARD asked how far 'prognoses' of economic development in connection with land-use planning—to which in Sweden, as well as in Holland, a good deal of effort and refinement of technique appeared to have been devoted—had produced returns in the form of reliable predictions, when economic forces were controlled only in a limited and negative fashion. PROFESSOR ÅHREN recognised the difficulties of forecasting, and saw them as a problem that could only be overcome through "flexibility" in planning.

Speaking as a land-use planner in a socialist country, MR. B. PETROVIC (Yugoslavia) stressed the obstacles which, in his experience, were hampering physical planning and preventing the social sciences from making an effective contribution in his country. Sociologists could help, for example, to determine priorities in the provision of urban services and facilities—an important task since rural migrants, unaccustomed to such facilities, were streaming into the towns as a result of planned industrialisation. But opposition to "theorists" was preventing or delaying the employment of social scientists in the planning process. Moreover, the various administrative levels at which different kinds of planning were carried out in Yugoslavia presented special difficulties. Regional planners found their hands tied by their intermediate position between the state organs of central economic planning and the local authorities responsible for individual development projects.

DR. E. DROR (Israel) pointed to the special problems associated with the general political and economic situation in which physical planning in his country had to be carried out. Not only was development dependent on such unpredictable, external circumstances as the rate of immigration and world economic trends; but a state of permanent war or military tension put a premium on action, and was

not conducive to recognition of the need for careful and patient research.

THE 'IDEOLOGICAL' OR 'EDUCATIONAL' CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIOLOGY

The need for the social sciences to make a contribution to physical planning over and above that of providing essential background data seemed to be generally accepted, though this additional contribution was defined in different ways and described by different names. To PROFESSOR P. CHOMBART DE LAUWE (France), who quoted examples drawn from the work of his own research group in connection with the town plan for Bordeaux, the sociologist should act as a sort of watchdog on behalf of the public, to ensure that the values implicit in the designs of the planners were in line with the values of the "planned". His experience had shown that the social research team was often able to bring out, and to illuminate, the values behind particular planning proposals—for example, the emphasis on privacy and independence expressed in designs for low density development, which had to be set against the advantages of proximity both to work and to central urban facilities. A balance had to be struck in the light of knowledge and understanding of the varied needs of people themselves. Similarly in Bordeaux, examination of the patterns of wholesale and retail trade had revealed a number of conflicts between public and private economic interests, in the resolution of which the sociologists had found themselves acting as "arbiters". Research could also help to determine priorities in planning; thus an analysis of the ecological structure of Bordeaux had pinpointed a number of problem areas with a high incidence of various social pathologies, and had led to revision of the programme of redevelopment.

DR. L. GALLINO (Italy) saw the essential contribution of sociology as that of unravelling the complex relationships between the physical environment and the quality of social life. There were limits to human adaptability. Beyond those limits, planned changes resulting in material improvement might at the same time lead to individual or social stress—be it the boredom of the commuter, poor neighbourly relations, delinquency or suicide.

A similar view was expressed by PROFESSOR P. RYBICKI (Poland), who described the task of sociology as that of helping to formulate a satisfactory "concept of the ideal city". Aristotle's *polis* was self-contained in the sense of satisfying all needs of all citizens. Could this be achieved today? His own research in Nowa Huta—a new town of some 100,000 people outside Krakow—had shown that the fulfilment of economic and material needs through civic design could be associated with a failure to satisfy cultural and social needs: physical improvement could coincide with a certain amount of "social dissolu-

tion". Sociologists must analyse these complex processes, and thus help to create the *milieux* in which varying needs would be satisfactorily reconciled. At the same time, PROFESSOR RYBICKI stressed that social scientists could not provide direct formulae for physical planning: in his experience, their contribution must be primarily one of tracing the social results of new experiments in planning.

DR. W. STEIGENGA (Holland) saw the sociologist's function as a more active and direct one, that of a "social engineer": in his view only the sociologist was qualified to draw up the programme—to design the framework—for "social life" in new residential areas, for instance. MR. J. MADGE (United Kingdom), on the other hand, assigned a more modest role to the social sciences. The sociologists' contribution could not extend to giving prescriptions for planning: their own ideologies, and hence also their prescriptions, were likely to differ. But it was possible for them to criticise policies and plans, and to get planners to think in sociological terms. It was thus also part of this critical function of social scientists to draw attention to non-economic factors that might otherwise be overlooked. In Britain, for example, the continuing outward spread of suburbs—in volume far greater than the planned development of new towns—had a strong economic base, since it was much cheaper than reconstruction of the decaying inner areas of the cities. Yet such reconstruction was necessary and was, in fact, going on: sociologists had helped to point out the social costs of continued neglect.

In her concluding remarks on this part of the discussion, MRS. GLASS agreed that sociologists could not provide detailed formulæ for planning and design. She was not sure, however, whether they would in practice necessarily differ as much on particular policy recommendations as MR. MADGE suggested. But the essential point was that sociologists should not shirk their responsibility to make policy recommendations. Even if these differed, the fact of their being made was in itself an important 'ideological' contribution. However diverse the discussion on this point had been, there appeared to be general agreement that sociologists should actively participate in the planning process in this way.

IMAGES OF THE CITY

At the same time, many speakers stressed that this wider sociological contribution to physical planning must involve radical self-criticism on the part of social scientists: their images of the city and other urban settlements were too stereotyped and antiquated. American thought in this field, said DR. STRAUSS, was based on a traditional, nostalgic idealisation of the rural way of life, in which city civilisation found no place. This scale of values had deep roots in the United States, and was reflected in the old ecological patterns of

the cities, where the inner slum areas housed poor immigrant or Negro migrant populations, and the suburbs had high social status. Yet the pattern were now changing. As a result of the "suburban explosion" of recent years, it was found that the suburbs were by no means of a uniformly high social level; and central redevelopment was reclaiming the hitherto decaying inner areas for "white, middle-class America". The traditional dichotomy was thus being superseded—though the tenacity of the old "small town" values of independence still showed in the insistence with which even 'lower class' suburbs clung to their obsolete political autonomy.

PROFESSOR ÅHREN called for more research and more thinking about the future urban patterns at which planners should aim. In Sweden, to his mind, the explosive increase in private motoring and the consequent growth in mobility demanded radical reconsideration of the internal structure of towns: should private cars be banned from the old centres or, at the other extreme, be allowed free play in a *laissez faire* manner? It also required new thinking about the larger pattern of urban regions. Sociologists had still made far too little contribution to decisions on such questions concerning the balance between conflicting needs, between preservation and change.

DR. STEIGENGA gave an illustration of how sociological analysis might indicate a need for the reappraisal of accepted planning ideas. A policy of decentralisation had been adopted in Holland as a solution to the problems associated with the high density, and continued increase, of population. But since only a limited range of 'footloose' industries could be readily decentralised, this policy was likely to unbalance the industrial and occupational structure of the older towns.

PATTERNS OF URBANISATION

It was agreed that the 'urban images' of the West should not be indiscriminately exported. The fact that this was nevertheless still being done, and the disadvantages involved, were constantly stressed in the discussion. At the same time it had to be recognised, as MRS. GLASS pointed out, that urban development presented certain similar features and problems all over the world. Moreover, as PROFESSOR CHOMBART DE LAUWE said, concern for specific local features and needs must not be used as a pretext for turning societies into anthropological "museum pieces", and thus freezing the process of change.

DR. DROR strongly emphasised the unique features in Israel's situation. In the building of the new settlements, the planners were often faced with a "physical *tabula rasa*". The population, moreover, was an amalgam of immigrants of widely differing origins, whose traditional ideas were being confused and superseded in the process of change. He gave various examples of the direct assistance which social scientists could give to community design, through systematic-

ally following up, for instance, the working of different settlement patterns or of different forms of residential "social mixture". But existing sociological concepts and knowledge, based on Western experience, were totally inadequate for such purposes; and so was the *ad hoc* employment of visiting experts, who were unfamiliar with, and uninvolved in, local conditions and problems.

While DR. E. NARAGHI (Iran) referred to the special problems of such new one-industry towns as Abadan, MR. P. A. TETTEH (Ghana) from his own experience took up some of the points already stressed by DR. DROR. Ghana had few large cities, and none based on a manufacturing economy of an industrial kind. But the process of urbanisation was rapid, and the growing towns had the special features and problems associated with the great heterogeneity of their populations. Yet even basic background information on migration and demographic structure was severely deficient. Moreover, most social research was unconcerned with the major questions of social change, but concentrated on rural and tribal backwaters and dealt with problems of a peripheral kind.

PROFESSOR E. ISOMURA (Japan) stressed the very recent origins of co-operation between sociologists and physical planners in his country. A society for urban studies had been formed a short time ago, of which he was president; it had a large membership of different kinds of specialists. Recent changes had called attention to the difficulty of drawing the traditional distinctions between town and country: one must now talk of "rural cities" or great "metropolitan regions". The new patterns were the effects of mass evacuation from cities to countryside during the war; of the impartial application of such measures as rationing—through which rice had become a staple food of country people as well as townspeople; of the postwar prosperity of agriculture and the consequent narrowing of the gap between urban and rural living standards; and of the outward spread of the towns. New criteria for the definition and classification of cities were needed, and were being elaborated. Yet with all these changes, the old way of life and the old occupational structure persisted in the urban slums and—as he had pointed out in his paper—could not be changed through physical reconstruction by itself.

CO-OPERATION AND COMMUNICATION BETWEEN SOCIOLOGISTS AND PLANNERS

The discussion showed a variety of views on the problems of achieving communication, and organising co-operation, between social scientists and physical planners. MRS. GLASS in her introductory remarks asked how far, irrespective of the political context of planning, the two professions found it difficult to understand each others' minds. Architects and land-use planners were accustomed to thinking

in terms of straightforward sequences of cause and effect, while sociologists tended to see social reality in more complex terms. MR. MADGE similarly commented on a tendency on the part of planners to regard symptoms of dissatisfaction in new areas, for instance, as the product of physical inadequacies of design, rather than of difficulties of adjustment to a new social environment. DR. STRAUSS, on the other hand, argued that problems of communication were not confined to the planning field. In the United States, social research was increasingly in demand in a variety of fields of practical work. As a result, a "new type of sociologist" was emerging, and had to emerge—one accustomed to dealing with 'practical' people. This development at the same time raised other questions; professional integrity required, for example, that sociologists called in as consultants should ask themselves whether their services would be used only to provide "window dressing".

PROFESSOR CHOMBART DE LAUWE said that in France co-operation between physical planners and sociologists had passed through several stages. At first, planners had not realised the relevance of the social sciences to their work. After a second stage of unrealistically optimistic faith in the power of sociologists to answer their problems, there had been a period of disillusionment. Finally, the social sciences now had an accepted, while not exaggerated, place in the process of physical planning. In particular, there was recognition of the relevance both of "applied" social research, and of "pure" research carried out without reference to immediate problems of planning: indeed, land-use planners themselves were asking for more such "basic" research as a general framework for their ideas. In his view, it was essential to maintain the distinction between these two types of research. It was also essential that research workers should not try to turn themselves into planners; they were not qualified for this, though a mutual appreciation of problems and approach was necessary. PROFESSOR CHOMBART DE LAUWE illustrated these points by describing the structure of a particular planning and research organisation with which he had been concerned.

While PROFESSOR ÅHREN said that the history of the relations between planning and social research seemed to have gone through the same stages in Sweden as in France, DR. G. JACONO (Italy) found the distinction between "pure" and "applied" research difficult to maintain, and recalled his own experience, in Southern Italy, of the advantages of "action research": planners, sociologists and other specialists had been members of one team, and had gone to live for a time among the people for whom they were to plan. MR. A. BASART (Holland) stressed the importance of including social scientists—and other specialists, such as doctors—in the planning team. In DR. DROR's view, the problems of planning the new settlements in Israel were such that the sociologist could make no effective contribution

unless he himself was fully involved as a member of the community and of the planning team ; but he recognised that the social scientist's capacity for objective criticism might thus be impaired. This latter point was also mentioned by MR. MADGE.

In the view of DR. S. COLLINS (United Kingdom), the assumption had been too readily made that the problem was one of converting physical planners to the sociologists' point of view. There was a need for the reverse process. Sociologists were too much inclined to divide themselves into "pure" and "applied" varieties : "pure" sociologists enjoyed a higher status and behaved as if they would be "soiling their hands", if they concerned themselves with immediate and concrete problems. In summarising the discussion, MRS. GLASS emphasised the need for "commitment" on the part of sociologists : about this need there appeared to be general agreement in the group, though varying views were held of the way in which co-operation between social scientists and physical planners should be organised in different situations.

J. H. WESTERGAARD.

SECTION II(1)e
THE APPLICATION OF
SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO PUBLIC HEALTH

Editorial Note—The attendance in this Section was small and it was decided with the agreement of the Chairman, Professor Graschenkov, to combine the meetings with those of the Section on Medicine. For a report on the discussions see below, pages 254—261.

SECTION II(1)f

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO MASS COMMUNICATIONS

Chairman: Professor MORRIS JANOWITZ
(University of Michigan, Ann Arbor)

Rapporteur: Dr. G. BAUMERT (DIVO, Frankfurt)

INTRODUCTORY PAPER*

Trends in Mass Communications Research

MORRIS JANOWITZ (University of Michigan)
and ROBERT SCHULZE (Brown University)

BY mass communications we mean the process by which specialized social groups employ technological devices (press, radio, films, etc.), to disseminate symbolic content to large, heterogeneous and widely-dispersed audiences. In the simplest terms, modern society is crucially dependent on the processes of mass communications. The sociological analysis of mass communications seeks an objective understanding of the consequences of communication and mass persuasion on social and political life.

European and American social scientists have addressed themselves repeatedly to the task of theorizing about the role of communications in modern society. In addition, American social scientists have displayed considerable activity in empirical research in this area. However, despite the existence of various theoretical statements and an almost overwhelming amount of empirical work, our systematic knowledge about mass communications in modern societies is undoubtedly more meager than our knowledge, for example, of social class or community structure.

As convenient guides and introductions into the sociology of mass communications, a number of *Readers* have been prepared in recent years for training students at universities and professional schools. These *Readers* by Berelson and Janowitz [1], Katz, et al, [2] and Schramm [3, 4] bring together representative theoretical, empirical and methodological approaches mainly of the last decade. In addition, three comprehensive bibliographic volumes have been prepared by Harold D. Lasswell and his associates which supply indispensable reference works for researchers. [5, 6, 7].

* The Chairman's introductory paper was not available in time for publication in Volume II, and owing to the subsequent delays caused by the printing strike in Britain it could not be circulated in reprint form at the Congress as had been hoped. It is published here as an introduction to the discussion.

The accumulation of a body of knowledge about mass communications is predicated on the assumption that sociological research can make a contribution to the utilization of mass media in the best interest of social policy. Yet one reason for the unevenness of our understanding of these crucial mass communications processes of modern life stems from the difficulty in separating moral criticism from sociological analysis. Much that has passed for sociological theory and research has been uninhibited social criticism by "alienated" intellectuals who see in the mass media the demise of Western civilization. By use of the concept "mass society" sociologists drawing on thinkers as diverse as Karl Marx and Ferdinand Toennies, have concluded that the mass media essentially corrupt audiences, weaken social bonds, and demoralize creative talents. The concept of mass society has been overloaded with moral sentiments in favour of a simpler and more primitive social structure.

Edward A. Shils has presented a comprehensive critique of the historical and sociological errors of the view that the growth of mass media, in and of itself, deteriorates moral and intellectual standards. [95, 96]. He rejects the notion that modern society is undifferentiated and holds that "the seed of the cultural health of the intellectuals lies within themselves." The growth of mass audiences, in this view, has not been accompanied by a decline in cultural standards but in the creation of new audiences who cannot be required to be the bearers of "high culture." The writings of Edward A. Shils and Theodor Geiger, for example, underscore the limitations on the concept "mass society" if it is used to prevent a concern with the conditions under which modern mass communications do in fact contribute to social stability and social consensus. [70].

Despite the problems involved in conceptualizing mass communications, the tradition of empirical research has led, in the United States, to development of a functional approach to the consequences of mass communications, which has supplied at least some basic framework. With the development of the Chicago school of empirical sociology around World War I, interest in the processes of mass communications began to grow. W. I. Thomas' classic study of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* represents the first major theoretical-empirical study in which the functional significance of the press in social organization was analyzed. [100]. Thomas demonstrated that, for the submerged Polish community under alien rule in Europe or in minority group status in the slums of Chicago, the press supplied a wider community and a basis of social integration. Robert E. Park continued to develop the sociological perspective in his study of *The Immigrant Press and its Control* and in his writings on social control. [43, 44]. Harold D. Lasswell, eminent political scientist of the Chicago school, in his naturalistic analysis of political power assigned to mass com-

munications a crucial role in developing revolutions or in facilitating orderly social change. [29, 30, 31]. His early writings supplied a powerful impetus to empirical research into the processes of mass communications.

Thus, in the absence of a general theory, most mass communications research (and most notably, that done in the United States) has been *ad hoc* in nature, stimulated, guided, and, of course, subsidized principally by groups interested in immediate "answers" to immediate problems. Public groups aroused by the potential demoralizing effects of motion pictures or comic books or television programmes on the characterological fibre of juveniles; educators disturbed by their failure to develop effective mass education; governments concerned with the impacts of their propaganda efforts; and finally and most importantly, managers of advertising and commercial communications seeking to influence the habits of the "average" consumer or reader or listener or viewer. These have been the groups which have largely posed the questions and supported much of the costs for mass communications research. But from the very first, empirical study of this variety demonstrated that in the search for answers to practical communication problems, important contributions to the sociological analysis of mass communication could be made. One of the earliest notable examples was the Payne Foundation studies on the impact of the movies on the youth of the United States completed in the early 1930's. [14]. More recently in this perspective, Professor Paul Felix Lazarsfeld, by means of his Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, has been a leading figure in radio and other types of media research. [32, 33, 36].

But to confess that our empirical efforts have been little-informed by theoretical and much-informed by "practical" considerations is not to say that they have necessarily wanted systematic relevance. Most studies, in fact, have followed (whether by design or not) one or more of the broad guidelines of Harold Lasswell's well-known formulation: "*Who says what to whom with what effects?*" Lasswell's classic paradigm poses patently important empirical questions of a descriptive nature and provides a reasonably systematic framework to which most research studies can be related. And therefore, the organization of the present summary of trends in mass communications research derives, almost necessarily, from Lasswell's several-faceted query.

Communications Personnel and Structure

The *who* question can be phrased in two different, although related, ways. First, who are the people—the sponsors, managers, directors, writers, performers, etc.—who conceive, produce, and transmit modern mass communications? What types of personalities are attracted to work in the mass media? And—no less important—what changes in personality structure, self image and social perspective do

the real or imagined role requirements of employment in mass communication organizations induce? What different answers to these questions are obtained among the several major media? The confrontation of questions such as these is largely the task of social psychologists and those interested in the sociology of professions.

Students of social organization should be more concerned with the second phrasing of the *who* question. Since mass communications must inevitably be produced by large, organized collectivities rather than by individual persons or small groups, what is the decision-making process in mass media organizations? How are they internally structured in terms of status, power, communications and other elements of social control? What are their linkages with other social organizations which are not integral members of the mass communications system? What are the consequences of financial and technological characteristics of the various media for their internal structures and external relationships? And, of course, the question: what historical changes have occurred in these various organizational patterns?

Neither of these two types of *who* questions has received more than scant research attention. The personnel side of the problem has perhaps been best explored by Leo Rosten in his *Washington Correspondents* and *Hollywood: The Movie Colony, The Movie Makers*. [50, 51]. Much more impressionistic has been the effort of the anthropologist, Hortense Powdermaker in her *Hollywood: The Dream Factory*. [47]. Hollywood represents perhaps an extreme case in the social tension that one finds in communication enterprises. Thus witness the popular stereotype of Hollywood as a frenzied, schizoid community peopled by alienated, but avaricious, neurotics whose constant fear of failure and gnawing sense of self-hate are almost, but not quite, assuaged by their possession of an inordinate number of pink Cadillacs. Like all caricatures, this one is over-simplified and over-drawn yet apparently not without support in fact. These writers, together with such astute literary students of the mass communications world as James T. Farrell, [16] have suggested that one major source of personal discontent and "alienation" among mass media personnel stems from the need to bureaucratize and thus depersonalize creative effort. The result is a divorce of creative workers from control over and identification with the end products of their work. We use the term bureaucratize with hesitation—for considerable productive activity in the motion picture and other mass media remains unrationalized.

These sociological observations about "alienation" applied to the world of mass aesthetics are perhaps not unsound, but the proportion of persons for whom they have genuine relevance appears rather minute when one realizes that the overwhelming bulk of mass media

personnel are businessmen, managers, technicians, and appealing profiles—not artists. Furthermore, as Professor Paul Lazarsfeld has noted, we perhaps err if we assume that inevitably the essence of creativeness is lost in organized, group effort. We need merely recall the corps of assistants who worked with Michelangelo and Rubens or the monuments to collective artistic creativity that are the cathedrals of Chartres, Milan, and Sainte Chapelle.

The significant point, perhaps, is not that artistic and ideational work has been collectivized for the first time in human experience, but that it has been more extensively collectivized and on a scale never before possible. The completeness of group effort is exaggerated by the pressure to create rapidly and under deadlines. In the setting of such massive and complex organizations as many of today's mass media industries, it is not difficult for the individual worker—whether artist or not—to lose or otherwise abnegate his sense of personal responsibility for the quality of the work eventually produced. That such work may ultimately be born the child of a long series of compromises with expediency, a creative effort without, in a sense, accountable creators, has been vividly and carefully documented by Lillian Ross in her fascinating account of the filming of Stephen Crane's classic, *The Red Badge of Courage*, which was published under the title *Picture*. [49].

Studies such as those by Rosten and Powdernaker have been singularly few in number, and, suggestive as these few are, they have but skimmed the surface of a significant area which students of mass communications have almost wholly ignored in favour of investigations into such matters as the content, audiences, and potential impact of the mass media. This research approach diverges from the strategy which has characterized scholarly explorations into other significant areas of social life. It would be analogous if the industrial sociologists had begun by studying the products and the characteristics and satisfactions of consumers rather than the social structure of industrial plants, and the relationships and communication flows among plant personnel, etc.

If there have, therefore, been few studies of mass communications personnel, there have been only a few more inquiries into the structure and processes of decision-making within the mass media industries. These studies have been primarily undertaken by foundations, universities, and in a few notable cases by governmental agencies. Foremost among these in the United States have been studies conducted under the aegis of a quasi-public sponsor, the Commission on Freedom of the Press. It should be noted that the principal financial supporter of this Commission was Henry Luce, head of a vast news empire which publishes, among other periodicals, *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*. The work of the Commission included two thorough and

conscientious historical surveys of the radio and motion picture industries, Llewelyn White's *The American Radio*, [56] and Ruth Inglis' *Freedom of the Movies*, [22] and a comprehensive review by Zechariah Chafee of the role of government in the mass media process. [13]. Other outstanding descriptive historical studies of the structure of mass communications industries include Herbert Brucker's *Freedom of Information* (newspapers) [11] and William Miller's *The Book Industry*. [41]. An adequate overview of the control components of the mass media industries in the United States is contained in the brief summing-up statement of the Commission on Freedom of the Press: *A Free and Responsible Press*. [15].

Control patterns in the newspaper field have been most carefully documented by the research of Raymond B. Nixon, Professor of Journalism at the University of Minnesota. [90, 91]. Most notable among government-sponsored studies was that conducted into the organizational patterns of the radio industry by the Federal Communications Commission, prior to the issuance by that regulatory agency of its little-enforced Chain Broadcasting Regulations against monopoly practices. [68]. In Britain, the organization of the press has been described in a monograph by the Political and Economic Planning Groups. [45].

The central findings emerging from these inquiries into mass communications control structures have been consonant: each has documented the drift of the major media toward increasing centralization in their decision-making processes, but none has suggested that complete monopolistic control appears to be the destiny of any of the mass communication industries. The evolving pattern is, rather, that which appears to obtain in many other areas of mass production in modern capitalist societies: oligopoly—the control of the respective industries by a few very large units. That a degree of competition has characterized the relations among these organizational giants cannot be denied. This is to some extent enhanced by the fact that the audience can choose between the various media. Equally apparent, however, is the fact that these large producers of mass communications have often collaborated and co-operated with each other in generally successful efforts to fend off attempts by other, supposedly countervailing power groups (such as the government, the churches, and other public or private interest organizations) to effectively influence decisions regarding the structure and content of the mass media. [10, 66].

Analysis of these and similar studies, however, does not appear to warrant the usual, stereotyped conclusions regarding the consequences of this drift toward power concentrations. For the United States, there is some evidence, in fact, that the larger and more all-embracing these industries, the more they come to resemble public institutions, and the more sensitive they grow to the shifting imperatives of public

opinion, public relations, and public responsibility. The mass media have developed, of course, codes of performance to protect themselves from public pressure against extreme excesses. These codes have tended to be negative in outlook and to be oblivious to the needs of specialized audiences. It has, furthermore, been plausibly suggested that the fewer the units of mass communication, the less are they susceptible to the dictates of "outside" vested interest groups. Thus, it is argued, for example, that publishers in one-newspaper communities are relatively immune to the pressures of advertisers, inasmuch as the latter have no recourse to the threat of taking their business elsewhere.

To make these observations is not to suggest, however, that where mass media are operated as business enterprises, a community of interest with other business enterprises fails to operate. Nor is it to argue that the mass communicators' apparently growing consciousness of the supposed mental states of the public means that the control of the mass media is inevitably becoming more responsible. The meaning of public opinion and public responsibility may be read and interpreted in sundry ways. Recourse to the dictates of public taste and opinion may quite conceivably mean little more than misuse of opinion poll data to justify existing wants, rather than to develop new and more enlightened interests. Furthermore, an easy reliance on the amorphous and often ambiguous desires of the audience may simply reinforce those pressures and opportunities for the abdication of personal accountability which, as we have already noted, inhere in large, complex organizations.

Communication Content

Of the four facets of Harold Lasswell's question, the one for which answers are most readily available and manifestly apparent, concerns the *what* of mass communication. The symbols and the message are (by definition) printed, filmed, broad- and tele-cast for mass audiences, for everybody, to consume. And however little informed we may be about control structures, audience profiles, or subtleties of influence and persuasion, we are all—willing or unwilling, sophisticated or unsophisticated—students of mass communications content.

If the patent availability of mass communications has stimulated research in the *what* dimension, empirical efforts have been characterized—especially among American social scientists—by recognition that the analysis of communication content was readily amenable to quantitative treatment. Standard references on content analysis are Bernard Berelson's *Content Analysis in Communication Research* [8] and *The Language of Politics* by Harold Lasswell and Nathan Leites. [31].

Accordingly, content analysis measurement has been conscientiously applied to all manner of content categories, including the kinds of settings, characters, and slow resolution of life problems in daytime radio serials ("soap-operas"); the number and tone of newspaper and periodical references to such topics as the U. S. Neutrality Act of 1939, the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, labour unions, Communists, and the "cold war"; the kind and number of occasions in which American movies adapted from best-selling novels have diverged from their fictional texts; the kinds and number of Negro, Jewish, and Irish jokes contained in popular anthologies; the nationalities of heroes and villains in periodical fiction and in comic strips; the occupations of make-believe and of real-life heroes in popular magazines; or the number of movies in which the marital state is actually portrayed versus the number in which it is merely suggested at the film's end, presumably as a blissful, but nonetheless uneventful denouement to the romantic chase, unworthy of dramatization; and so forth. [26, 45, 61, 62].

Almost all of these studies have been accomplished with attention to technical detail and with a determination to achieve objectivity. And many of them have supplied fairly definitive answers to pressing or interesting questions-of-the-day (e.g. "Is there more violence in TV programmes aimed at children than in those aimed at adults?"; "In terms of their political coverage, do American newspapers in fact constitute a 'one-party press'?""). A few have charted and offered insight and substantiation to the shifting patterns of social mores; e.g., changes in the treatment of divorce in American novels. [74]. Fewer still have presumably documented how changes in media content have reflected larger changes in the ethos of whole societies; e.g., the increasingly frequent suggestion in German films of the 1920's that man must choose between authority and chaos [28]; the marked shift in the subjects of biographies in American magazines between 1900 and 1940 from "idols of production" to "idols of consumption". [86].

However, in evaluating these researches it appears that the vast majority of content analyses have illuminated at best specific social problems. Few of them have contained or suggested significant implications for the building of mass communications theory. The major reasons for their limited sociological utility appear to involve two quite dissimilar issues.

There is, first, the simple but basic question: what does the content of mass communications mainly reflect—the characteristics of the mass audience, what the communicators think are the mass audience characteristics, or merely the characteristics and intentions of the communicators? Undoubtedly, the contents of most mass communications reflect all three of these elements. But this is not a pro-

found observation since it leaves unresolved the task of separating out the relative importance of each element. Unless we can arrive at some sort of tenable, working answers to this question (and the answers may well be different for different media, for different societies, for different historical periods, etc.), the significance and validity of content analysis—however high their reliability—must remain decidedly questionable.

The second question involves the ever present problem of all sociological research efforts : can we formulate, conduct, and analyze our research so that it attains both statistical and sociological significance ? It is possible to count, with considerable accuracy, the space and time devoted to various types of content and to construct indices of different content characteristics such as balance, consistency, style, thematic emphasis and the like. But to conceptualize what these counts mean, what they tell us about the antecedent or the consequent behaviour and values of men, is a far less simple task.

Interestingly enough, some of the content analyses which have most provoked our thought and enlarged our understanding have been those in which the students were not primarily concerned (or even took certain liberties with) the more technical and quantitative aspects of their empirical operations. These are studies in which the insightful interpretation of selected and limited data has taken precedence over scrupulously careful tabulations and statistical precision. One thinks, for example, of two of the suggestive and exciting communications content studies: Wolfenstein and Leites' *Movies: A Psychological Study* (a strongly psychoanalytic analysis and comparison of the characters and plots in recent British, French and American motion pictures); and Lowenthal and Guterman's *Prophets of Deceit* (an analysis of the key themes and propaganda techniques of several rightist American agitators in the 1930's and 1940's). [39, 58].

Nonetheless, by juxtaposing both streams of endeavour in the content analysis field—the quantitative and the qualitative—several broad generalizations of some theoretical relevance may be made about the content of mass communications. First, what is communicated by the mass media is a highly select and non-representative sample of all that is available for communication. And, likewise, what content is effectively received and consumed by the potential audience is a highly selective and perhaps non-representative sample of all that is communicated. Communications content, *per se*, therefore, neither conveys the variety and complexity of life, nor reflects the subtleties and realities that result from exposure. Second, as gauged by content, emphasis is paid not only to highly selective segments of human experience, it is also paid with patterned unevenness. Considerably more of communications content is entertaining than informative ; it is more of the sort which distracts and diverts attention, and less of

the quality which stimulates consideration of central social and personal problems and tasks of living. Most communications content encourages day-dreams or nightmares rather than the sober perception of life, whole and complex. There is, in sum, a disparity between the content of mass communications and the content of human existence. Yet notwithstanding this demonstrable differential, there remains in the mass media a quantity of the sober and serious, the educational and informational so considerable that it has served, in the view of some students, mainly to confound and confuse rather than to educate and inform the vast majority of the mass audience. Thirdly, because its intended audience is the largest possible number, most mass communication is simple in form and uncomplicated in content. In their desire to be understood by all, or, at least, by the overwhelming majority, of their audiences, mass communicators have tended to eschew the subtle, intricate presentations, the meanings of which may be unclear or misinterpreted.

Perhaps one of the most interesting recent developments in content analysis is the effort of the social scientist to join hands with the literary critic in an appraisal of the contents of the mass media. In this new effort, the traditional inclination of scholars and intellectuals to deplore flatly the lowering of standards by the mass media is giving way to a more differentiated and sober evaluation of the positive and negative functions of mass themes. [48].

Communication Audiences

The injunction to "know thyself" has been rephrased by the mass communicator operator into a persistent dictate to "know them". The "them" refers, of course, to the mass, the audience, the intended or actual recipients of mass communications. The relative dearth of *who* (organization and personnel) answers cannot really be compensated for by the almost inundating quantity of *whom* (audience) studies. Nevertheless, efforts of the mass media to discern the numbers, the gross characteristics and preferences of their audiences have been constant and extensive. [55]. In the United States, Handel has sought to summarize movie audience research in a volume entitled *Hollywood Looks at its Audience*, [18], and Bogart has done the same for television in *The Age of Television*. [9]. UNESCO has taken steps to compile basic data on audiences for the mass media throughout the world. [54].

The initial and primary audience research interest of the mass communicators has been to measure the sheer size and numbers of their listeners or viewers or readers. Because they have lacked "built-in" or automatic measures of consumption (such as ticket, newsstand or subscription sales), broadcasters and telecasters have been especially eager sponsors of audience studies. The development of audience

research has not been limited to the United States, where radio and television incomes derive wholly from commercial advertisers interested mainly in expanding consumer goods markets and building "good will". Even where radio is under government operation as in Great Britain and West Germany, audience research is required to justify public budgets or to plan programmes.

"How many people are listening and watching?"—this has been the big and persistent question which most audience research has sought to answer. For the most part, current knowledge of mass audiences is knowledge about size and about basic social characteristics (e.g., age, sex, and educational level).

The more quantitative findings may be briefly summarized. Although by no means typical of most societies, American audiences perhaps reflect the drift of audience formation in all societies increasingly blanketed by the mass media and for those conditions under which the audience has some power to choose between alternative offerings. In the United States: more than fifty per cent. of the population attends the movies at least once every two weeks; more than sixty per cent. read one or more magazines regularly; more than eighty-five per cent. read one or more newspapers regularly; and more than eighty per cent. listen to the radio and/or view television four hours or more every day. In more than ninety per cent. of American homes you will find at least one radio and at least one daily newspaper; there are television sets in almost eighty per cent. of the homes. The number of comic books sold each month exceeds the number of children in the country. The number of paper-cover books distributed each year is more than double the total national population. Clearly, the term "*mass audience*" is no misnomer.

Research further indicates that exposure to mass communications tends to be cumulative. Therefore, the different media do not so much compete as re-enforce one another. Lazarsfeld and Kendall concluded from their audience research that (a) a radio fan is likely to be a movie fan and (b) almost every book reader is also a magazine reader, and (c) a link exists between the printed media and the spectator media (radio and movie) in that individuals who read no magazines are likely to be light listeners and rare moviegoers. [34].

Despite the mass and therefore, fairly representative popular base of all media, studies have indicated that discernible (although not marked) exposure differences are related to certain broad social characteristics. Thus, for example, both males and the better educated tend, in general, to expose themselves somewhat more to printed media (newspapers, magazines, books) than do females and less educated—who seem rather to prefer the so-called spectator media (radio, movie, television); and younger people (persons under 35) constitute the considerable bulk of the motion picture audience.

We know, too, that as the content of the media change, so do their audiences. As newspapers have transformed themselves from essentially political journals to purveyors of a more varied potpourri of news, entertainment, education and human interest, their readership ranks have broadened to become more representative of the whole population. As television has captured from radio large segments of what was but a few years ago the most cross-sectional of all media audiences, more selective consumer groups have been attracted to the new increasingly specialized radio programme output. Despite these widely inclusive, if somewhat shifting, audiences, not everyone in American society is a fan, a devotee, or a regular consumer of mass communications. The non-audience, or rather, low exposure group, apparently included a slightly disproportionate number of persons at the two extremes of the intelligence-quotient continuum: both the illiterate and the very literate.

Despite the plethora of surveys, we do not have basic sociological and social psychological data on audience structure required for a theory of communications. The structure of the mass media audience has been mainly investigated in terms of such general social structural variables as age, sex, occupation and education. Being so heterogeneous, mass audiences do not lend themselves to very meaningful investigations along these traditional lines. The need, it would seem, is for more analytic variables which would encompass social mobility, patterns of consumption, intellectual orientations and the like. Even more fundamental, there is need for a bold approach which would distinguish the mass media habits of the public at large from those of specialized professional groups and elite strata. The study of Ithiel deSola Pool, et al., on American business leaders' exposure to international communications is an example in this direction. [93].

By investigation of social psychological predispositions of the media audiences, further contributions are likely to result. Walter Lippmann's classic book *Public Opinion*, in which he coined the term "stereotype", still remains a basic point of departure. [37]. Already important work has been completed on the symbolic and subjective meanings various audiences attached to particular media systems and to particular types of programmes. Arnheim, and Warner and Henry have completed research on the motives involved among women seeking out daytime radio dramas. [60, 101]. By analyzing the public's reaction in a New York City newspaper strike, Berelson was able to probe "What the Missing Newspaper Means," from the point of view of the audience's social and personal needs. [64]. Lazarsfeld and Kendall turned up important findings on the public imagery of the radio as a source of news and information. [34]. These studies—and many more of them are required—supply the context in which to evaluate the impact and consequences of the mass media. In recent

years, considerable interest has been shown by advertisers in the motive structures underlying exposure to various types of advertisements. The term *motivation research* has been loosely used to refer to studies seeking to understand the social psychology of exposure to advertisements. A popular account of these recent developments is contained in a book by Vance Packard entitled *The Hidden Persuaders*. [42].

Communication Effects

The sociological relevance of mass communication research rests with the knowledge that can be accumulated about communications effects. Popular aspirations still colour our thinking on what are the potentials for the mass media. The proliferation of the mass media in the first decades of the 20th century rekindled for many the hope that modern society, however large and complicated and urbanized, would yet fulfill the democratic promise to which many 19th century thinkers had confidently subscribed. Those technological developments which had made the Western world into an industrial complex had also made possible mass communication. And it was in the mass media that hopeful leaders saw a new opportunity for mass education and for the elevation of men's minds everywhere. However, because of the economic dislocations of the nineteen twenties, the mass political movements of the thirties, and the wars of the forties, these aspirations seemed confounded. The mass media were assigned their burden of the blame of social disruption. Now they were seen mainly as powerful instrumentalities by which men's minds and spirits might be trivialized, corrupted, propagandized, and demeaned. And thus it was the concern with the effect, the impact, and the influence of mass communications that generated great hopes and equally great fears.

Social research addressed specifically to this most difficult problematic area of mass communications study has, time and again, arrived at one general finding which overshadows all others. It has claimed that neither our hopes nor our fears about the persuasively potent influence of the mass media were well-founded. The almost constant refrain of research on specific communications effects is this: the effects are limited and even negligible. In fact, the findings of social research are so at variance with the observations of journalists and mass communications personnel as to raise the question whether the results are the product of the piecemeal and short time span involved in the research approach.

Nevertheless, two general sociological observations can be made which give meaning to and help organize the individual pieces of research which underline the limited influence of the mass media. First,

the vast majority of the mass communications appears to have little content directed toward challenging existing normative patterns, encouraging critical thought, or stimulating individual or collective action disruptive to the more or less orderly flow of existent social processes. In democratic societies, most mass communicators are linked with other large corporate managers and entrepreneurs in a community of interest dedicated, in the last analysis, to the maintenance of stability and order. The point that mass media are oriented to maintaining the status quo is even more applicable to societies characterized by a one-party mass communications organization. Only during revolutionary situations, war or periods of great stress, do the mass media reflect more controversial and more change oriented content.

Second, and of equal, if not greater, importance is the observation that the ultimate censor of all mass communications is the receiver himself. All of the major types of effects research—laboratory (and quasi-laboratory) experiments such as those of Hovland and his associates, [20, 21] interview surveys such as those of Lazarsfeld and his associates on voting behaviour, and intensive case studies such as those of Shils and Janowitz on the cohesion of the Wehrmacht [97] and Star and Hughes on mass adult education [93]—have suggested that no less crucial in the communications process than the intent and design of the communicator is the nature of receptivity of the audience. The amount of individual or group learning and impact, these studies have indicated, is proportional to the kind and degree of attention and to the kind and degree of motivation and social need which compels attention. [40]. The motivational factor, in turn, is mainly a function of the person's position in the social structure. In particular, the orientation of the primary group in which the person finds himself will act as a powerful resistor and interpreter of outside messages. Exposure and absorption are highly selective processes. People tend to read and listen to and watch those kinds of content which support their already-held attitudes, values and interests. And when exposed to complications contradictory to their beliefs, consumers are prone to ignore or misunderstand or misinterpret the alien and disturbing messages. This is neatly demonstrated in the Jahoda and Cooper study on resistance to tolerance propaganda among prejudiced persons. [72]. They may even draw conclusions which are quite opposite to those intended by the communicator, thus producing what has been labelled "the boomerang effect".

None of this is to deny Klapper's statement : "Thousands of (laboratory) experiments have established beyond reasonable doubt that persuasion can be achieved by the planned, or even unplanned, presentation of appropriate content through mass media." It should be added that most studies which have produced "positive" findings

have, indeed, been experiments, and thus inevitably rather contrived and artificial in nature. [27]. Thus, we are reasonably sure, for example, that different media have different advantages and disadvantages insofar as the temporal and psychological consequences of their modes of transmission are concerned (the permanence of print, the speed of radio, the imagery of movies and television); that better-educated people are more effectively persuaded by communications which appear to present both sides of a controversial issue, while the less well-educated are more influenced by communications that employ one-sided, supported arguments only; that the presumed credibility of the communicator markedly affects the immediate receptiveness of consumers, although with the passage of time, a "forgetting curve" appears to operate, and people often remember what was said without remembering who said it ("the sleeper effect"), that exposure is more effective (a) when it is cumulative, (b) when it seeks either to reinforce rather than convert existing attitudes or to "canalize" existing needs rather than to create new needs, (c) when it seeks to alter peripheral rather than central behaviour patterns, and of course (d) when its position is monopolistic, when no contradictory or competing ideas are available. [20, 21, 69, 73]. But the social scientist is still concerned to seek out the limiting conditions under which these hypotheses no longer hold true. A more comprehensive approach to the effect of a single medium on a particular social group is the study of *Television and the Child* by Hilde T. Himmelweit; by means of extensive probing of comparative samples of television and non-television consumers important inferences could be drawn about which children were influenced. [19].

None of these nor comparable research-supported propositions, however, negate the basic finding that human values and behaviour are primarily conditioned by the sociological imperatives inhering in the immediate-contact relationships of the family, the community, and the job—all of which provide the individual with built-in resistances to mass communications which are inconsistent with his "primary" interests. By focusing on these primary group influences, the conditions under which the mass media have greater impact begin to emerge. Thus, Janowitz and Marwick in their analysis of the influence of the mass media in the 1952 United States presidential campaign confirm that persons in primary groups—family and work—subject to uniform political outlooks, were hardly reachable by the mass media. [73, 81]. However, persons under conflicting primary group political pressures oriented themselves to the mass media and to a greater extent had their political behaviour moulded by the mass media. In crisis situations, the breakdown of social norms may increase the potential impact of this mass media. [12]. Likewise, increasing research attention has lately been paid to the role of opinion leaders and other elites in the communications process. [25]. The suggestion is

that mass communications have their major effect via a two-step flow from the communicators to the opinion elites and only then to the mass public. [74]. But to delineate this process is not to demonstrate that the mass media are, after all, prime movers in modern societies. It seems highly tenable, in fact, that the elite audience is no less self-selective and is considerably more critical and sophisticated than the mass audience. Opinion leadership studies have mainly emphasized that stratified arrangements of power and influence operate in moulding opinion, and that the *mass audience*—in the sense of millions of persons who are only addressed directly via the mass media and not simultaneously approached indirectly through their formal and informal leaders—is an over-simplification.

For the most part, it has been the practicing symbol specialists, the essayists, the speculative psychiatrists, the moral philosophers, and the offended intellectuals—not the social scientists trying to engage in relevant research—who have clung doggedly to the notion that a kind of omnipotence inheres in the mass media. While we cannot dismiss their frequently impassioned and persuasive arguments as invalid, we can and must state that, to date at least, they are little supported by empirical evidence. Nor are they confirmed by recourse to historical perspective: to argue, for example, that widespread passive exposure to the mass media reduces individual critical capacity and paves the way for the “engineering of consent” and the narcotizing of human mentalities is to assume that men were, at some earlier, happier (and more nebulous) time, the thoughtful moulders and masters of their individual destinies.

Nevertheless, these sources have posed questions of relevance for the social researcher into the processes of mass communications. Sociologists particularly of the more theoretical bent are more and more prone to restate the problem of understanding mass communications effects as not involving the study of specific reactions to mass communications. Rather, they argue that the study of the mass media needs to be seen as part of the ongoing processes of social control, and to understand these processes, contemporary research procedures are too narrow and too specific. In the writings of Talcott Parsons [92], Karl Deutsch [17] and Louis Wirth [102], these issues are raised. Alternatively in Merton's examination of the field of mass communications as it is related to the sociology of knowledge, similar issues are treated. [88]. To analyze mass communications as a sociological mechanism requires concern with the totality of the processes of communication. It requires an understanding of the structure and functioning of particular mass communication systems, not merely to audience reactions.

Janowitz in his *Community Press in an Urban Setting*, which investigates the social consequences of the Chicago weekly press, seeks to

bring into one study the historical development, ownership and control, the social role of the publisher, the image of the community as reflected by the content of the press, the functions of the local press for its readers and its impact on the readers. [24]. "The basic orientations of this research view the urban community press as one of the social mechanisms through which the individual is integrated into the urban social structure." In the wider society, the images of class, status and power that any country holds of itself and of others are to a considerable extent defined by the continuing flow of communications. We are concerned less with the audience reaction to a specific message and more with the definition of the situation that the mass media creates. The mass media define the political issues of the day. For example, in an election, it is the ability of the mass media to characterize the alternatives for which the candidates stand that is so important; or in the area of international relations, the ability of the executive to operate and implement its policies is limited by the images of foreign events that the mass media create.

Interestingly enough, the efforts of social scientists to understand the role of mass communications in the Nazi movement and under National Socialism have led to empirically oriented writings in which the mass communications process is analyzed systematically as part of the processes of social control. Among the important contributors have been Lasswell [83, 84], Kris and Leites [80] and Kecskemeti. [77]. Alex Inkeles' analysis of *Public Opinion in the Soviet Union* is an example of a sociologist seeking to understand the institutional consequences of the mass communications system on an entire social order. [23]. Daniel Lerner in *The Passing of Traditional Society* seeks to investigate the importance of the mass media in "new nations" seeking to modernize themselves. [38].

To the degree that the mass communications process is seen as a process of social control in its broadest sense, to that degree will the sociology of mass communication contribute to our general understanding of contemporary society. Research instruments and research design for answering these questions, contrary to the faith of some hopeful empirical plodders, are complex and challenging and perhaps even beyond our grasp. But this much seems pretty well established: mass media research has destroyed many of the stereotyped notions about the power of mass communications and, concomitantly, the nature of so-called mass society. It has—like much other contemporary research into modern social organization—rediscovered and reaffirmed the persistence of traditional sociological forms of association, influence and power.

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ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

MARK ABRAMS (Research Services Ltd.)

THE MASS MEDIA AND SOCIAL CLASS IN GREAT BRITAIN

At mid-1958 there were slightly over 32 million adults aged 25 and over in Great Britain. Of these, one million (or 3 per cent of the total) could be considered as forming a socio-educational elite in that they had received full-time education to the age of 19 or later, and in that they currently held senior posts in business and industry, government, the professions and the "communication" industries. In some of the occupations—particularly the professions—they hold a majority of the senior posts, but in others—particularly industry and business—they constitute only a minority. In all, they form only 20 per cent of all adults conventionally described as middle class in Great Britain.

In analyzing the results of a random sample of 13,620 adults throughout the country, we tested the hypothesis that this socio-educational elite has a very different pattern of mass media consumption from that exhibited by the general public—i.e., from those adults whose full-time education had finished before reaching the age of 19, and who currently are either manual workers or else employed in the subordinate ranks of white-collar workers.

The analysis showed that there are two national daily newspapers—the *Times* and the *Guardian*—which have practically no readers among the mass public, but which are read by fair-sized minorities of the elite; however, among the elite, these two papers reach many fewer people than do some of the mass circulation papers, e.g., the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mail*; even the tabloids—the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Sketch*—are read by large numbers of the socio-educational elite. If one has to choose the distinctive daily newspaper of this group, it would be the *Daily Telegraph*.

Again, with the Sunday newspapers, the position is similar; there are two papers—the *Sunday Times* and *The Observer*—which have practically no readers among the mass public, but which are read by substantial minorities of the elite; but again, neither of these distinctive elite papers has as many elite readers as one of the mass

circulation papers—the *Sunday Express*—and fair-sized minorities of the elite read many of the papers which are essentially dramatic and “human interest” in their appeal—e.g., the *Sunday Pictorial*, the *News of the World*, and *The People*. Here if we are to designate the distinctive newspaper appealing to the British elite, it would be the *Sunday Express*.

It is highly probable that as far as newspaper reading is concerned, one can subdivide the total socio-educational elite of one million adults: the 300,000 (i.e. less than 1 per cent of all British adults) who are in middle-class occupations, have received formal education beyond their nineteenth birthday, read either the *Times* and/or the *Guardian* as their daily newspaper, and the *Sunday Times* and/or *The Observer* as their Sunday papers. They are flanked and greatly outnumbered by the 700,000 who have received the same level of education and currently enjoy the same incomes but prefer either the daily and Sunday newspapers with circulations well over the million mark and with readers in all classes.

When we turn to television, it is clear that the million adults in the socio-educational elite have been more conservative than the mass public—a much lower proportion has sets, and of those with sets, less than two-thirds are able to watch the programmes of commercial television. And even when they can, they prefer B.B.C. programmes. The general public has turned much more readily to the new media and its preference overwhelmingly is for the sort of programmes transmitted from the commercial stations. Here there seems to be a measurable—but not utterly drastic—difference between the two socio-educational extremes. After all, 20 per cent of the elite watch ITV programmes fairly regularly (as compared with 40 per cent of the mass public). This 20 per cent of the elite is apparently particularly attracted by the Westerns, quiz contests, and news-documentary programmes of commercial television.

In the cinema, the socio-educational elite is largely, as a result of its conservative unwillingness to abandon the cinema, perhaps closest to the mass public in its tastes and habits.

The general conclusion seems to be that the British socio-educational elite (as here defined) has mass media consumption habits which are not too remote from those of the mass public; to find any sharply differentiated minority, it is necessary to add to the traits already indicated—education and class—the further limitation of a preference for the *Times* and the *Guardian*. These reduce the elite to no more than 300,000 adults.

Between the larger elite of one million and the general public, there is a substantial bridge of nearly four million middle-class adults whose education ended before their nineteenth birthday; their mass media tastes tend to approximate to both those of the mass public and to the majority of the socio-educational elite which shuns the *Times* and the *Guardian*.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL (USA)

THE VALUE-INSTITUTION ANALYSIS OF MASS COMMUNICATION

The purpose of this paper is to relate the study of mass media to a comprehensive and dynamic theory of social interaction. A brief model of the social process postulates that all participants strive to maximize value outcomes through institutional practices relatively specialized to each value outcome and to resource management. Mass media are not values but institutions; and what are conventionally called mass media in any specific context are not necessarily so classified in the theoretical model. Continuing research surveys are needed to discover the total involvement of mass media at given times and places with value shaping and

sharing. Available research is scanned in order to bring out limitations and opportunities. Eight major value-institution categories are employed: wealth, power, well-being, skill, rectitude, affection, respect, enlightenment. Value analyses are indicated of media controllers, base values, strategies, outcomes and effects. Cyclical and structural changes are distinguished, and formal propositions stated concerning change. Attention is directed to the distribution of factors that comprise indulgence-deprivation systems, and technological systems. Trends in mass communications are reviewed and research policies outlined.

GERHARD MALETZKE (Hamburg University)

RESEARCH ON TELEVISION AND GERMAN YOUTH

The study conducted by the Hans-Bredow-Institut at Hamburg University dedicated itself exclusively to sociological and social psychological problems. Its aim was to investigate by empirical research the significance and importance of television for German youth of today. A thoroughbred case study with Hamburg juveniles aged 15-20 years was to clear up the following points:

1. The place television held among all the leisure activities of the youth,
2. Situation, behavior and habits of adolescents as well as their families in viewing television,
3. Opinions and attitudes of adolescents with regard to television as a modern mass medium influencing the life of today,
4. Interests and preferences of the adolescents which determine their selection of television programs.

Although the study has stressed the qualitative methods there was tried to draw a representative sample and to quantify the qualitative material as far as possible.

Three methods have chiefly been applied, viz.:

1. Detailed depth interviews with adolescents concerning their leisure time activities, their program preferences, their viewing behavior and habits and their opinions and attitudes towards television,
2. Projective tests included in the depth interview (picture projections and sentence completions),
3. Group discussions after viewing.

RESULTS

1. Normally the adolescents watch television only half as often as adults (about 7 to 8 hours weekly) and select the program more carefully. The widespread opinion that adolescents in television families are in front of the set for hours without selecting the program and thereby neglect all other leisure-time activities apparently does not prove right in regard to the adolescents aged 15-20. This opinion applies rather to children and adults than to adolescents. To a great extent this fact is due to the psychological pattern of this age.
2. Radio listening is cut down severely by viewers. The influence of television can be recognized clearly. Hardly any difference can be noticed between viewers and nonviewers in respect of newspaper and book reading. Also concerning hobbies little differences can be found. Without any doubt viewers are more interested in politics than nonviewers.
3. The factors "education" and "social status" turned out to be especially powerful and effective in conduct and attitudes. In general adolescents with a higher educational and social status are better prepared to fit television into their daily leisure time without drastic changes.
4. The factor viewer-nonviewer effects also differences in many respects, but on the whole it is not as decisive as often supposed.

The results show how adolescents judge the influence of television in family life, furthermore different types of viewers and nonviewers, what programs they like or dislike and which factors influence the viewing habits.

OLEG MANDIĆ (Université de Zagreb)

QUELQUES VUES MÉTHODOLOGIQUES EN MATIÈRE DE COMMUNICATION DES MASSES

Les moyens de communication des masses et les phénomènes sociaux qu'ils servent à produire et exprimer chez les membres d'une société concrète, sont des faits sociaux engendrés et déterminés par des autres faits sociaux: les opinions, les idées, les symboles et les croyances ne s'épanouissent pas spontanément, mais sous la pression de nécessités sociales qu'on doit constater, relever et déterminer.

L'heuristique dans la sociologie doit tenir compte de ces interactions entre les faits sociaux appartenant à diverses catégories. Chaque événement social est un résultat de l'activité multiforme d'un nombre majeur ou mineur de ces causes, qui se manifestent en des combinaisons différentes selon la nature du fait social en question, avec la prédominance plus ou moins forte du facteur économique.

C'est la raison pour laquelle augmente l'importance de l'aspect génétique ou analytique de l'heuristique. La génétique pose la question comment naissent les divers faits sociaux et de l'importance qu'ont eu dans leur origine les facteurs qui n'appartiennent point à la catégorie dont s'occupe cette science particulière. La génétique cherche donc à déterminer les sources de ces phénomènes particuliers en spécifiant leur diversité et leur appartenance aux autres domaines des sciences sociales.

L'analyse de la formation des langues montre qu'une langue nationale peut se former sous l'influence des facteurs économiques, politiques et culturels, entre lesquels les facteurs économiques ont la prépondérance.

De ces faits suit la conclusion qu'on ne peut pas connaître et expliquer l'extension et l'importance des moyens de communication des masses et de leurs composants sans avoir recours à tous les phénomènes sociaux, aucun excepté, qui ont contribué à leur formation et propagation.

PAUL NEURATH (Queen's College, Flushing, USA.)

THE USE OF RADIO FARM FORUM IN VILLAGE ADULT EDUCATION IN INDIA

The Government of India is undertaking enormous efforts to raise the standard of living, both in regard to material goods and in regard to general organization, in the villages of India. One of the great difficulties encountered thereby is the fact that large scale illiteracy prevents the use of cheap pamphlets through which to spread new methods of agriculture, personal and community hygiene, organization, etc. But this very same illiteracy prevents the large scale training of teachers who could spread the new methods through the spoken word.

Attempts have been made to carry on the spreading of new methods through radio, usually in the form that villages were encouraged to buy or were given a radio set (usually battery operated), through which to listen to special rural broadcasts. The success was limited, the villagers would not listen regularly, or would listen to other than the rural broadcasts.

In 1956 UNESCO and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, jointly sponsored a major experiment with the following method: Small listener groups (of 20 members each) were organized in 150 villages (in the

Marathi speaking part of Bombay State) who listened together regularly twice per week to a series of 20 special broadcasts, then stayed together for a discussion of what they had heard.

The experiment was evaluated through a survey carried out in 20 of these 150 villages and a group of 20 control villages, through the Research Division of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Bombay. The survey was headed by Dr. A. M. Lorenzo of that Faculty and by Dr. Paul Neurath, later on by Dr. Neurath alone.

The present paper sets forth the problems out of which the experiment arose; the attitude of the villagers towards the experiment (extremely favorable, with extremely regular participation by all members); the adequacy of this method as a means of transmitting knowledge (very adequate, the members learned an impressive amount of new facts, as established through lengthy interviews before and after the series of broadcasts); the impact that the broadcasts had on the villages (they undertook immediately and planned for the near future a great deal of improvements); and the impact that the whole program had on the village as a whole; together with what appears to be the prospect for the future, when these organizations will be established in all of India.

After the great success of the first experiment, Radio Farm Forum was made permanent for that particular area already during 1956. By late 1957 two more states, Bihar and Madras, had introduced this form of adult education. By 1959 it was introduced in all the states of India.

Of interest to sociologists and research workers in the field of mass communication may be the role that the evaluation survey itself played in achieving this success. This, too, is discussed in the paper, the main point there being that the fact that the results were available in compact form, visible at a glance, was an aid in speeding up the decisions that had to be made in various government places to spread the new method of education into the various states.

ETHIEL DE SOLA POOL (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

INFLUENCE PROCESSES VS. THE ECONOMIC MAN: THE STUDY OF AMERICAN BUSINESS COMMUNICATION ON FOREIGN TRADE

This is a report of a survey of American business executives on their sources of information about foreign trade policy and the ways in which they form attitudes upon it. The product which a manufacturer made and the corresponding self-interest of his firm had considerable significance in determining the attitude which he took. However, any interpretation based solely on self-interest would be most misleading. A number of communication factors were operating, for example what a man made was highly predictive of the attitude of businessmen who had not travelled extensively abroad. It was not predictive for those who had. Reading of foreign media was very rare. Indeed the relevant communication system was mostly an interpersonal one rather than a mass media one. That fact restricted knowledge of foreign business opportunities. The only written sources relied on extensively were standard prestige papers and business magazines. These limitations on sources of information were also limitations on those interests of which businessmen could be aware. They were often unsure themselves of what their economic interest was.

Further structural facts about their communication system affected which of the businessmen's views became politically effective. Businessmen communicated on business matters through business and not through community channels. They did not carry their particular business views into non-business roles. They were aware of only a limited number of possible ways of influencing government policy. They were aware of the possibility of contacting Congress much more than of use

of other channels. This particular favored channel was more advantageous for smaller and localized businesses. Thus business influence was only poorly correlated with political influence.

S. ROKKAN and PER TORSVIK

THE VOTER, THE READER AND THE PARTY PRESS: AN ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PREFERENCE AND NEWSPAPER READING IN NORWAY.

This paper grows out of a programme of electoral studies carried forward since 1957. It focuses on one major problem in the study of the political functions of the press in party systems divided along status lines: the contrast between the strength of the "lower stratum" parties at the polls and the dominance of the press of the "higher stratum" parties in the national readership.

In Norway the Labour party came close to a majority of the votes cast in the 1957 election but its press had less than a quarter of the circulation of newspapers in the country. This contrast sets the problem for analysis; why do so many citizens vote Labour without reading the party's press and why do so many read opposition newspapers and yet fail to vote for any of the parties behind these papers?

The paper focuses on the situations and the motivation of the "party loyal" vs. the "party indifferent" newspaper readers and discusses available evidence on three points:

(1) *The choice between "community dominant" and partisan newspapers.*

In most areas of the country the Labour party voter is faced with a choice between a dominant community paper opposed or indifferent to his party and a minority paper supporting his own politics. The Conservatives and the Liberals developed their press first and their papers took on a number of community service functions which made it possible for them to retain a broad readership even after the spectacular growth of the Labour party after World War I. For working class voters, most of them in one-paper households, the choice will therefore tend to be highly unequal: they will lose as community members by being loyal to the Labour party press. In the few communities where the Labour press is close to a dominance position, workers are not faced with such a dilemma: here the vote-circulation discrepancy is accordingly very small.

(2) *The political content of the newspaper.*

A content analysis of campaign editorials indicates marked differences between community dominant and minority newspapers in their treatment of politics; the more heterogeneous the readership the less the emphasis on ideological partisanship. This means that the worker choosing a community dominant paper instead of a Labour organ is not so likely to be heavily exposed to direct political appeals from this source.

(3) *Differences in newspaper partisanship between the politically active or committed and the passive and apathetic.*

An analysis of survey data indicates important differences in the *attention to the politicae ontent of the press*: Labour voters keeping non-socialist papers tend to disregard the political messages in these newspapers while the "party loyal" subscribers are much more concerned to keep politically informed. The "party indifferent" reader is accordingly doubly protected against messages from the non-socialist parties: (1) the

papers gives less emphasis to politics because of their heterogeneous readership and (2) the reader pays less attention to the politics of the paper than to their "community service" content. The Labour party press is read by the "active information seekers" among the party's voters, by those who feel the need to keep informed about developments and arguments affecting the party. It is only through such processes that it is possible for a party to maintain its hold on such large bodies of voters without reaching them through its press.

The paper, in conclusion, points to some implications for theory of political equilibria. There is an interesting two-way process of mutual restraints: on the one hand, a majority of the Socialist voters trust themselves to regular exposure to newspaper messages from the opposition parties, on the other hand the non-socialist papers, just because they so often dominate the local readership, are found to exercise much restraint in the expression of conflicting opinions and to give prominence to "community integrative" points of view.¹

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

MORRIS JANOWITZ¹ in his opening address voiced the opinion that the process of mass communication should be seen as the process of social control in its broadest sense, and that the analysis of mass communication as a sociological mechanism requires concern with the totality of the process of communication.

The interest of the participants in basic approaches in communication research, and especially in the relationship of communication research to a more total analysis of society seems to be indicative of the beginning of a new stage in the development of mass media research. JANOWITZ attempted a description of some of the basic trends by placing them in a larger perspective: The history of this research is characterized by a movement from a general interest in mass communication as part of a general study of society to a more specialized, professionalized, and delimited investigation of concrete problems. The process of studying mass communication was divided into a series of specific studies. At present, a reversal of this concern with subunits of the process of mass communication and a return—in a more sophisticated manner—to studying mass communication in the context of the larger social processes of social change can be observed. JANOWITZ indicated that the main concern no longer lies with specific sub-components of mass media, but again with a more holistic analysis of society. Content analysis has been employed as part of a more total analysis of society in numerous studies of the contents of mass media.

In audience research, the concern with sampling procedure which resulted in atomized individuals, has given way to efforts of creating a basis for studying audiences in their sociological context. Even psychologically-oriented studies in mass communication shifted from the pure response psychology to a concern with imagery.

Several speakers presented papers reflecting interest with a more holistic analysis of mass communication. LEO LOWENTHAL¹, who in his paper dealt with the historical background of the controversy of popular culture—is of the opinion that modern mass media research suffers under self-imposed restrictions, especially under the neglect of historical continuity in which the study of mass media should be located. ADORNO pointed at the distinction between critical research and administrative research. He sees a danger to the extent that administrative communication research remains within given conditions and does not study the function which communication might perform in society. OLEG MANDIC's paper on "Some Methodological Views in the Area of Mass Communication" was devoted exclusively to methodological issues in studying mass communication and society. CHARLES R. WRIGHT discussed in his paper some methodological and theoretical points concerning the application of functional analysis to mass communication.

Other participants discussed at some length specific empirical methodological problems in relationship to their studies. GERHARD MALETZKE² and PAUL NEURATH³ gave a description of the methods and techniques which they employed in their respective studies. HILDE HIMMELWEIT⁴ mentioned some implications which arose from her study on the effects of television on children, and particularly from using the factorial design. During the discussions, only a few questions were raised concerning particular techniques and general methodological problems. When T. W. ADORNO stated that the dichotomy between content analysis and survey research has to be overcome, he was more concerned with the question of basic approaches in communication research than with its purely methodological implication. In effect, however, he did raise a serious methodological problem.

Several of the papers dealt specifically with one medium of mass communication, such as film (EDGAR MORIN⁵), television (HIMMELWEIT and MALETZKE), radio (NEURATH), newspaper (STEIN ROKKAN⁶ and JERZY WIATR⁸) and comic books (OTTO LARSEN⁹). When the discussion opened, however, the participants shifted toward a view of mass media in a more general perspective and their relation to social process. The question as to how research in mass communication should be related to other areas and types of investigation was a major topic of discussion.

Several papers submitted propositions or research findings which utilized more recent theoretical concepts. ITHIEL DE SOLA POOL¹⁰ in his studies of the patterns of obtaining information on foreign trade by American businessmen found for example that businessmen entertain interpersonal communications to a surprisingly large extent. The most highly regarded source of information is travel—much more than written sources. The findings emphasize the importance which interpersonal communications continue to perform in modern society; a

fact which has been underestimated for a long period of time. ELIHU KATZ, in his paper on Communication and Technical Change, pointed at a strong tendency which might lead to a convergence of the fields of mass communication and rural sociology. Although these two fields seem to be entirely unrelated, a certain amount of interchange has already taken place, particularly with that branch of rural sociology which is devoted to the diffusion and acceptance of new farm practices. STEIN ROKKAN and PER TORSVIK's analysis of political preference and newspaper reading was intended to throw some light on the central problem of the integration of conflicting movements and organizations in a viable and effective national system. SIMMEL's notion of criss-crossing conflict lines in a system is of highest relevance in this connection. KLAUS LEIPELT, in his study of voting behaviour in Germany related the shift in allegiance of the worker's dependents from the Labour Party to the Christian Democrats to the process of change from production-oriented to consumption-oriented behaviour patterns.

Apart from concentrating on the problems posed by different approaches, the discussion delved also into the question of the role and function of mass media in modern society. JULIUS GOULD's paper on Mass Media and Politics, JERZY WIATR's on The Social Role of the Polish Press, and in part also MARK ABRAM's on Mass Media and Social Class, as well as others which were mentioned earlier, touched some of the problems connected with this question. The question was approached from various angles in the ensuing discussion. It focused partly on what the role and function of mass media and communication should be in our society, and partly on observations of existing circumstances. The sometimes controversial comments showed that, despite numerous studies of mass media audiences, of the contents and the effects of mass communication, the social sciences are still far removed from a general theory of the function of mass media, and from a compilation of reliable empirical data on the relationship of the media to the masses. There was less disagreement about the role which the mass media should play. GOULD's statement that the distribution of news is not the main task of the newspaper, but that newspapers also play an important political role in the process of image formation, received no opposition. Strong anxiety was expressed when the discussion shifted to the relationship between mass media and democracy. A democratic system requires a free flow of communication. Do mass media ensure indeed this free flow of communication, and if so, to what extent? According to L. MOSS, free political discussion is increasingly excluded from mass media communication. The channels of media communication are used for other purposes, that is to say, mainly for purposes of entertainment rather than for purposes of political information and education. Several other statements were of a similar nature, such as BIANCHI's, who sees the popular press caught in the pre-dominant desire to please the public. He connects this desire with

a tendency to personalize political issues, which personalization in turn leads to a depolitisation of political life.

The comments of several speakers, who located the problems of mass communication and mass media within specific situations of their respective countries led to a discussion of the role of mass communication in a one-party versus a multi-party system. WIATR pointed in this connection to the change in the social function of censorship in Poland during the last years. There is still no complete freedom of opinion but the present kind of censorship allows at least the expression of different tendencies in Polish public opinion. WIATR suggested an investigation of the differences in the social role of the political press in Poland compared to the social role of the press in other countries.

ADORNO commented on the issue concerning the extent to which mass media reflect mass opinion and the extent to which they form mass opinion. As he sees it, mass culture or popular culture is an artificial product which is spread in an industrialized atomized society by society by central agencies which serve the interest of big companies in the liberal world or the interest of the governments in totalitarian countries. Popular culture does not, in its present predicament, mirror existing conditions in our society, but presents them distorted.

SEYMOUR M. LIPSET attempted a summary of the two points of view which had been expressed in regard to the question whether the media form or reflect mass opinion. Following the first point of view mass communication and mass culture should be viewed as consequences of some kind of manipulated tendency. Following the second position, mass communication is caused by, or a reflection of, popular taste. Elites are reflecting popular taste to a greater extent than they are determining it. LIPSET himself tends to agree more with the second approach. In his opinion, the problem is essentially one of popular taste. The question thus should be posed, what can be done to change the level of popular taste. The answer to this question, according to LIPSET was to be found in a revolution on the level of the masses, and this revolution has to be a revolution of education.

The question as to how far mass media are indeed centralised and manipulated leads immediately to the problem of organisation and management of mass media. JANOWITZ stated that none of the papers presented at the meetings, dealt explicitly with the organization of mass media but that in some the feeling was expressed that this problem was of paramount importance in understanding the processes of social control. In the discussions, the study of organization and management of mass media was repeatedly mentioned. JANOWITZ pointed out that the papers presented to the session and the attendance at the meeting indicated a rapid growth in interest in mass communications research. Interest in this area seems particularly strong in countries undergoing

rapid industrialization and expansion of their media facilities. He concludes that while there was a wide difference of theoretical and empirical approach, there was considerable convergence in the underlying problems being investigated.

G. BAUMERT.

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SECTION II(1)g

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO POPULATION PROBLEMS

Chairman: Professor LIVIO LIVI (University of Rome)

Rapporteur: Professor M. DE VERGOTTINI (University of Pisa)

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

C. D'AGATA (Italy)

THE RELEVANCE OF STATISTICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF POPULATION AND SOCIOLOGY

Representative statistical survey as an instrument for analysing population phenomena, can find wide use in modern positive sociology; they are not always idoneous however for meeting all scientific exigencies.

Certain difficulties sometimes arise from the impossibility of individualising and defining exactly the universe of cases or single facts or units, of which the phenomenon is formed and in that the certain number of cases or facts drawn from the universe, are representative of the said universe.

Sometimes these difficulties arise in selecting sampling units, especially in the case in which this selection cannot be carried out—as happens frequently in studies of population phenomena—in accordance with the rules of the random sample design.

In any case the scholar can never have the exact measure of the frequency or intensity of the phenomenon but only an estimate of such. The suitability of the sample as an analysing instrument in sociology, is therefore strictly dependent on the degree of accuracy of such estimate, and that the phenomena in question are not those with sporadic or rare manifestations or those for which it is not possible to form a probability sample, such as when studying the spiritual life or psychological aspects of the behaviour of a social group.

Representative surveys should in any case be used with caution, especially when the phenomenon under study is or could be influenced by instrumental factors or characteristics not always known, or if known, not easily individualised; such are the phenomena of sociology, since the reasons for their existence are found in the complex causal system which characterise social reality.

N. FEDERICI (University of Rome)

CONTRIBUTION DE LA DEMOGRAPHIE À LA COMPREHENSION DES PHENOMÈNES SOCIAUX

On peut parler des phénomènes démographiques comme de phénomènes sociaux primaires. Mais l'importance de la Démographie pour la Sociologie ne ressort pas seulement de ce fait; on doit surtout la rechercher dans le caractère même de la Démographie. En effet, elle est un pont jeté de la Biologie à la Sociologie et représente donc un puissant moyen de recherche des liens reciproques entre les facteurs biologiques et les facteurs sociaux.

Pour évaluer l'influence des facteurs démographiques sur l'évolution des structures sociales il suffit de rappeler les conséquences sociales qui descendent du fait que certains groupes de population ont un accroissement moindre que celui d'autres groupes. C'est un phénomène démographique qui provoque des changements

internes de structure dans la population d'un Etat et qui, par ce fait même, peut influer sur la psychologie sociale, aussi bien que sur les tendances politiques, religieuses, culturelles, etc. et, par conséquent, sur les structures sociales.

La même phénomène, transféré sur le plan territorial, donne lieu, sous certaines conditions, aux déplacements de population dont les conséquences démographiques, économiques et sociologiques sont nombreuses.

L'étude des tendances que l'on peut observer dans le différent accroissement des groupes représente sans doute aujourd'hui une recherche du plus haut intérêt sociologique, soit au point de vue des causes qui modifient ces tendances soit pour évaluer les effets sociaux qui peuvent en ressortir.

En dehors d'un phénomène particulier, toute étude visant à l'analyse du mouvement démographique et des caractères de structure des populations (sexe, âge, profession, situation sociale, religion, race, nationalité, etc.) aide puissamment à la compréhension de plusieurs phénomènes sociaux, comme c'est le cas, par exemple, pour les tensions sociales, pour les phénomènes d'assimilation culturelle et, en général, pour tous les phénomènes d'intégration sociale.

GIOVANNI LASORSA (University of Bari)

TENDANCES DE PHÉNOMÈNES QUI MODIFIENT LES FORCES SOCIALES: TENDANCES DES "FORCES DE TRAVAIL"

L'Auteur considère les changements survenus dans le nombre et dans la composition des forces de travail, pendant les dix derniers ans, en plusieurs pays. Cela afin d'étudier les rapports entre tels changements et ceux d'autres facteurs des "forces sociales" à légard de divers pays et en particulier de l'Italie.

A cet effet il considère dans pays différents les rapports entre structure de "forces de travail" (selon profession, rang hiérarchique professionnel et d'autres caractères) et la structure de la population totale, et encore les rapports entre le revenu de groupes choisis d'ouvriers et le revenu national.

Les séries historiques éditées par l'Institut Central de Statistique italien et les recherches développées par le Prof. Livi consentent d'examiner les changements susdits plus profondément pour l'Italie et pour autres pays où les recherches ont été poursuivies par organismes internationaux, et surtout par le Bureau International du Travail.

H. V. MUHSAM (The Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE AND FERTILITY

Marital adjustment has been shown in the Indianapolis Study to be correlated negatively with family size and positively with success in controlling fertility. But it is not known whether marital adjustment in a very general way or its specific aspects connected with family planning has an effect on the procreative behaviour of a couple. Communication between spouses can be assumed to be an important component of marital adjustment; it is at the same time relatively easy to ascertain, whether such communication actually takes place. The results of certain field studies in this area, carried out in Puerto Rico and India, suggest that it would be worth while to test a hypothesis of the type: communication between husband and wife in matters of family planning is a determining factor of the success of such planning.

Yet it seems necessary to define exactly what should be called *communication* in the field of family planning, and which *subjects* of such communication should be considered relevant to the problem. The reasons for the absence of communication represents also an important subject of study.

Thus, a considerable amount of concept formation and related theoretical research is needed, before a hypothesis of the suggested type can be submitted to a field test.

CALVIN F. SCHMID (Office of Population Research, University of Washington)
*DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL CORRELATES OF CRIME AREAS IN THE
LARGE AMERICAN CITY*

The major objective of this paper is to describe with a high degree of specificity the relationship between crime areas in the urban community and a large number of meaningful demographic, economic, and housing variables. Moreover, in full recognition of the nexus between the demographic-ecological structure of the community, and the social processes and social systems encompassed by it, an effort is made to search out and interpret the more significant social and cultural determinants and dimensions of crime areas.

The city selected for study is Seattle, Washington. In 1950, it had a population of 467,591 and ranked third in size to Los Angeles and San Francisco in the entire western portion of the United States.

The basic data include two series of crime statistics, "offenses known to the police" and "arrests," totaling over 100,000 cases along with detailed demographic, economic and housing indices from the 1950 decennial census. In attempting to determine the spatial configuration of crime, over 30 different categories were analyzed according to census tracts.

A 38×38 correlation matrix, based on 20 crime indices and 18 demographic, economic and housing variables was derived. This matrix was factor-analyzed by the principal axis technique. Eight factors were extracted and retained for orthogonal rotation.

Factor I loads highest on items that reflect *strong family life and new, growing, cohesive neighborhoods*. In areas of this kind, crime rates are low, and by the same token in contrasting areas, crime rates are high.

Factor II is indicative of *high occupational status* which is associated with low crime rates.

Factor III identifies areas with high proportions of *unemployed men* where there is a high incidence of drunkenness, vagrancy, sex offences, disorderly conduct, burglary, and suicide.

Factor IV indicates a high loading on *spatial mobility*. Areas with high mobility show relatively high rates of crime for check fraud, shop lifting, burglary of residence and theft from automobiles.

Factors V, VI and VII do not reflect sharp and significant loadings except between certain types of crimes.

Factor VIII indicates a linkage between a high proportion of *Negroes* and robbery of person and burglary of residence.

CALVIN F. SCHMID and SANTO FRANK CAMILLERI (University of Washington), MAURICE DONALD VAN ARSDOL (University of Southern California), and EARLE H. MacCANNELL (San Diego State College)

*FACTOR ANALYSIS OF DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL AREAS BASED ON
A SAMPLE OF TEN LARGE AMERICAN CITIES*

An important interest of the demographer, sociologist, geographer, and economist in the social morphology of the urban community. The morphological approach conceives the city as a mosaic of many diverse segments, each with its own more or less distinctive demographic, economic, and social characteristics. These seg-

ments are referred to variously as "natural areas," "social areas," or "demographic areas." Although during the past few decades many studies have attempted to describe and classify urban areas, it is only in recent years that quantitative taxonomies or typologies have been constructed.

Three basic procedures have been utilized in developing typologies of this kind: (1) ranking systems, (2) cluster analysis, and (3) factor analysis.

Our present research is concerned with the development of typologies based on a factorial analysis of a sample of ten large American cities involving 15 demographic, social, and economic variables.

The principal axis technique was applied to the data, and the various factors were rotated orthogonally. Certain more or less distinct types of areas were differentiated in terms of factor loadings. Since this analysis is still in process, the following characterizations are to be considered tentative.

Factor 1 indicates a marked loading in terms of low income, low educational status, high proportion of unskilled laborers, low percentage of professional workers and proprietors, managers and officials, and relatively large proportion of dwelling units without central heating and mechanical refrigeration. This dimension clearly indicates *socio-economic status*. Other factor loadings common to all ten cities differentiate areal types with dimensions pertaining to *family life, ethnic segregation, and labor force*. In addition there are other dimensions, but at this stage of analysis they cannot be described specifically. Also, there seems to be a very limited number of factors that characterize only a few of the ten cities.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

Au cours des trois séances qui ont eu lieu les 9 et 10 septembre sur les rapports existants entre la sociologie et la démographie, treize communications ont été discutées. Quoique certains membres soient absents mention de leurs communications a été faite dans le rapport du président et dans les commentaires des autres participants.

Parmi les communications présentées celle de Madame Nora Federici sur la contribution de la démographie à la compréhension des phénomènes sociaux mérite d'être spécialement mentionnée. Ce rapport étudie l'importance que la démographie occupe dans l'ensemble des études de sociologie générale positive, en tant que pont jeté entre l'anthropométrie et la biologie dont les phénomènes peuvent être considérés comme des faits sociologiques primaires. Cette conception s'accorde avec celle exprimée par le Président, le Professeur Livi, dans sa communication. En effet, indépendamment de l'apport de chaque sociologie particulière, la sociologie générale positive semble naître de la collaboration entre la démographie, l'anthropologie, la biologie, etc.

Parmi les autres communications qui n'ont pas été discutées à cause de l'absence de leurs auteurs mais qui ont été prises en considération par le président, il y eut celle du Professeur D'Agata intitulée "The Relevance of Statistical Representations of Population and Sociology" traitant principalement des questions méthodologiques et celle du Professeur Giovanni Schiepis intitulée "Contribution of

Demography to Researches on Electoral Sociology": cette dernière montre l'importance de la connaissance de la structure démographique d'un pays afin de mieux comprendre le phénomène électoral. Le président a également mentionné comme particulièrement intéressante la communication du Professeur Michele Marotta intitulée "Biotypes et classes sociales dans une société relativement isolée" qui a présenté un essai d'explication sur le rapport causal entre la structure corporelle et la position sociale. Ce rapport causal—déjà mis en évidence dans d'autres études et dont l'action se conjugue à celle de plusieurs autres facteurs qui peuvent influencer simultanément la structure corporelle et la position sociale, facteurs tels que les mélanges ethniques, l'alimentation, le milieu, etc.—acquiert dans le travail du Professeur Marotta une valeur particulière du fait que son étude concerne une population très pure, isolée et homogène comme c'est le cas de la population de la Sardaigne.

En ce qui concerne les autres communications présentées et qui ont donné lieu à des commentaires nombreux et souvent à des discussions vivantes, le président a fait remarquer qu'elles pourraient se diviser en deux groupes selon que celles-ci soulignent l'importance et l'influence que la démographie a eue dans la formation de la sociologie ou bien, inversement, d'après l'importance que les connaissances sociologiques ont eues pour le progrès de la démographie.

Dans le premier groupe des travaux considérés au cours des séances du 9 septembre on a surtout discuté le rapport présenté par Calvin Schmid et d'autres auteurs sur "Demographic and Social Correlates of Crime Areas in the Large American Cities". Dans ce rapport, fondé sur l'expérience d'une grande ville américaine, l'auteur a distingué les zones de la ville en fonction de la tendance particulière des habitants à la délinquance, en étudiant par ailleurs les caractéristiques économiques et le milieu. Cette enquête montre les avantages que la criminologie peut tirer de la démographie et des sciences connexes.

D'autre part, le Dr. Alessandro Lehner dans son étude intitulée "Social Mobility in a Rural Municipality" a examiné le volume de la mobilité sociale dans une petite ville de province en comparaison avec celle de l'ensemble du pays et des zones plus urbanisées. Il en a conclu que le volume de la mobilité sociale de classe à classe est directement proportionnel à l'urbanisation et qu'un tel mouvement s'intensifie dans la partie médiane de la pyramide sociale et diminue aux extrêmes. Ce sont des études importantes parce qu'elles permettent pour la première fois la comparaison des mesures de ces mouvements se vérifiant dans des milieux différents. Il s'agit de l'application d'une méthode déjà proposée il y a plusieurs années par le Professeur Livi.

La relation qui existe entre les conditions démographiques et les aspects sociologiques se révèle nettement dans l'étude présentée par le Professeur Giovanni Lasorsa. Son rapport intitulé "Tendances des

phénomènes qui modifient les faces sociales : les tendances des forces de travail" a mis en évidence l'influence indiscutable des manifestations profondes qui sont en train de se développer dans la structure de la population active en Italie pour ce qui concerne la situation professionnelle. Ces manifestations profondes ont eu et auront dans l'avenir une influence indiscutable en accentuant ou bien diminuant la force de cohésion de certaines structures sociales. Un problème analogue a été traité dans le rapport présenté par MM. Jack P. Gibbs et W. T. Martin intitulé "Social Structure and Labour Force Participation by Age for Males" et exposé par W. T. Martin. Cette étude tout en n'étant pas encore accompagnée de données statistiques originales démontre le fait que lorsqu'on monte le degré de l'évolution sociale, la proportion des personnes exerçant une activité professionnelle en relation aux personnes qui sont en âge d'exercer une profession diminue. Le président a fait remarquer que la thèse rejoint et développe une conception démographique et sociologique déjà exprimée par le sociologue et démographe Rodolfo Benini il y a 50 ans.

Si les propositions ci-dessus montrent plutôt combien la démographie peut stimuler les études sociologiques, les propositions développées au cours de la séance du 9 septembre dans l'après-midi et au cours de la séance du 10 septembre prouvent plutôt l'importance que les connaissances et les conditions sociologiques peuvent avoir pour les travaux démographiques.

C'est le cas du rapport présenté par M. Raymond Illsley intitulé "Socio-medical Significance of Demographic Categories" qui se base sur la collaboration combinée d'obstétriciens, de gynécologues et d'anthropologues. En utilisant les résultats auxquels on est parvenu à Aberdeen au cours d'une expérience de dix années, ce rapport arrive à l'explication et à la précision de certains caractères des groupes démographiques. Sur ce même thème se développe le rapport de M. F. M. Martin intitulé "Social Implications of Recent Mortality Trends in Britain" qui a suscité un grand intérêt. Un grand intérêt a également été suscité par le deuxième rapport présenté par Calvin Schmid et autres auteurs intitulé "Factor Analysis of Demographic and Social Areas based on a Sample of the Large American Cities". Ce rapport consiste à appliquer l'analyse factorielle aux conditions démographiques et sociales des zones urbaines des grandes villes américaines.

Sur un tout autre plan se situe le rapport présenté par le Dr. H. V. Muhsam relatif à l'importance que peut avoir la recherche exclusivement sociologique pour l'interprétation des faits démographiques. A cet effet il a cité quelques recherches relatives aux accords préalables et aux attitudes des époux à l'égard du contrôle des naissances et de leur planification (arguments de caractère sociologique) en vue de considérer par la suite combien les résultats démographiques reflètent en fait de tels antécédents (problème de caractère démographique).

Un autre exemple de la contribution de la sociologie à la démographie a été exprimé de façon très vivante dans l'importante communication du Professeur Kurt Mayer intitulée "Fertility Forecasts in the United States". Dans ce rapport l'auteur a abordé une interprétation du fait le plus extraordinaire qui soit posé à l'attention des démographes, à savoir le fait de la reprise normale de taux de natalité qui s'est vérifié aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique depuis la fin de la guerre. Le Professeur Mayer lie ce fait extraordinaire à des facteurs exclusivement sociologiques qui sont à la base de la transformation de l'équilibre social—tendant à un nivellement des diverses classes sociales—constaté depuis 25 ans. Cet équilibre a opéré sur la natalité de la même manière qu'ont opérés les équilibres sociologiques qui se sont vérifiés de l'époque coloniale jusqu'à nos jours. La thèse du Professeur Mayer a été la cause d'une discussion très vive au cours de laquelle des doutes et des accords ont été exprimés. Le président rappelle les autres conceptions sociologiques qui ont été adoptées par les intellectuels italiens pour expliquer le renouveau de la natalité: il pense que les constatations faites tout en restant acceptables, n'infirment pas la valeur des hypothèses du Professeur Mayer et il souhaite qu'une collaboration internationale pour contrôler l'hypothèse même et pour rechercher des autres facteurs éventuellement liés à celle-ci puisse arriver à expliquer le comportement différent que la hausse de la natalité a produit dans les autres pays.

En guise de conclusion nous exprimons la conviction que le travail de la section a soulevé des points qui pourraient constituer l'object de développements nouveaux et d'une collaboration internationale entre les différents pays. Ce travail a sûrement conduit à de bons résultats. Une indication de l'intérêt qu'ont suscités les divers rapports présentés se retrouve dans le fait que de nombreuses personnes ont intervenues dans la discussion, à savoir, MM. C. SCHMID (Etats-Unis), K. MAYER (Etats-Unis), C. F. WESTOFF (Etats-Unis), G. LASORSA (Italie), P. K. WHELPTON (Etats-Unis), A. CALLE (Colombie), R. ILLSLEY (Grande Bretagne), H. V. MUHSAM (Israël), H. S. SHRYOCK (Etats-Unis), W. J. GIBBONS (Etats Unis), V. WHITNEY (Etats-Unis), F. LORIMER (Etats-Unis), C. PANUNZIO (Etats-Unis), SUTMAN (Israël), S. SOMOGYI (Italie), A. LEHNER (Italie), G. P. FRANZEV (URSS), W. T. MARTIN (Etats-Unis), F. M. MARTIN (Grande Bretagne), d'autres et évidemment le Professeur Livi.

M. DE VERGOTTINI.

SECTION II(1)h

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO SOCIAL WELFARE PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION

Chairman: Mr. HENNING FRIIS

(Danish National Institute of Social Research)

Rapporteur: Professor A. J. KAHN (New York School of Social Work)

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

DONALD R. CRESSEY (University of California, Los Angeles)

ORGANISATIONAL THEORY AND PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION IN THE TREATMENT-ORIENTED PRISON

Types of organization which have been studied in a variety of settings can all be studied in prisons, where employee roles are integrated in military-type hierarchies designed to keep inmates, factory-type systems designed to use inmates, and professional or service bureaucracies designed to treat inmates. But in some respects prisons differ significantly from other organizations. Policy must be shared with workers rather than simply diffused downward in a chain of command, for the "worker" in the prison also "manages," in a concordant system of regulations the inmates in his charge. Also, the presence of three types of organization gives the prison unrelated and contradictory goals.

Research in an institution in which administrators were "professionals" and attempted to achieve a treatment or service goal in the presence of productive and custodial hierarchies indicates that one important effect of utilising an individualistic clinical, theory of treatment is neutralization of "bureaucratic" authority of rank without replacement by professional, technical, authority. Neither a system of evaluating workers on the basis of the degree to which they conform to explicit work procedures, nor a system of evaluating them on the basis of the degree to which they produce a standardized end-product could be used. A "pattern of indulgence" develops.

SJOERD GROENMAN (Netherlands)

ACTUAL RESEARCH WITHIN THE FIELD OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY IN THE NETHERLANDS

The paper is divided into two parts. One part deals with theoretical considerations, the other with the actual situation in the Netherlands. Mention is made of the conspicuous growth of the number of research institutes in the Netherlands after World War II. Examples are given of actual research projects that have brought a redefinition of a social problem as an effect of the sociological analysis. The paper deals also with the roles of applied sociology and with the desirability of independent scientific research. Crucial problems today are the smooth contact with administrators and especially the need for basic research.

Where applied sociological research is of old date, e.g., for physical planning, the danger is great that it will enter a cul de sac and will be no more than a routine business.

GWYNN NETTLER (Community Council of Houston and Harris County)

IDEOLOGY AND WELFARE POLICY

Welfare programs are often formulated by persons whose social perceptions differ from those who will execute them; someone's plans are thereby apt to be frustrated.

As part of a Child Welfare Study, differences in attitudes affecting welfare policy were measured and found to be linked with occupation and, hence, with status as a welfare policy-maker or policy-executor. These attitudinal differences are rooted in a basic premise about human behavior: "determinism," where this is defined as the assumption that character is a product, present behavior a result, and future behavior a predictable consequence of what the organism has experienced. And this attitude is related to the preferred methods of meeting "children's problems": (a) by treating or punishing behavioral deviations and (b) by tax or voluntary methods of financing. These three attitudes, in turn, are related to the perception of the adequacy of present welfare services.

In sum, these four attitudes form a complex, an ideology, that differentiates welfare policy-makers from policy-executors and which explains, in part, the frustration of group goals.

E. PUSIC (Yugoslavia)

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO SOCIAL WELFARE PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION IN YUGOSLAVIA

Social welfare services are performed in Yugoslavia by a system of widely decentralized, territorially as well as functionally, institutions and organizations coordinated at local, regional and central points by representative public bodies,

Sociological knowledge is centered in two kinds of institutions, purely scientific, such as departments of universities, Academies of Science and research institutes, and institutions with responsibilities for planning and, sometimes, for operations, conducting research with short range and more practically oriented aims.

The system of framework planning, through the long range and the yearly "Social Plans," creates a normal demand for sociological knowledge in the process of preparation of the plans, ultimately deliberated and voted upon by the National Assembly.

The general shift of accent towards the social elements of development creates a favorable atmosphere for the application of sociological knowledge to social policy and, specifically, to social welfare services and that application becomes more and more frequent.

The main problem in that situation is to create a systematic link between fundamental social research and practical social policy. A problem that can be fruitfully approached through the creation of autonomous research institutions endowed with a certain standing in the process of policy making.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

THE chairman, H. FRIIS, opened the discussion with a brief summary of his paper, noting that other paper-writers present would be accorded similar opportunity, since most of the papers prepared had not been circulated in advance. He suggested, too, that the group should not artificially limit itself to sociology, as distinguished from other relevant social sciences, and he mentioned some fields to which soci-

ologists have contributed, while they have ignored others. He proposed the following major subjects for the three sessions, and the listing was adopted by the group as an agenda:

- (1) Studies of social forces, attitudes, values which shape social welfare needs and developments.
—Institutional mechanisms promoting or hampering social welfare developments.
- (2) Studies of the living conditions of "normal" populations and studies of "problem" groups and their "needs".
- (3) Evaluation and measurement of the results of programmes and studies of programme "processes".
—Organizational studies.
- (4) The relationship between research, planning and administration.

Research, Planning and Administration

The discussion was introduced by Professor R. M. TITMUSS (U.K.), whose paper had not yet been circulated. Addressing himself to the question: "does social research have any bearing on social welfare?" the speaker noted that sociology is part of all knowledge and obviously has a contribution to make, since we ask planners and administrators to be intelligent and rational. This leads to the key question of who is to apply the knowledge. The subject of the training of administrators was beyond the scope of the discussion, he felt; in addition to having intelligent policy makers and administrators, we may also organize for application by assuring research services for policy makers. Professor Titmuss distinguished quantitative research (collection of objective facts) and qualitative research (assessment and evaluation). In his view, official bodies are suited for the former, not the latter. His paper illustrates the obstacles posed by official agencies. Whereas the United States and the United Kingdom have a profusion of independent university and private research institutes, people in less developed countries have a special problem in providing for such research.

D. R. CRESSEY (U.S.A.) stressed that the essential role of sociology in relation to social welfare planning and research is a research role, a fact-finding role. But fact-finding is, for the sociologist, based on theory. Professor Cressey illustrated with reference to the theory on which his paper draws. He preferred to talk of administrative research (qualitative or quantitative fact-finding) or sociological research (related to the development of theory). Professor Cressey strongly endorsed Professor Titmuss's comments about the problems faced by government and welfare agencies which would undertake research.

It is extremely difficult for an administrator to see a research problem or to devote energies to gaining broad perspective on his actions and their consequences. There are, too, organizational factors creating resistance to evaluative research. Nonetheless, at present, prisons, mental hospitals and industries in the United States have considerable interest in organizational studies and are having difficulty recruiting sociologists.

J. A. PONSOEN (Netherlands) agreed with the general point about the problems a government agency faces in doing research, but cited the excellent, objective Indian government evaluation of community development. He wondered to whom the private-institute researcher reports. Professor Cressey said that he reports to the profession, but administrators are permitted to see reports prior to publication. In general, sociologists are hired with the understanding they will report to the profession, and there are only occasional problems.

D. V. MCGRANAHAN (United Nations) felt that the Titmuss remarks needed qualifications which were probably in the written paper. Any scientific research has both qualitative and quantitative aspects. The speaker illustrated with reference to the need, in the United Nations, to assess and interpret statistical "facts" which are reported. Also, the speaker noted that certain kinds of reports must, by definition, be prepared by governmental, rather than private bodies. He illustrated with reference to the United Nations World Economic Report. He also cited the importance, under some circumstances, of permitting bureaucrats-administrators some rights and some control where reports are prepared by private agencies and individuals and have the potential, inadvertently, of causing damage or disseminating misinformation. Mr. McGranahan also wondered whether the Titmuss objections to certain types of research from *within* government actually held where relatively separate social research sections or institutes were set up within administrations. He cited an illustration in this direction.

Professor A. J. KAHN (U.S.A.) held that the quantitative-qualitative distinction was less useful than the distinction between research pointed chiefly toward administrative issues and research with basic social science objectives. He cited instances in which either type of research is able to exist under either governmental or university independent research structures. The objectives, values and priorities of the time seem to be more determining than auspices. He noted the importance of the gap between assembling the facts and application. Some of the professions (social work, education, social administration) believe they have special competence for this task. Few administrators would agree that they can function effectively without awareness of the on-going process.

J. D. REYNAUD (France) spoke of the application of the results of research in practice and application in planning. To fail to understand this is to confuse responsibility to the profession and responsibility to a single administration. LOUIS MOSS (U.K.) commented that administrators are often not lacking in information, but must accept the fact that politicians elected by the people make policy—and not the civil servants. The political atmosphere sometimes makes it quite difficult to do certain research from within the government.

ANGELO PAGANI (Italy) noted that one could apply to the social welfare field some of the notions prevalent in the current consideration of the relationship between policy makers and scientists. It is helpful to distinguish, with Myrdal, between practical and theoretical research. Particularly relevant here is the practical research category. In this field a researcher cannot be neutral. He cannot truly advise policy makers unless he identifies with their value premises. Both of Myrdal's types require a theoretical framework and good research technology, but the distinction is whether or not value premises are essential.

Studies of Social Forces, Values, Attitudes

In introducing this phase of the discussion, H. Friis summarized the remarks in his paper relating to study of social forces, attitudes and values shaping both social welfare needs and programme development. J. A. Ponsioen urged study of the process by which various religious groups had moved from a concept that being rich or poor, wise or stupid, was a matter of fate assigned by God, and not challengeable, to the concept that one may take one's fate in one's own hands and deal with problems of poverty, illness, ignorance. Some religious groups have not made this transition, and it would be valuable to understand the process.

Louis Moss was surprised at the comment on the basis of his experience in Ceylon and India. The matter would seem to need more thought. Have not the motivations in some of the instances cited been political, not religious? Mr. Ponsioen explained that he had not meant that the governments cited were religiously motivated but, rather, that the evaluation of religious attitudes must be studied since such attitudes often enter into public resistance to programmes.

Professor Kahn summarized the situation in the United States with reference to items 1 and 2 on the agenda and spoke of how many of the things originally incorporated in social surveys had been "institutionalized" in governmental statistical reports. The interest had not decreased, but now social surveys could be quite specialized. He outlined recent American studies of community power structure, conflict, voluntary associations and attitudes to social welfare. The latter

often reveal a low level of information and low evaluation of social welfare professionals—a matter of some concern. In general, American social welfare research has a stronger programme in agenda items 1 and 2 than in relation to evaluation.

At this point J. D. Reynaud summarized the first section of his paper, which had not been circulated in advance. He ended by posing the problems arising from a situation in which social welfare developments are often based on the initiative of administrators who are ahead of public opinion in their thinking about programmes.

Elaborating Mr. Reynaud's thesis in his paper, Mr. McGranahan noted that, as the state takes over welfare functions from private individuals, the charity concept disappears and a legislative "right" is created, unless the government is very paternalistic. Some governments make this transition rapidly, without access to resources or administrative machinery; the result may be either meaningless "paper rights" or a very heavy burden on the economy. The case is thus strengthened for integrated social welfare and economic development.

MRS. WINIFRED MOSS (U.K.) reported on her studies dealing with attitudes toward social welfare services in England. These studies indicate that different groups do not differ too much in their attitudes to social welfare. More important than occupational differences in attitudes to social services are the differences between families with many children (who are consequently most appreciative of the network of services) and those with one child or no children.

Commenting on the discussion, the chairman, H. Friis, noted the need for dynamic, analytical studies of social welfare developments. While acknowledging the recent work of Titmuss and of Wilensky and Lebeaux, he felt that the field was generally ignored. Moreover, although studies of attitudes, values, goals exist, more would be fruitful; special attention should be given to comparisons between consumer and policy-maker attitudes.

Studies of Living Conditions

A. PAGANI began with a summary of his paper "Poverty Line Re-considered". In opening the discussion, Louis Moss agreed that the weakness of the earlier social surveys had been summarized. He believed, however, that necessary methodological revisions had been made. Since the paper had not been received by most participants, he depended on the summary; but he agreed that one should not consider a limited population sample to define a standard in setting the poverty line for social assistance. Data for the whole population should be used in setting norms. Have not the sampling surveys of the last 50 years, permitting partial or total population sampling, achieved this? The bigger question has to do with what information

is relevant to the question of whether people are actually impoverished. We tend now to make specialized, intensive studies of aspects of the whole (i.e. morbidity) rather than single studies dealing with the whole question of deprivation. The alternative approach, not used since the household budget study, is to build the base on a detailed study of expenditures. Government and academic economists, concerned with demand analyses, have tended to develop this method. Thus, it is not correct to say that survey techniques have not been developing; rather, sociologists are not using all that which exists by way of method.

Professor Kahn commented on the extent to which current statistical series by governmental agencies, as well as special expenditure studies, meet many of the objectives of the earlier broad social surveys. The supplementary surveys are therefore, quite appropriately, more narrow and specialized, in his view.

J. A. Ponsioen spoke of forces in society which lead us to give less attention, at this time, to poverty as a social problem. Various groups in society were cited as less prepared to look at this problem. H. Friis provided an illustration relative to one of the less-developed countries in which the results of a poverty study could not be a welfare tool. The social security rates had to be set in relation to the wage level not in relation to the findings about minimum budgets. He noted, too, that countries in which social security and social assistance benefits assure a "rock bottom" well above the Rowntree level are less interested in poverty studies. Others (i.e., the Italians) are very much in the midst of the problem, hence the call for a new look at poverty studies. Some years ago, in the *British Journal of Sociology*, Peter Townsend pointed out that to define a poverty line without attention to actual living patterns is obviously incorrect; therefore, in this process, the sociologist should study living patterns and aspirations.

PETER TOWNSEND (U.K.) agreed, broadly, with the H. Friis comments. He felt that Dr. Pagani had done a service in asking why there were no significant poverty studies since World War II. Despite his agreement with much that Mr. Moss had said, Mr. Townsend felt that sampling surveys were not a substitute for the earlier surveys. Of course, the matter could be argued at length. The issue is not one of adequate mechanisms to collect facts, but of the way in which facts are integrated with reports. P. Townsend cited a series of illustrations to explain his concern at the growing insensitivity to problems of definition and to the way of life behind the facts. One further problem arises from the low status of interviewers and how this affects the accuracy of facts assembled; another derives from the failure of those who plan surveys from offices to remember what household life is like. Finally, the interpretation process often does not get enough attention in the survey.

Mr. Pagani felt that some of the comments would be satisfied by a full reading of his paper. He favours using the new techniques, but since poverty has not disappeared, the survey is needed. The starting point should be a community study of values influencing attitudes toward need. Such studies are more useful than national studies using sampling techniques. When an income level is announced as defining the poverty line, it should mean something quite specific in relation to a pattern of living.

Studies of Results and Effectiveness

The chairman summarized, from his paper, the current interest in studies of effectiveness of social welfare programmes and the lack of a sufficient number of precise studies in this category.

Professor R. N. SAKSENA (India) summarized his paper, stressing the difference between the evaluation of welfare activities in industrialized countries, which emphasize the professional methods of case-work and group work, and evaluation of mass programmes, such as community development, where the objective is directed toward social change. What are to be the criteria : expenditure and activity ; or people's participation ; or local acceptance and initiative ? These would yield different results. Social science might have helped in the planning ; it is certainly essential to evaluation.

D. V. McGranahan emphasized the importance of this topic to the United Nations ; the General Assembly and the Social and Economic Council always request evaluation of technical assistance programmes undertaken. The experience to date suggests that the science of evaluation needs further development. A good specific question obtains answers (i.e., how many were served?). But where a broad programme is to be evaluated, the matter is complex. Today, the view often is that rigorous, quantitative techniques are not applicable and a team of experts is sent in to make a report. The team may include social scientists. Studies of community development are sometimes in the first category, sometimes in the second. There is the problem that many other major factors may intervene in the situation toward which community development is directed. The "cause" of change may be good leadership rather than the specific programme. There are political problems in the way of designating some areas as unserved "control" areas. Despite the obstacles, the Indian evaluation services are most impressive. Evaluation has been built-in. Social scientists have been used, but more are needed. D. V. McGranahan added, in relation to use of people's participation as a criterion of success, that where there is no land reform, participation seems limited. Some people make the case for a degree of required service in community development and do not agree that voluntary participation is adequate—or a sufficient criterion.

RONALD YEN-LIN CHENG (Taiwan) felt that one could not talk of evaluation without prior clarity as to how ends and means are rated and weighed. Some stress means (industrialization) and others the ends (better life). To give verbal recognition of both may mean nothing. Mr. Ponsioen cautioned against perfectionism in data collection where simple things are adequate and possible. P. J. KUUSI (Finland), illustrating the point that more precise evaluation is possible where a more delimited programme is in focus, summarized the experience of a programme for evaluation of government alcohol sales policies in Finland. Often a programme's objectives are behavioural changes, and these are more readily measured than attitude and value shifts. The Finnish study looked at work habits, recreation habits, and so on. This is not difficult if there is clarity as to what is relevant. The alcoholism study has, in fact, been able to use experimental research designs and Mr. Kuusi's experience would suggest their applicability to other social welfare fields.

Professor Kahn said that he could not speak of evaluation of broad community programmes but had interest in and conviction about the possibilities of evaluation of more narrowly defined service programmes and professional processes. He discussed some of the possibilities, problems and current studies under four headings: (1) *Goals and values*—Much of the debate about evaluative studies derives from goal confusion or conflict. One cannot begin evaluative studies without consensus here. Lay advisory committees often play a crucial role in goal definition in social welfare evaluative studies; (2) *The programme or process*—We now understand that a goal evaluative study begins with specification of the measures being tested. In the past, these were often taken for granted. If the results did not show success, the authors considered the method a failure, yet in at least one well-publicized study the "treatment" did not meet professional standards; (3) *The measuring instruments*—Once stimulus and goals are clear, we may concern ourselves with measurement. These are major problems, but they can be dealt with in current social research technology; (4) *Control*—This is the most complex problem, yet without "controls" or "control groups" our evaluative studies are never definitive. A. Kahn outlined a series of studies in which control groups were possible and did not create ethical problems since either there was serious difference of opinion as to which of several measures was best or because, under any circumstances, only part of the population could be served. He urged that available opportunities be used in this way.

Studies of Organizational Structures and Processes

In this context, organizational analysis was discussed as one phase of specification of the stimulus in the programme under study. Pro-

fessor D. R. Cressey talked in general terms about this approach since his paper had not yet reached most of the participants. He noted that organizational studies (apart from their contribution to sociological theory) are of interest in specifying the process in more detail. Beginning with the Weber and Durkheim notions about the determinations of behaviour by social relationships and group membership, organizational studies study such relationships, looking at the business, hospital, prison or factory as a "small society". In addition to looking at staff-client relationships, such studies examine the relationships between the several levels of staff, and are concerned with both formal and informal organization of the "small society". He illustrated the approach by drawing upon his own prison research, described in his paper, and on the work of others in industrial studies. The researcher, as observer, is particularly interested in unanticipated consequences of formal and informal organizational patterns. Social welfare studies reveal that recipients often refuse to follow the formal rules and react in interesting ways.

D. R. Cressey also discussed the conflicts between authority of rank and authority of the professional and what occurred, in a prison, when they were in conflict and neutralized the activity of custodial personnel. Dr. Ponsioen said that European organizational studies should not be underestimated. Two major problems are disclosed; too many services are organized in accord with symptoms or limited aspects of human life and this is dysfunctional. Multi-purpose or multi-disciplinary agencies are needed. Social welfare programmes often suffer a lack of adequate *formal* organization rather than being troubled by excessive informal structures. A. Kahn spoke of current United States alertness to these issues and his own concern, in the field of children's services, with service integration and co-ordination. D. V. McGranahan spoke of discussion in the United Nations of *concerted* and *co-ordinated* measures. He posed several methodological questions in relation to organizational studies. In replying and closing the session, D. R. Cressey said that some of the social welfare fragmentation arises from the lack of scientific impact and confusion about the causes of problems. He feels some of the lack of formal organization derives from confusion in goal definition. Finally, while current organizational studies are in a long sociological tradition, they seek new kinds of data and deal with new problems.

ALFRED J. KAHN.

SECTION II(1)i

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH IN UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Chairman: Professor G. DE MARIA (University "L. Bocconi", Milan)

Rapporteur: Professor F. GUALTIEROTTI (State University of Milan)

Editorial Note—The Chairman originally appointed was unable to carry out his functions, and Professor De Maria assumed the responsibility at a late stage when it was impossible for him to prepare an introductory paper or to invite other written contributions. However, one meeting of the Section was devoted to problems of economic development in Italy, and for this an introductory paper by Professor Rossi-Doria was available. It was originally published as an introduction to a symposium on *Aspetti e problemi sociali dello sviluppo economica in Italia* (Editori Laterza, Bari, 1959), which was specially prepared for the Congress by the Italian Organising Committee. An English version of the paper is published below. This is followed by a general report on the discussions in the Section.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ITALY

M. ROSSI-DORIA
(University of Naples)

1. *The history of sociological studies in Italy*

At the turn of the century, Italy had found itself, if not yet in the vanguard, then at least in a position of considerable importance in the field of sociology. In the field of theory, several valuable contributions had been made, and some of them still influence the modern social sciences to a great extent. In the field of research moreover, developments had been carried much further, and their influence was evident in official documents, and in the thinking of groups of scholars in the social sciences, as well as in the institutional developments of the time. These, through the growth of social legislation and of co-operatives and associations, undoubtedly opened a way to further sociological enquiry.

Those acquainted with Italian history of the last fifty years must, however, recognize that even before the first world war these conditions, relatively favourable to sociological thinking and research, had already come to an end, and their lack became more and more clearly marked after that period.

This change is generally attributed to a purely philosophical in-

fluence: in the first place, the criticism, and then the overthrow of the so-called positivistic school by the so-called idealistic and historical schools. There is no doubt that this had, at least in the beginning, an important role in the decline of interest in sociology; however, the slackening of interests needs further explanation and is certainly based on more deep-seated causes, especially during the inter-war period, when sociological thinking and methods developed to a much greater extent in other countries.

Though it is not within the scope of this report to analyse these factors, we can mention three of them which may help to clarify the influences at work.

During the last 50 years, Italy has been the scene of a deep and prolonged political crisis, in the face of which the opposing forces, not being able to act through democratic channels were expressed in the form of opposing ideologies, Marxist, catholic, liberal, nationalistic and fascist; these movements proved for the most part, not conducive to the development of sociological research; thus, we might add, indirectly confirming the organic relation between sociology and political democracy.

In the twenty years between the two wars, the fascist regime on the one hand closed our country to foreign influence, effectively interrupting that continuous exchange of experiences and ideas, which is the only way of making progress in sociological research; and on the other, systematically attempted to repress the internal unrest of the country, transferring to the nationalistic level any social tensions which could have stimulated interest in sociological analysis.

Finally, in that period, the economic development of the country, which was rapid until the end of the first world war, entered a phase which modern economists call stagnation. This is in itself detrimental to sociological research, the latter progressing best in countries having a rapid economic and social development.

2. *The causes and character of their recent revival.*

The years following the second world war, in our country as in others, had the opposite characteristic to the ones we have just indicated. The restoration of a democratic regime and of the fundamental liberties of the citizens—though it has not yet brought about a stable political situation—has reopened discussion and thus shown the need for a sociological analysis of political struggles. Renewal of contact with other countries, particularly the United States, Great Britain and France, has revealed the extent of their sociological studies and has initiated the exchange of ideas with those countries where sociology has taken on a particular importance in the last decades. But the interest in sociological analysis has spread principally in rela-

tion to the deep economic and social changes which the country has undergone in all its social strata. They have been caused, firstly by the war and by inflation, and secondly by the economic recovery of the last years. After years of silence or of official propaganda the country has thus had suddenly revealed the complexity of its structure and the reality of its many unsolved problems.

It is not surprising that in these conditions, which sprang up suddenly, sociological analysis, before being set in the form of strict scientific research, was expressed in the form of art and journalistic inquiries. There has been a world-wide recognition of the sociological significance of many works of recent Italian literature and of many films of the so-called Italian neo-realist school. These were the most popular products of a wider movement, whose minor manifestations have often had a more definite sociological value.

These comments on the non-scientific forms which were taken by the new interest in sociological analysis, may be helpful in explaining to non-Italians two characteristics of present-day Italian sociology: the great importance it gives to the contributions of persons of the most varied origin and cultural background and the lack of importance it still has in the academic world, i.e. in the universities.

Both characteristics, while on the one hand explaining the many deficiencies of theory, method and teaching of sociological research in Italy, on the other probably help to give it a vitality which sometimes seems lacking in other countries where scientific evolution has reached high levels of theoretical and methodological refinement.

In any case, it is in relation to these characteristics that some recent manifestations of Italian sociology can be explained: the constitution in 1957 of the "Associazione Italiana di Scienze Sociali", open to whoever shows any interest in this kind of study, the first convention of the Association in 1958, from whose published reports it is possible to see the variety of viewpoints expressed on sociological research; and the way in which this group has chosen to present itself at this International Congress. Both the theme under discussion and the qualifications of the co-ordinator and general rapporteur, have significance here; the latter is an agrarian economist with a lively interest in sociological research, and not a sociologist with all the scientific attributes the title implies.

3. Criteria followed in the choice of the topics

After the above considerations, it would be superfluous to give justifications for the choice of the theme for study on the part of the Italian group.

Because of the recent revival of sociological research it is still haphazard, and poorly developed. Consequently it seemed advisable to

call together a certain number of scholars in order to ask them to give, not contributions on some popular topic, but a clear definition of the limits of the field in which they will be called to work in the coming years.

Italian society, after the second world war, has entered a phase of rapid internal transformations due to the considerable economic development of the country and to the new internal and international political situation in which it found itself. The revival of the systematic study of Italian society with its internal relationships, tensions and variations, in order to be scientifically valid must always take this development into account.

The collection of works to which this report is an introduction has been carried out as a collective task. Once a general plan had been laid down, based on the most important changes taking place, the various topics have been assigned to individual scholars chosen on the basis of their suitability ; each of them was then free to develop his theme on the basis of his own viewpoint.

We know very well that, in doing this, many social aspects of the transformations now in being have been neglected, while on some others observations of too general and "unscientific" a nature have been made ; the researches of some other scholars have also been neglected, and all the developments of theory and method which have been carried out in our country in these last years have been left out.

Nevertheless, we think that in this way our contributions will be more useful to this Congress, even though they be more modest, and in any case it will give foreigners a wider and truer picture of our country than if we had followed other criteria.

4. The history, scope and characteristics of economic development in Italy

It is not within the scope of this paper to go into a detailed analysis of the data and indices concerning Italian economic development after the Second World War as compared to those of the preceding periods. It seems more desirable, on the basis of these data, to put forward a series of considerations aiming to illustrate the characteristics both of earlier events and of recent developments.

(a) In the very first periods of our modern economic history—the final decades of the last century and the first twenty years of the present one (until 1925)—a continuous economic development took place, similar to that of other western countries, though with a slower rhythm and very unequally in various parts of the country. A substantially agricultural country, with a high demographic development,

was slowly becoming transformed thanks to a widespread, though small increase in farming production, a progressive improvement of civil equipment and a development of industries almost entirely located in the northern provinces. As a consequence of this unequal regional development, there had already emerged the great disequilibrium between the North, with a normal growth, and the South which was in a situation of great need and under-development, as can be seen from the mass emigration movement of the time.

(b) The twenty years of the inter-war period, notwithstanding the nationalistic boasts of the then prevailing Fascism, were on the contrary a period of complete economic stagnation. In effect, agricultural production had not increased in its total figures and had regressed in the South; the industrial production, if we compare the indices of 1922-25 with those of 1938-39, had remained the same; and the national income *per capita* had decreased as a consequence of the stagnation of the economy, the continuous increase in population and the arrested emigration movement. The origin of this stagnation, as is also partly true in the case of other European countries, is to be found in the great depression of 1930 and in the subsequent difficult recovery in a regime of economic autarchy and of preparation for war.

(c) Between 1940 and 1945, war brought our country material destruction and economic regression, particularly aggravated by the combined effect, firstly, of war economy, bombing, military occupation, active war, and secondly, of civil war. At the end, more than one third of the frail production structure had been destroyed, but damage was still worse in relation to the transport system and to some particular sectors of production (farm animals in agriculture, power-production plants in industry).

(d) Reconstruction in the immediate post-war years was particularly rapid and intense. In three to four years (from 1945 to 1948-49) it was possible in every sector to reach or surpass prewar production levels and, what is more, to create a production machine capable of rapid growth. The "miracle" of reconstruction in Italy took place, as is known, as a consequence of substantial American aid, but it was also helped by the reopening of trade outlets and even by inflation, which for some years gave to economic recovery an impulse it would be difficult to find in different monetary conditions. During the years of "reconstruction" there began those rapid transformations of social relationships and those movements of population which, still increasing, have profoundly changed and renewed Italian society. There were then broken down those conditions of social and economic "immobility" which had been the main characteristic of the preceding periods.

(e) The decade following "reconstruction", 1949-59, has been characterised by a conspicuous, general economic development. Confining ourselves to the period 1949-57, for which data are available, the national income has increased by 40 per cent., agricultural production by 25 per cent., and industrial production by more than 60 per cent. This economic development is differently distributed within the country, and has caused an increase of individual income and consumption, but also such an unequal distribution of these benefits as to speed up social mobility and to determine a different structure of society all over the country. In the volume presented by the Italian group, the individual aspects of economic development in Italy are dealt with in relation to these recent events.

(f) In the last ten years, a specific development policy has finally been established to meet the depression of the agricultural southern regions, which are considerably poorer because of the disequilibrium between natural resources and population. The so-called "southern question" already clearly detected at the end of the last century and artificially hidden throughout the Fascist period, has been recognized as a fundamental problem, detrimental to the economic and civil development of the whole country. It has been finally recognized that by counting solely on the spontaneous processes of economic development, the "South" not only could not progress sufficiently to bridge the initial gap of economic and social level dividing it from the North, but that this gap would be inevitably increased.

The specific intervention policy initiated in 1950 has therefore been mainly directed to creating the essentials for a more widespread and modern economic development by the twelve-year programme of the "*Cassa per il Mezzogiorno*". Secondly it has promoted better balanced social relations between the population of the rural areas by Land Reform; and attempted by its industrial policy to obtain a more rapid and consistent industrial development than that which can occur spontaneously.

(g) The seriousness of the economic and social situation of the country has been demonstrated in this decade by the incapacity to eliminate, notwithstanding the rapid economic development, the unemployment of about 9 per cent. of the labour force. The phenomenon of chronic unemployment stems, as is known, from two allied factors: the rapid increase of population and the accelerated exodus from the rural areas of underemployed and underpaid workers. In effect, the increase of population—more than 60 per cent. of which is concentrated in the Southern regions and is due to the effects of the high, though diminishing, birth-rate and the low death-rate of recent years—increases the labour force by 300,000 persons every year. The exodus from the rural areas also increases in proportion every year as a consequence of the previous accumulation in those

areas of redundant workers and of the growing gap between agricultural and industrial incomes. The figure of 2 million unemployed has therefore remained almost constant in the postwar period, notwithstanding the greater employment in secondary and tertiary activities of one-and-a-half million workers and the emigration of more than a million people.

However, unemployment is not static, but is the result of mass displacements of population from one occupation and from one region to another. We must particularly remember that the South, notwithstanding considerable internal progress, has seen the departure of the great number of emigrants to foreign countries and that there are 60,000-70,000 people a year who depart to the central and northern regions.

5. The social aspects of economic development

This long introduction was aimed at giving an historical and conceptual picture of the process of economic and social change upon which, in our opinion, the analysis and research of our sociologists should mainly be concentrated.

Having thus come to the central part of this report, it seems desirable to put forward several considerations of a more general nature.

As is obvious, the social aspects of economic development are infinite, especially in a country such as Italy which has environmental conditions varying so greatly from one region to another. In the face of the complexity of the task, the analysis developed in the work here presented has therefore confined itself to illuminating—in the most general terms and on the basis of the little material which is scientifically valid—only some of the more striking of the social aspects of present economic developments; these can be grouped under the following headings:

- (1) Changes in the rural areas and mass migration from the countryside.
- (2) Aspects and problems of urban development.
- (3) Specific aspects and problems of industrialisation
- (4) Characteristics and trends of the changes in customs.
- (5) New approaches to education and to professional training.

Other aspects of the transformation concerning the family, culture, religion, politics and community life in general, have been deliberately left out as they still need further study.

6. *Changes in the rural areas and mass migration from the country-side.*

The internal changes in the Italian rural areas have been very great after the war, and are continuing with an intensity and complexity which have not as yet been fully recognized. Though assuming, as is natural, different forms in each case, they all present some common characteristics because they stem from similar conditions.

The main characteristic of Italian agriculture in the past was that in the great majority of cases, the ownership of the land and often the responsibility for the enterprise was left in the hands of the small landed gentry. The organization of the enterprise and the social relations in the rural areas were therefore almost invariably dominated by the different forms of agrarian contracts (leases, share-cropping, partial tenancy on one hand, and wage-paying on the other) which kept the peasants in a situation of precarious dependence. This situation had already undergone a partial change in the past through a gradual formation of peasant ownership and increasing responsibility. However, since the war both processes have become so greatly accelerated as to cause a breakdown in the old structure, and the liquidation of many concerns previously running on the basis of wage-labour.

This process, far from being exhausted, is probably still in an initial stage, and we must foresee its continuation and development. The causes no longer lie in inflation and social unrest, as in the immediate post-war years, but in the general economic development of the country with the consequent rural exodus, as well as the diffusion of new farming techniques and the establishment of new markets.

In this collection of essays, these internal transformations of the rural areas are only briefly mentioned, while attention is drawn to two aspects of the overall development process: the urbanization of rural life on the one hand, and the rural exodus on the other.

The detection and analysis of these two phenomena, very important from the sociological point of view, require a clear distinction to be made between North and South, and between the rich farming areas, capable of development, and the poorer ones.

In the North, where the best farming areas are in direct contact with old and new industrial centres, the transformation of agriculture takes place—as ARDIGÒ rightly says—on the one hand, through the adoption of “increasingly competitive, rationalized and market-minded models of behaviour”; on the other, through the progressive “assimilation of rural society by the industrialized urban

society". In its poorer areas,—the Alps, the Appenines and some of the less fertile areas of the pre-mountain belt and even in the plain—the attraction of the near-by towns and of richer farming areas lacking labourers bring about constant depopulation. This involves the abandonment of entire areas (such as the Emilian Appenines) or at least parts of them, and these are only partially re-occupied by Southern labourers in their movement towards the North, as has been shown by BARBERIS in his report.

On the contrary, in the South—where the industrialization process remains more limited and where the existing cities have, as GALASSO says, the character of "political and administrative centres" and which "live for the greater part as parasites on the rural area's back", there is an actual lack (except in very limited areas) of the urbanization of rural life. The rural exodus, which increases in spite of obstacles, present a phenomenon of "the pure dynamics of evacuation" and is translated into emigration currents to foreign countries or to the North, and in a lesser degree to industrialized areas of the South itself. This is particularly true of poor to average areas, with limited prospects for agricultural progress, which are the most numerous in the South, occupying 70 per cent. of the land surface with more than 50 per cent. of the population.

For the remaining areas, more fortunate and more favoured by recent policy, the processes are more complex and in a certain sense more similar to those of the North, though the redundancy of the rural population and the economic structure do not as yet allow this resemblance to become striking.

It is obvious that, caught in the whirlwind of this deep and rapid transformation, the Italian rural areas are changing not only as regards productivity, the economic and social structure and the mobility of the labour force, but also, ARDIGÒ says—"in the heart of the greatest institutions of the rural world: the family, the relatives, the neighbours, the parish, the political parties, the trades unions, the municipalities, the country festivals and traditions, the fairs and the markets" besides the "power groups" and the "community's value systems".

While in the North the change merges with the general process of the urbanization of rural life and culture, in the South, where the direct influence of a modern urban reality is not yet felt, a crisis of a more serious nature is taking place: while the old "peasant civilization" is crumbling and decaying, "the impact of modern civilisation" writes GALASSO "aggravates the disequilibrium already existing and creates new tensions between the old culture and the new".

7. Aspects and problems of urban development.

At the opposite pole to the internal changes in the rural areas and the mass migration from them, stands the rapid development of the town during the last twenty years, and particularly during the last decade. In the table presented together with this report, the figures relating to this development are set out, though they are not as up to date as we would have wished. Against an overall increase of the population of 15 per cent. in twenty years, we have an increase of town population of 26 per cent, rising to above 30 per cent. for the 30 cities having more than 100,000 inhabitants. This increase would be still greater if, instead of being limited to the administrative limits of the town, it could also include the urbanized areas which have sprung up around most of the larger cities.

Urban development has some characteristics which are common to all cases and others which are peculiar to individual towns. Its analysis should aim at ascertaining to what extent it is due directly to industrialization and to what extent to the centralization of the administrative services and the consumption patterns which characterize economic development. Naturally these components of town development are intermixed and partly correlated; however the characteristics and problems of each town differ according to the importance of each of these factors.

In the case of Italy, this distinction is particularly important, because there are many cases—mainly concentrated in the South—in which a considerable urban development has taken place in the absence of any relevant industrial growth. Therefore, in addition to industrial towns which have expanded, and whose influence extends over a wide radius, there are many towns with a negligible industrial development which like Rome, the supreme example, have modernised and developed the type of the capital city. In these are concentrated the amenities of an entire region, which would perhaps be more prosperous if they were decentralized. This fact has a particular value for the understanding of the new relationships between town and country. In the first case, that of the industrial towns, there is a strengthening of active relations with the surrounding rural areas, which tend to become urban. In the second case however, the parasitic relationship remains and the modernization of the country is slowed down, instead of being accelerated. Data of the greatest interest concerning these two types of recent urban development in Italy will be found in our collection, and particularly in the contributions by

ARDIGò and COMPAGNA.

Passing now to consideration of the specific problems determined by town development, our attention is drawn to three groups of prob-

lems: the difficulties caused by the rapidity of urban growth, particularly in large towns; the complex problems of the immigration currents; and, finally, the present and future relationships between large- and medium-sized towns.

The first order of problems is the better known, because it occurs in similar ways in every country, and is the problem in relation to which scholars, town-planners and administrators profit most from the experience of other countries. It is their hope to develop this same kind of research in Italy also.

As to the second group of problems—which are in general not very different from those existing in other countries—attention has been called to the particular situation of the northern towns, caused by the immigration of southerners. In effect, this immigration not only presents the difficulties of assimilation which occur between groups of different origin and culture, but they are rendered more serious: (a) by the primitive social conditions in the immigrants' home regions; (b) by the extreme poverty and by the lack of professional training of a great many of the immigrants; and (c) by the fact that, in many cases, immigration has a precarious character. In fact, it is not always caused by a real demand for manpower; it is sometimes clandestine because of the restrictive laws; and finally, it is conceived as a temporary stage in the passage towards a further destination. Among other things, the phenomenon has been so massive, sudden and unforeseen that the poorer groups have often been restricted to overcrowded slums in the suburbs, lacking public amenities. This makes a rise in living standards and consequent assimilation still more difficult.

Finally, as far as the third group of problems is concerned, it has been recognized in Italy that the concentration of urban development in a few immense agglomerations cannot give rise to a satisfactory social equilibrium or to a harmonious development of the entire national economy. A growth based on a relative decentralization of industrial activities, and, as a consequence, on the development of many medium and small town centres, instead of a very few large ones, would be much more satisfactory. In spite of this, it has been seen that in our country also the tendency toward centralization has prevailed. With a few exceptions, industrial development has taken place mainly inside or around the large centres already industrialized in the past; the location of industries in small agricultural centres or in small towns previously lacking industrial activity has in many cases taken place only because these places were on the "fringe" of the large industrial centres and would in time have entered the phase of development called "conurbation". The prevalence of the trend to centralization is also shown by the fact that, in the North, the cities with a population between 50 and 100 thousand inhabi-

Table I

THE INCREASE OF URBAN POPULATION IN ITALY IN THE LAST 20 YEARS.

SIZE CATEGORIES Base 1955	No. of Towns	1936	POPULATION		% Base 1955	% INCREASE 1936 1955
			1951	1955		
NORTH						
50,000-100,000 inhabitants	32	2,068,000	2,224,000	2,331,000	23.6	12%
100,000-250,000 "	11	1,197,000	1,409,000	1,487,000	15.2	24%
Over 250,000 "	8	4,640,000	5,639,000	6,040,000	61.2	30%
TOTAL	51	7,905,000	9,272,000	9,858,000	100.0	25%
% of total population	—	29%	31%	32%	—	14%
SOUTH						
50,000-100,000 inhabitants	22	1,141,000	1,363,000	1,450,000	32.1	27%
100,000-250,000 "	5	599,000	766,000	829,000	18.3	38%
Over 250,000 "	4	1,720,000	2,069,000	2,243,000	49.6	30%
TOTAL	31	3,460,000	4,198,000	4,522,000	100.0	31%
% of total population	—	22%	24%	25%	—	18%
ITALY						
50,000-100,000 inhabitants	54	3,209,000	3,587,000	3,781,000	26.3	18%
100,000-250,000 "	16	1,796,000	2,175,000	2,316,000	16.2	29%
Over 250,000 "	12	6,360,000	7,708,000	8,283,000	57.2	30%
TOTAL	82	11,365,000	13,370,000	14,380,000	100.0	26%
% of total population	—	27%	28%	30%	—	15%

tants have grown very little in the last twenty years. The problem must therefore be studied further and the advocated decentralization would become a possibility only as the result of an intensive planning campaign carried out by the State.

8. *Aspects and problems of industrialization.*

As has been seen, industrialization represents the central factor in the whole process of economic development in Italy and in other countries. Its social aspects therefore deserve particular attention, but this type of study would require numerous inquiries in industrial sociology, and these are still in their infancy in our country. Therefore in this collection of essays we have confined ourselves to considering a few aspects of a more general order, i.e., some problems of the industrialization of the South, on the one hand, and on the other some problems deriving from the present trends in Italian industrial organization.

It is well known that the most serious aspect of the so-called "Southern question" is the lack of industrial development in that region. This aspect brings the problem of the Italian South close to those of other underdeveloped countries. The final goal of the development policy now under way is that of promoting the location of industrial plants in the South, in order to change its economic and social structure in a decisive manner. The ways adopted have been (*a*) a preparatory action, for the promotion and support of industrial activities, which could be more properly called "industrialization policy". From the economic and social point of view the "pre-industrialization" phase has already started the process—as is indicated in the memorandum on the subject edited by the S.V.I.M.E.Z.—by breaking down the previous static economy. This has accelerated social mobility, introduced new sources of income and types of consumption, and extended markets, thus making possible the appearance of industry in some areas.

However, as this process takes place within the framework of the general economic development of the country the industrialization of the South faces the further difficulties derived from the emigration to the North of the most qualified individuals and of those who would be best fitted to assume the responsibility of new industrial concerns. In order to overcome these difficulties, it would be necessary to have a policy of greater incentives toward the location of industry in the South. The main element of this would be to establish State factories, to locate and equip specific "areas of industrial development", and especially to have a more intense professional training for the new tasks, so as to meet the needs both of the industrialization of the South and of a better training of emigrants.

It is unnecessary to point out how useful sociological research could be in drawing up and implementing such a policy.

As far as the other subject concerning industrialization is concerned, FERRAROTTI has rightly started from the essential characteristics of the Italian industrial structure of today: the extreme fragmentation of production, on one side, and the prevalence in many areas of a small number of highly centralized large industries. While the first is largely responsible for the not very high productivity of our industry, it is owing to the second that industrial development is not more diffused and is not carried out in better conditions of free competition. Both maintain our industry in a state—in FERRAROTTI's word—of "family or dynasty management", which is increasingly in contrast with the modern type of industrial organisation of "professional or functional management". These characteristics—reinforced during the twenty years of fascist rule—have caused the "relations between managements and workers" to remain of the paternalistic type. This has hindered the development of the institutionalized type of relation between management and worker which are typical of industrial countries. The growth of Trade Unions would lead to democratisation and elimination of political bitterness, which is certainly not the present situation in Italy.

One of the characteristics of Italian industrial development after the war, though confined to a few cases only, has been the creation of some highly organised and modernly conceived industries, which have formed separate islands in the already insular geography of Italian industry. The study by GALLINO in our collection is devoted to the sociological analysis of the situation which has arisen in these particular industries. He shows that in them, because of the higher productivity and income levels attained, it has been possible for the workers to have better working conditions and a higher standard of living than that of the normal worker. This has created a new type of social stratification, which is not easily integrated in Italian society even in the more progressive industrial centres, partly because these privileged jobs are still relatively unstable. Though the inquiry refers to a very particular branch of our industry, it has a much broader significance, especially as these are the first industries in our country to have introduced human relations departments in the firms, similar to those which characterise modern industry in other countries.

9. *Changes in consumption patterns.*

One of the effects of economic development everywhere is a modification of consumption patterns, and in the "models of consumption" themselves. In what ways has this happened in Italy during the last decade? In spite of the scarcity of published data and of systematic sampling research, which are the only elements throwing

light on this phenomena in the memorandum by MOMIGLIANO and PIZZORNO in our collection, an attempt has been made at a review of the known facts and at a sociological interpretation of some of the more typical trends.

A general analysis of consumption in Italy would either have a poor indicative value or would require an enormous amount of research; the difference in income, traditions and even requirements being very great from region to region, and even more so from area to area and from group to group. The only data available, therefore, are general surveys and a series of observations relating to particular social groups. From both, MOMIGLIANO and PIZZORNO draw some conclusions which, though of a general nature, throw considerable light on this field.

Notwithstanding the increase of the average *per capita* income, the percentage of the total consumption spent on food remains high (46 per cent. of total expenditure) and is not very far from what it was 90 years ago (52 per cent.). However, it is clear that almost everywhere, the limit of physiological need has been surpassed and that we are in a stage of qualitative improvement of the diet. Great progress has been made in this direction since the war, though the prevalent patterns of food consumption are diametrically opposed in the North and in the South. In the South there is "less variety of diet, for psychological reasons such as more deeply rooted habits, or for material ones, such as lack of means to buy more expensive food."

A definite change can be seen in the average consumption expenditure, with an increase particularly in durable household goods, services and entertainment as well as transportation. There is a lack of balance in this greatly increased expenditure which suggests that it is probably "more spectacular than profound," and is "far from reflecting an average level of consumption similar to that of economically developed societies".

In the analysis of consumers' behaviour, the first observation to be made is that the tendency to consumption, rather than saving which prevailed after the limitations of war time and during inflation, has remained in the last decade. This also seems due to the "tendency, characteristic of today's economic system, toward the delegation of risk and of the saving function to public administration and large concerns" as well as to the greater occupational security.

The behaviour, which is characteristic of the masses, does not always apply in the case of particular social groups (e.g. some of the immigrants) and in the case of aspiration towards some durable goods such as a home of one's own. It may undergo a partial change with the prospect of an uninterrupted increase in the income per head.

Finally, insofar as the so-called "consumption models" are concerned, in the present stage of development in Italy it has been found that there exists an intermingling of "the persistence of traditional models with the assimilation of models characteristic of countries more advanced technologically" and this coexistence will continue—and not only because of the dramatic contrast between North and South—as long as "two different economies continue to exist within one national system".

10. New approaches to education and professional training.

One of the social aspects of the recent economic development, and of the changed social conditions of the post-war years, has been the powerful urge towards secondary and university education. Both are dramatically shown by statistics, and need to be sociologically analysed. They put very serious problems before the schools, where their scope, curriculum, and method of teaching are concerned.

For elementary education, it must be observed that because of the decrease in the number of children of school age, the pupils of the first classes had in 1956-57 diminished by 20 per cent. in relation to the figures of 20 years before; the pupils of the 4th and 5th classes had however increased by 20 per cent. This bears witness to an impulse towards the higher grades of elementary and post-elementary education, which makes of immediate concern the raising of the school-leaving age as laid down twelve years ago in the Constitution.

This changed approach to education is also revealed by the list of pupils enrolled in the secondary education institutes, whose number in 1956-57 was two to three times higher than that of 1936-37 and which involves more than a third of the pupils coming from the elementary schools. Another indication is the sudden, post-war increase in University enrolments which tripled the 1936-37 figures, and with some fluctuations has continued ever since.

The explanation for this sudden, radical change is partly objective and partly subjective. It is not surprising that, on the eve of the war, the economic stagnation and the depressed social atmosphere then prevailing should have caused the demand for education to fall. Therefore, the impulse after the war was largely a compensation for the pre-war situation. This is a partial explanation, but the fundamental reason must be found elsewhere. It lies in the intense social mobility caused by war and inflation, by the realization of the need for culture and professional training, and chiefly by the great demand for qualified labour, which was a result of the first years of reconstruction.

It is not possible to say to what extent the impulse has been motivated, by reasons of status or by practical reasons, and only specific

sociological research could give the answer. A rough indication, however, can be given by statistical data, which show ; (a) that the sudden increase of university students in the immediate post-war period expressed the frantic rush for jobs characteristic of those and the following years, and that therefore it stemmed from motivations of "status" though it was directed in a practical sense ; (b) that a similar explanation must unfortunately be given to the appalling increase in the number of students of the secondary schools studying the humanities ; (c) that, on the contrary, a considerable part of the increase in pupils enrolling in professional training schools and technical secondary schools was motivated by practical concerns, i.e. by the wish to prepare for the technical jobs in an increasingly industrialized society ; (d) that in any case, the relation between the two motivations has progressively changed in favour of the practical one.

After what has been said, it is not necessary to add much in order to understand the seriousness of the problems which this changed situation has put before the Italian schools. In a general manner, it may be said—with DE RITA—that quantitatively, the schools have responded in a manner which, if not fully satisfactory, is still such as to satisfy as many demands as possible ; but that, at the same time, they have been taken unawares by the novelty of the demand and have not always renewed their methods and orientation, preferring to adapt traditional concepts to the new situation. Only now, after ten to fifteen years of the new situation can it be said that a process of revision and modernization of the school system is taking place ; it will be a long and complex task because of the many demands it must meet, as has been well shown by DE RITA.

11. *Conclusions.*

The considerations presented here, as a commentary on the essays presented by the Italian group, have, I think, illustrated the dominant aspects of the deep transformation our country is undergoing. For each of these considerations, the sociological significance and interpretation have often been barely mentioned, because the data necessary for a precise study are still lacking. This is still more true of the complex but less obvious consequences of a changing society.

The volume, and the present introductory report, had two modest and well-defined goals, which the authors hope to have attained : to present our foreign colleagues with a picture of the complex Italian situation and a justification for the renewed interest in sociological research; to highlight the situation with the help of our Italian colleagues, with the aim of defining their field of work with precision and clarity.

We know that the work before us is enormous ; it involves assimila-

tion of theories and methods of research, the organization of systematic documentation, and orderly development of direct research inquiries. The results of this effort should, however, convince everyone of the need to put sociological research in Italy on a solid foundation; and of the value of expounding it energetically in the interest of the future development of the country.

MANLIO ROSSI-DORIA.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

IN the discussion which opened after the Chairman's introduction the first point to be dealt with was that of existing and future terminology and its significance and definitions.

H. Z. UULKEN (Turkey) lamented the lack of a unified and suitable terminology; he proposed that terms conveying the impression of a pejorative judgment should be avoided and that the word "underdeveloped" should have a purely technical meaning.

L. CALDERON (Mexico) said that emphasis should be placed on technology in general, and in particular on the sector which was the most indicative of productive method and capacity, i.e. the availability of capital equipment. He therefore proposed that a synthetic expression should be used to denote the phenomenon, namely "technologically under-equipped peoples".

M. RALEA (Rumania) agreed that the significance of the terms used—underdeveloped, depressed, backward, etc., etc.—should be defined and ascertained with greater accuracy. He said, for example, that the term "underdeveloped" could not be applied to the various regions of a country, since the phenomenon of internal differentiation was by its nature different from that of the non-transformation of a society as a whole.

In reply to Mr. Calderon he held that the reference to technology as applied to the production of goods was not sufficient to define the phenomenon. The degree of technical progress was one of the factors to be taken into consideration, but not the only one; it was impossible not to take into account the criteria adopted in the distribution of products; nor could the import-export ratio be overlooked; nor the prevailing standard of living of the population; and last but not least, the cultural level, by which he meant not the degree of cultural refinement achieved by a minority but the greater or lesser diffusion of culture. According to Mr. Ralea this complex of factors, which he had only given as examples, was a better guide than taking one single factor to define the status of underdevelopment or backwardness, or whatever we might wish to call it.

FINDIKOGLU (Turkey) also said that the concept of underdevelopment was very vague and indeterminate. It would be necessary to begin with direct observation for all countries and build up a pattern of development which alone could legitimately be used to deduce the patterns of the underdeveloped country.

Thus we should avoid taking up unilateral attitudes such as those of persons who argue that there is a fixed relationship between the terms "lack of development" and "status of colony", which leave out of account universally known examples (Persia, Turkey, etc.); or such as those of persons who, thinking much along the lines of the first group, find the same relationship in the exploitation of trade exchanges where the qualitative composition of the imports is fundamentally different from that of the exports, forgetting that this difference is not related to political ideology in the most heavily industrialised country.

Dr. G. TAGLIACOZZO (U.S.A.), however, considered that the problem of terminology and definitions had a much more serious basis than mere uncertainty or inaccuracy.

He observed that there was generally a certain tendency in statements and discussions to avoid defining concepts with the depth involved in penetrating to the interplay of primary forces operating in economics and sociology. The doubt arose as to whether there was not a reluctance to propound theories in the light of others' criticisms for fear that cherished ideas would turn out to be indefensible and that the faith which was looked upon as a subconscious protection would be lost; there was also a suggestion that a desire existed to preserve the possibility of agreeing at different times and in different places with the exponents of different and perhaps conflicting political theories.

He therefore considered that a great step forward would be made in our knowledge of these elementary forces and the interplay between them if all the schools of thought (religious and lay alike) were openly and logically to expound the economic and social theories which they accepted and considered to be true; and then to agree to, or rather seek, discussion and counter-suggestion regarding them. This of course assumed that the different schools were not attached irrationally and by prejudice to their theories and that they were prepared to be won over by the conclusions reached in the process of analysis and synthesis on the basis of mutually established facts.

This in turn, and here we reverted to the question of terminology, implied the compiling of a vocabulary in which each term should have the same meaning for each party to the discussion; and it was presupposed a searching examination of the terminology hitherto adopted, in which everyone admitted, if they were honest, that most of the words had a multiplicity of meanings. Dr. Tagliacozzo thought that this process of examination and construction would lead to a fertile

co-existence of all ideas; the historical nature of these would inevitably appear, and even present-day ideas would be seen to rest on foundations differing in age.

E. GIARINI (Italy), for other reasons, also found himself perplexed when faced with the somewhat confused concepts which seemed to prevail in discussions on development problems. It would, he said, be tempting to think that sociology was of secondary importance in the solution of economic problems and to ask how a sociologist as such could profitably devote himself to economic questions. He thought, however, that this was due more than anything else to a confused awareness of sociology as a complex of disciplines. Sociology in itself was the observation of the conduct and mentality of the members of a collective society which arose from the circumstances of their social life and the surroundings in which they grew up. Sociology was therefore the study of the "multiplication" of the individual in so far as society was a collective means of individual development and thus not linked to special forms—not linked, for example, to nations.

This therefore brought us back to economics and thus to a country's economy, because a knowledge of the social structure, viewed as a complex of interacting forces, was a prerequisite to any outside aid intended to modify the results of such interaction. According to Giarini, his view clearly implied that, like every individual in every elementary group, every group in every society was determined and determinative as regards all the others, and that individuals and groups were to be considered as equal from the start. In order to arrive at this knowledge of the social structure sociology tended to create its own paths, which therefore appeared new in face of the traditional paths followed by other disciplines. And it so happened that the further society had progressed in the search for this knowledge the more effective sociology was considered. This was fairly understandable if we admitted that the *a priori* rejection of new concepts was a sign of a primitive attitude.

The discussion then turned to specific problems of development.

R. BICANIC reported on the result of his examination of the U.N. statistics. He had noted a characteristic anomaly in the relationship between the collective income level and the breadth of the institutional sectors: this relationship was positive in countries which were sufficiently industrialised, but negative in underdeveloped ones, where the average income per head did not exceed \$200. In the latter the share of the collective income allotted to dependent workers did not increase in proportion to the increase in the collective income itself, so that there was no application of the principle ruling in the former, namely that the social product must be increased in order to increase wages. On the contrary the converse had to be applied: it was necessary to increase

the wage share so that the amount of products intended for the other, institutional, sector could only increase as a result of an increase in the volume of production. This implied a modification of the institutions, which upset distribution criteria.

E. MOLNAR (Hungary), said that he had noted that prior to the last two world wars the pace of development in the less developed countries was greater than in the others, whereas after the last war the reverse had taken place. Anyone enquiring into this could not fail to be struck by the following facts: (a) that industrial societies had found a means of creating raw materials synthetically, so that non-industrialised countries could no longer find themselves a place in trade exchanges and obtain capital equipment in return for raw materials; and their purchasing power contracted in proportion not only to the contraction in the volume of exports but also to the fall in the unit prices for exported raw materials; (b) that industrial societies had also reduced their investments in these countries, not only directly but also indirectly in the form of monetary loans or the opening of credits; this was dictated not only by the slackened pace of economic expansion in these countries caused by the factor referred to above, but also by the fear of political measures, i.e. socialisation or nationalisation of industries equipped and subsidised from abroad.

Dr. Molnar then expressed his conviction that the question of development should be met and resolved within the underdeveloped countries; and that this could only be achieved by means of a radical transformation in social structure by: (a) land reform, resulting in a large surplus of products in relation to the requirements of the workers engaged in their cultivation and (b) state enterprise in the production of capital goods for the industrialisation which was finally planned.

In support of his conviction Dr. Molnar quoted the example of socialist countries where undeniable results had been achieved in this way and, above all, the prospect had been opened up of quickly reaching the necessary and sufficient conditions for the aim to be achieved.

Dr. RALEA drew attention to the profound difference which existed between climate and natural surroundings on the one hand and, on the other, the more strictly historical circumstances of the relationship of people with other peoples.

The former posed a problem whose solution could, according to him be found in technology; the problem posed by the latter was acutely political.

Here it would be necessary to eliminate all imperialistic group spirit, and the tendency to colonisation (external) and discrimination (internal), without stifling the enthusiasm which arises from confidence in being able to attain a goal, even a state of well-being and freedom

similar to that enjoyed by others; to eliminate those circumstance and elements which tended to prefer instruments of defence or conquest to those of production of goods as such, and to foster or sustain the big international institutions; to diffuse culture as the knowledge of elements and relationships, and as rational thought, gradually eliminating mystical prejudice and irrational belief behind which private interests, fully conscious of what they were doing, could defend themselves. As an example for consideration Dr. Ralea quoted what had happened in India, where land reform had found itself hampered by widespread belief in metempsychosis. The big owners of expropriated land had seen to it that a third of the new holders had refused to accept their holdings by provoking them to the fear that their greed might turn them into dogs in the next life (the dog being considered as an unclean animal).

Father O. POLI (Italy), intervened on this point to say that there was no incompatibility between religion diffused throughout a people which was united in one Church and the application of sociological progress for the purpose of economic development. Throughout its history the Catholic Church had been linked with innumerable measures of economic progress: what it refused to regard as progress was that which did not at the same time lead to a spiritualisation of social life.

Reverting to Dr. Ralea's first point, the influence of the relationship between the people under consideration and other peoples, Dr. SCHULZ (German Democratic Republic) maintained that it was the manner of conceiving society and social relationships which determined aid, or the absence of it, intended to foster the development of other countries. The German Democratic Republic rejected both the idea of colonialism and that of isolationism. But he considered that every country was in a position to put forward a ruling class capable of guiding it towards its ends. Therefore the aid, if called for, must be granted in a spirit of assistance and contribute its own wealth of knowledge, experience, ideas and methods.

International cooperation was a means of speeding up the development of all countries, provided that it took place in a spirit of absolute reciprocity, and not for the purposes of enrichment.

Dr. Schulz concluded that for this purpose a completely negative attitude was represented by the sort of trade where the economically stronger party endeavoured to satisfy its own economic requirements in exchange, whilst denying its partner the possibility of offering its natural products in return or of deferring payment, by claiming to be selective or to take the balance in international currency.

The argument put forward by Dr. Ralea and Dr. Schulz was reinforced and given greater definition by Dr. KOSOK (German Democratic Republic).

He started from the assumption that, the concept of development being an essentially relative one, it was not necessary to look beyond industrial activity.

However, to understand how different was the degree of industrialisation between one country and the next it was necessary to consider the varying possibilities which the different countries had had of expressing themselves. The struggle for this possibility coincided, said Dr. Kossok, with the struggle for independence, which is political, cultural and economic. The third independence, economic independence, could only be obtained by creating an individual culture, and this could not be created unless the struggle for political independence had been successful.

The independences were, however, only permissive conditions. It was therefore necessary for there to be a specific "thrust", though of a political nature: the path of industrialisation started with land reform, which freed the agricultural labourer from being bound to a piece of land and linked him instead with the cultivating organism, and led to a rejection of "static" society. By "static" was to be understood the permanence of states of privilege and private enterprise in production; the initiative for industrialisation should ignore the existing condition of economic and social interests and should always come from the State. It was of necessity a political and cultural fact in itself, characterised by a desire to direct a coordinated capitalisation of its constituent parts towards the attainment of an object which was common to the collective group.

Dr. NIEUWENHUYZE (Netherlands), unlike the previous speakers, considered that the distinction between developed and underdeveloped countries could not be accepted. According to him it was necessary to bear in mind the varied pace of structural transformation between one country and another. We should thus distinguish the "specimens" or "trends" of development. But in order to have a clear picture of this situation it was impossible to approach it and study it from different standpoints and in different aspects. It must be seen as a whole, and the various points of view must therefore converge in one examination. Specialised research, unless undertaken in conjunction with other similar lines of research, was barren. For this reason all countries should be subjected to the examination, so that above all the common elements—circumstances and activities—and the differing ones could be ascertained. This naturally created difficulties in the choice of the field to be taken into consideration, which should offer data. Dr. Neiuwenhuyze stated in this connection that the Institute of Social Studies of The Hague, starting from these premises, was now engaged in a study of the Mediterranean area. Already the solution of problems of method, aspect and observation of social-economic

theories ingrained in the mass of the population had proved of particular interest and significance.

According to Father LA ROSA (Italy), as well, experience in research already carried out led one to prefer the global method for each area, since it seemed clear that the factors determining the state of relative evolution or social inertia were interacting and inseparable. He stated that a recent congress of religious psychology had therefore decided in its studies to differentiate between three types of problem: (a) human depressed areas in large cities; (b) large relatively underdeveloped regions; (c) emigrations from insufficiently industrialised countries. The research group which was set up proposed the following in respect of each of these three fields of enquiry: (1) to define the field better; (2) to adopt as working hypotheses a series of relationships between individual and specific phenomena; (3) wherever possible to verify these hypothetical relationships by experience; (4) to consider the phenomena in relation to their capacity to generate or modify the others in force and direction; (5) to erect hypotheses as to the nature of these phenomena for the purpose of bringing to light elements which might be considered as determinative of the state of things.

The general assumption in this study, concluded Father Rosa, was that each element in the problem, however different in degree, was common to all countries.

In support of the theory that the development of society was determined by the combination of the elements which were the object of sociological study, Dr. G. VERGA (Colombia) drew attention to the experience with economic aid. Very often aid which was limited to a few sectors produced general results which were the opposite of those foreseen or desired.

According to Dr. Verga, it would also be wrong for us to restrict ourselves to a single plan without taking into account the characteristics of the different countries. Whilst recognising that it was necessary to employ specialists, he considered it essential that the work should be coordinated and that each should from time to time correct the efforts of the others and have its own efforts corrected, particularly if it was remembered that technological factors, in surroundings different from those which produced them, tended to provoke negative reactions, precisely because the necessary preparation was lacking, so that the result was often a considerable "application trauma".

It was therefore advisable to follow a slower method which would not give rise to repercussions: to prepare the ground culturally and to stimulate a keen demand for the technology which was to be transplanted. This implied respecting the diversity of civilisations, and, prior to this even, accepting the idea of the possible multiple nature of civilisation. The spread of this idea would, according to Dr. Verga,

lead to a new humanism, which we might call poly-cultural. In practice, therefore, the negative aspects of the various civilisations, i.e. the characteristic prejudices of the populations, could be utilised, in the light of such limits, for development purposes. The basic problem would, Dr. Verga maintained, stand a better chance of being resolved everywhere by individual solutions.

G. BRAGA (Italy) was of the same opinion. Investigations undertaken in Southern Italy on behalf of a large industry which wished to set up a factory had shown that specifically economic problems, easily soluble (in theory) at a technical level, could not be solved so easily in practice, on account not only of institutional and distributive difficulties but also, and perhaps above all, of psychological and intermediate units between the elementary artisan type and the large-scale undertaking. The new plant was conceived in relation to a consumer market which did not entirely coincide with the initial market, and was in fact vastly larger than the latter. The result was that the new factories were out of proportion to the society in which they were to operate; and that instead of being instruments of general well-being they contributed to the maintenance of the old social order, although replacing the old sources as discriminatory elements. They thus created an antithesis between their dependents, who obtained an income related to an activity destined to satisfy the needs of an extraneous society, and those who remained bound to traditional production.

The problem was therefore tackled globally, concluded Dr. Braga, and it was a problem of fusing the entire small group with the larger society. It could only be solved globally, and it was not therefore possible to avoid taking into consideration the limits imposed upon private enterprise by its own objects and the burden of the cost of the public assistance operation. We were now on political ground.

Dr. RAHIMI (Iran) added that social evolution, which was linked to economic development, was related on the one hand to the consciousness of the value democracy (substantial) which the ruling classes of a country had, and on the other to the consciousness of itself which the mass of society had.

At this point Professor M. KAMMARI (U.S.S.R.) intervened to say that many opinions had been expressed and many doubts raised, but that it had been forgotten that the most telling experience was furnished by the development of the Soviet Union. In 1917 the country, particularly in the north, was undeniably in a state of extreme backwardness. The two most obvious causes of this were the policy of discrimination and oppression pursued by the ruling group and the state of ignorance in which the population languished. It should be noted that all underdeveloped countries exhibited the same policy, even if not in a

violent manner, and the same lack of education. In Russia the socialist revolution led both to the unification of the rights of all citizens, irrespective of their social status or nationality, and to the most widespread diffusion of education, which was not dependent upon the family's financial resources. And the outburst of development which followed was spontaneous and general.

This showed that the problem could be solved by the advent to power of a ruling group put forward by the people to apply a socialist policy, and that in substance the problem was one of industrialisation.

It was true that industrialisation could also be arrived at through capitalism, but this was a course which was much slower and not open to all societies. The way of socialism was both quicker and more certain of success.

After Professor Kammar's remarks the Chairman concluded the session.

F. GUALTIEROTTI.

SECTION II(1)j

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO ETHNIC AND RACIAL RELATIONS

Chairman: Professor E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER (Howard University)

Rapporteur: Dr. KENNETH LITTLE (University of Edinburgh)

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

ROGER BASTIDE (Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris)

CALVINISME ET RACISME

Le calvinisme a-t-il joué un rôle dans la genèse du racisme? Ou bien celui-ci n'aurait-il qu'une origine économique? notre point de départ sera le comportement différent des protestants et des catholiques dans les communautés multiraciales.

L'étude de la pensée de Calvin montre que toute sa théologie est opposée au racisme (égalité des hommes dans le péché et primauté de la loi de charité); mais cette pensée aussi, par sa définition du paganisme, sa théorie des signes extérieurs de la prédestination, comme par celle de la diversité des vocations, base du pouvoir politique, et celle de la distinction entre l'Eglise invisible et les églises-institutions, pouvait créer des attitudes favorables au racisme dans des communautés multiraciales.

Le calvinisme est d'abord étudié dans les débuts de la colonisation en rapport avec "l'esprit de frontière"; il y apparaît comme un élément constituant (de la culture qu'il s'agit de défendre), formateur (l'attraction de la culture indigène y prenant la forme d'un artifice diabolique), et justificatif de l'exploitation (le succès du blanc étant le signe de l'élection divine). Bref, il faut situer le calvinisme dans un processus dialectique.

Les facteurs économiques devenant de plus en plus prépondérant, mais ceux-ci jouant toujours à l'intérieur d'âmes croyantes, le calvinisme se transforme aujourd'hui en simple idéologie et nous voyons alors apparaître, avec la mauvaise conscience, un "dilemme calviniste" (analogue, quoique différent, au dilemme américain).

SYDNEY COLLINS (University of Edinburgh)

COLOURED AND WHITE IMMIGRANTS IN BRITAIN AND THE COMPARATIVE ROLE OF THEIR SPONSORS

In this paper sponsorship will be considered with respect to its rôle in integrating white and coloured immigrants into British society as illustrated by West Indian and Chinese on the one hand, and by Jews and Hungarians on the other. By a sponsor I mean an individual or group of persons who assumes the rôle of establishing another individual or group in an acceptable social position.

The members of a society may be considered in terms of an arrangement approximating concentric systems, each being nearer or more remote from the core of the society. The immigrants are more often than not to be found on the social periphery with racial or cultural barriers keeping some indefinitely parked on its outskirts. The technique and the effectiveness of the sponsor's rôle will to a great extent depend on his prestige, his relative social position and his ability to exercise formal or informal powers of control over the situation. For example, the acceptance which Hungarian refugees received in Britain was to a large extent due to the prestige of the organisations and individuals that sponsored them.

Sponsors may be found in both the immigrant group and in the host society. On finding employment and a house the immigrant often invites dependents or friends from his home country. But the sponsoring rôle of immigrants in a marginal social position like the West Indians is not usually very effective. In contrast the Jews, who have risen remarkably in social status, occupy a much more favourable position.

The State, backed by its legal and political machinery is a most powerful sponsor of the host society. But voluntary organisations, especially those of a traditional character such as the churches, have played a most active and conspicuous rôle in this process of integration.

Sponsorship in one area of life, without the appropriate response of the immigrants in other areas may, as in the case of the Chinese, even retard their total integration. Sponsorship is a dynamic rôle and its goal is the acceptance of the immigrants, sharing full rights and obligations of other members of the society.

MAURICE FREEDMAN (London School of Economics and Political Science)

THE GROWTH OF A PLURAL SOCIETY IN MALAYA

Two different patterns of immigration have shaped Malaya's modern history. The Chinese and the Indians (who number in the Federation and Singapore nearly 3,500,000 and about 900,000, respectively) have remained Chinese and Indians in culture, social organisation, and political status. The Malays have built up a population of some 3,300,000 by absorbing newcomers from the area now known as Indonesia. British policy regarded the Malays as enjoying primacy of occupation and political rights. It has been possible for non-Malaysians to be assimilated into the privileged part of the population (principally by adopting Islam), but there has never been a considerable movement of this kind.

Under British control the Malay States underwent profound economic and political changes. The Malays were only in small measure agents of the economic revolution. In the traditional system trading on any considerable scale had been conducted by the territorial chiefs who, under *pax britannica*, were pensioned, some of them being made administrative officers; trading became an essentially non-Malay pursuit. The Malay peasantry refused generally to sell their labour, but adapted themselves to the new economy by producing cash-crops. The traditional Malay class system persisted in outline, the aristocracy providing the new administrative class. This class has produced the leaders of a Malay nationalism which seeks to keep the Federation in some real sense a Malay country.

Chinese immigrants filled the growing towns of modern Malaya. They supplied skilled and unskilled labour to the new enterprises, for some of which they were responsible. Many have lived, as miners and cultivators of commercial crops, in the countryside. They have provided the bulk of Malaya's trading class. Organising themselves in relation to their economic roles, the Chinese built up a social system in which status and power depended directly on economic control. The cultural distinctiveness of the Chinese was reinforced by modern Chinese nationalism.

The great majority of Indian immigrants were recruited for estate work. In consequence a characteristic form of Indian local community had been a body of workers on a plantation, housed and supervised by an industrial concern. Many Indians have taken on commercial roles, both urban and rural. Like the Chinese, the Indians have remained a culturally self-conscious category of the population.

Although Malays, Chinese, and Indians are meaningful categories, they are not highly organised entities. Before the Pacific War the plural society consisted not of ethnic blocs but of categories within which small groups emerged on a local basis

to form social ties inside and across ethnic boundaries. The interlocking of these groups, economically and politically, forbids our looking at Malay, Chinese, and Indian "societies" as though they were discrete entities.

Malaya was and remains a culturally plural society, but from a purely structural point of view its plural nature is more marked today than ever before. Nationalism and political independence in its early phase have tended to define on a country-wide basis (as far as the Federation is concerned) ethnic "communities" which were formerly only categories. As Malays, Chinese, and Indians come to be recognised as structural entities they can have "total" relations among them.

One of the disadvantages of the idea of the plural society is that it tempts us to argue from cultural and "racial" appearances to sociological realities. Malaya has shewn important cultural and "racial" divisions, but these have not (or had not up to recently) created cleavages running the length and the breadth of the society. The social ideals of the various categories have been different, but in coming to terms, or keeping their distance, in local situations, they have (or had) prevented a massive alignment of ethnic forces.

M. A. JASPAK (University of Indonesia, Djakarta)

ETHNIC AND RACIAL RELATIONS IN INDONESIA

The prevailing patterns of social cohesion and rupture in Indonesia are examined from the viewpoint of the structure of inter-ethnic and inter-racial group relations. Of a present population of eighty-eight million it is estimated that eight-four million are native Indonesians, three million Chinese, and under half a million Eurasians and Europeans. In the Dutch colonial period "race" was a legal concept and the basis of a hierarchical division of society. Since the independence revolution of 1945, it has been rejected as a legal term or as a recognised civic entity. Nevertheless there are still tensions between racial groups whose social identity and cohesiveness have outlived the abolition of "race" as a politico-constitutional entity.

Ethnic consciousness is rapidly growing among the 360 nationalities. The Dutch had regarded the Toba, Minahassa and Ambon ethnic groups with special favour. These groups have suffered since the revolution from the loss of their former élite powers and privileges. They have tended to develop sharp conflicts with neighbouring peoples. On a broader scale they have identified themselves with anti-government rebellions and separatist political movements.

The republican government is anxious to promote a national consciousness and solidarity, consequently it has neglected the existence and interests of the nationalities.

LEO KUPER (University of Cape Town)

THE HEIGHTENING OF RACIAL TENSION

Analysis of techniques for heightening racial tensions may suggest a fresh approach to the reduction of racial tensions, since they are based on the same theoretical propositions. South African experience provides a case study in the heightening of race tensions.

The first step is to heighten racial consciousness, by so weaving racial classification into the perception of the individual, that the basic definition of the widest possible range of situations is in racial terms. This is achieved by: (a) an unambiguous system of racial classification; (b) the extension of the range of situations in which racial classification is mandatory as a guide to conduct, thus emphasising the primacy of the racial criterion in the daily routine of living; (c) rewards and punishments reinforcing the system; and (d) the canalising of race consciousness in an

antagonistic direction by ideologies which emphasise the inevitability of conflict between races, and represent their contact as a struggle for survival.

The second step is to heighten race prejudice and race tension by extending discrimination to the widest possible range of contact situations. The dominant group finds itself consistently in a position of superiority, and this routine experience may be expected to reinforce sentiments of superiority expressed in the demand for its maintenance and perhaps its enhancement by further discrimination. A realistic basis for these sentiments of superiority is ensured by discrimination itself, which limits the opportunities of the subordinate races.

A number of problems are raised in regard to the relationship between prejudice and discrimination and over-conformity is suggested as a mode of adjustment by the non-prejudiced discriminator. The role of exceptions and of penal sanctions is discussed in relation both to the reduction and heightening of racial prejudice.

SHEILA PATTERSON (Institute of Race Relations, London)

A RECENT WEST INDIAN MIGRANT GROUP IN BRITAIN

The paper reports on a two-and-a-half year field-study of the development of relationships between recent West Indian migrants and the local population in the South London district of Brixton, which was chosen as an area fairly typical of the new type of West Indian settlement in a central industrialised area, as contrasted with the older, peripheral settlements in docks and ports.

The paper puts forward the hypothesis that the present situation of the new West Indian migrant group in Britain is an immigrant situation rather than a colour or race situation. The recent West Indian migrants differ considerably in social and cultural background as well as in colour from the receiving society, in which mild xenophobia is a cultural norm. The colour difference, however, makes the newcomers more noticeable and more strange than other outsiders.

The paper goes on to discuss the development of relations between the immigrants and the receiving society in three main spheres of association, those of economic life, housing and social relationships. Whereas until 1956 housing constituted the main area of potential friction, employment has since taken this place. Social relationships between immigrants and local people are largely restricted to casual, and to a lesser extent, formal contacts.

The process of adaptation and acceptance may be relatively slow and difficult, not only because of colour but because the majority of migrants are in fact only equipped to enter British society at a low socio-economic level, and because West Indian lower-class cultural patterns differ considerably from those in the receiving society.

A large-scale economic recession in the next few years could certainly upset and perhaps reverse the slow process of accommodation. Otherwise, the material from Brixton and similar areas suggests that the process of adaptation and acceptance will continue, facilitated by the relatively small numbers involved and by the fact that Britain has a unified and democratic social structure which permits of no formal differentiation of minority groups.

ANTHONY H. RICHMOND (University of Edinburgh)

APPLIED SOCIOLOGY AND PUBLIC POLICY CONCERNING RACIAL RELATIONS IN BRITAIN

This paper begins by considering some of the philosophical and methodological assumptions underlying the application of sociological knowledge to practical problems of public and social policy. The author is critical of Gunnar Myrdal's

suggestion that sociologists must take into account the "power co-efficients" of different value premises when making policy recommendations. It is argued that to do this is likely to reinforce the *status quo*. Value premises should be made explicit as Myrdal suggests, but they should be based upon the sociologist's own deepest convictions. As far as racial relations are concerned in many parts of the world today the values, which uphold the existing distribution of power between black and white, need to be challenged.

The author goes on to outline the main value premises underlying the researches and policy recommendations of most sociologists who have studied the race situation in Britain. He proceeds, in the light of these assumptions and the evidence from various researches, to list a series of measures which should be adopted in Britain if an effective public policy designed to reduce racial conflict and promote the assimilation and adjustment of recent coloured immigrants is to be achieved. These measures include a school and adult educational campaign, designed to reduce prejudice among the white population; legislation designed to restrict discrimination in the letting of property, and admission to public bars, dance halls, etc.; the expansion of existing welfare facilities for the coloured immigrants; and the pursuit by the government of policies designed to maintain full employment and reduce the present housing shortage, failure to do these two things having been responsible for the deterioration in racial relation in Britain which led to the disturbances in Nottingham and Notting Hill in 1958.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

THE Chairman, Professor Frazier, opened this section by reference to the papers and their contents. He drew attention to the fact that several authors had written in such a way as to suggest a convergence in patterns of race relations between the United States and Britain. Professor Frazier proposed that should make a subject for immediate discussion, and so Professor Lee and Mrs. Patterson, whose papers were most central to this problem, were asked to outline their respective points of view. The salient considerations that arose in this connection were as follows: Professor Lee suggested that for purposes of analysis Britain could be regarded as a class society, and the United States as a bi-racial society. Though not radically in disagreement with Professor Lee, Mrs. Patterson felt that Britain was perhaps becoming a multi-racial society. Both speakers, however, agreed ethnographically about the two situations and Mrs. Patterson also accepted Professor Lee's suggestion that there was one important variable upon which the future of race relations would hinge. In the United States, it would hinge on the question of housing and in Britain largely on the question of employment. On the other hand, Mrs. Patterson's formulation of the British situation as an immigrant problem complicated by colour was a provocative statement in the view of several members of the conference, and Professor Ira Reid, in particular, disagreed with the suggestion that West Indians in Britain could be compared with Puerto Ricans in New York. The latter group were different in language and culture from the local population as well as being economically very poor and rural in back-

ground. The relevance of this objection was not challenged by Mrs. Patterson.

A further interesting slant to this discussion was given by Dr. Collins who pointed out the considerable variation in local situations in Britain. Professor Lee's work was conducted in a local area and Mrs. Patterson's observations were also confined to a particular locality. Dr. Collins spoke from a more general background of fieldwork and study of the literature and so he felt that any comparison made with the United States must be made with care as it would inevitably involve a good deal of generalization. He, too, stressed the implications of the British social structure for this problem. Professor Reid seemed in agreement on this point and made the further suggestion that the phenomenon of 'colour-shock' should be taken into account in Britain.

It was not quite clear whether Professor Reid meant that British people suffered shock or West Indians, since it is possible that 'colour-shock' obtains in both cases. The light-skinned West Indian is shocked because his fairer complexion does not connote higher status as it does in the West Indies, and British people are sometimes shocked by the experience of Africans or West Indians, whom they had taken over the telephone for Englishmen, possessing black faces.

Another important question talked about was that of race consciousness—how it is created or diminished as the case may be. Professor Kuper's paper provided an important contribution to this matter but he was unfortunately unable to be present to elaborate his views. He had suggested a number of mechanisms whereby racial feeling was generated

- (a) by the classification of people according to race;
- (b) by making racial classification mandatory as a guide to conduct;
- (c) by instituting a system of rewards and punishments in respect of racial behaviour.

On the same subject Professor Blumer pointed out the significance of public discussion for racial alignments—that through public discussion, in the press and in other ways, groups were assisted to form conceptions of each other. Professor Blumer also considered that this was an area of research which would help to reveal the way in which racial attitudes were crystallized.

Mr. Fosbrooke took up the same point, drawing attention to the Central African Federation. There, the Northern Rhodesian Government had deliberately set up race relations committees with the object of holding relations between Africans and Europeans up for public review—an objective which was also fulfilled through the publication of debates in the legislature about this topic. Mr. Fosbrooke also

pointed out that British policy was reluctant to legislate for such matters, it being the government's argument that good race relationships cannot be created by law.

The Section had a contribution from Professor Klineberg on the same score. He spoke about the labelling of groups, but in this connection a number of speakers pointed out that 'labelling' need not necessarily have a deleterious effect: sometimes the result was positive.

The main part of the Section's discussion centred, however, on the wide and more controversial question of the meaning of race consciousness and of race relations as a subject of study.

In this connection, a good deal of doubt was expressed about the usefulness of existing formulations, and several speakers stressed that the existence of racially mixed communities did not necessarily connote racial tension, nor was there any necessary linkage with race consciousness. Professor Gosley pointed to the influence of the biological sciences on sociological thinking about race relations as did the Chairman, Professor Frazier, in his presidential paper. Professor Gosley, however, made the extra point that it was anxiety for scientific explanation which had tended historically to result in racial explanations of group behaviour. Another speaker suggested that Park's definition of race relations as 'the relations existing between peoples distinguished by marks of racial descent . . .' had tended to reinforce a rather limited interpretation of the subject.

In this connection, therefore, Professor Gosley went on to ask if the topic need be confined to groups actually different in race in the proper sense of the term; and other speakers raised a similar issue. It was pointed out, for example, that there were cultural rather than racial factors to distinguish such groups as Chinese, Indonesians, and Malays who were in close proximity with each other. Were we right, therefore, to restrict our attention to relations between black and white, when there were also considerable group tensions in Asia and elsewhere. Indeed, a few speakers were inclined to extend the area of discussion to relations between what were termed the 'merchant' or 'middle-class' Jewish, Lebanese and other similar groups with the large indigenous populations among whom such immigrants had settled.

From the wide nature of this discussion it may be gathered, as Mr. Jaspan pointed out, that there was some confusion over the term 'ethnic'—versus—'racial'. It was therefore suggested by at least one speaker that in considering these problems a more rigid categorization was necessary. It was necessary to separate the kind of problem which involved the attribution of hereditary traits of a biological kind to a group from the kind of problem which involved merely feelings of

national or cultural difference. In this connection, Professor Handlin, following Professor Gosley's historical point, stressed the relatively recent origin of 'racial' thinking, and the audience was also reminded that although religion and culture had been a basis for group antagonism and conflict from the earliest time, the racial factor as such probably did not provide such a basis until after the Middle Ages.

In a somewhat similar connection, several speakers also pointed out that there was a difference between race relations and colour relations. In the former case, a biological explanation of such relationships was postulated; in the latter case a social one. In this regard, the Chairman reminded the Section that colour had such a social connotation among certain strata of the American Negro community. This meant that although American Negroes did not discriminate *racially* against each other, there was sometimes discrimination on the grounds of social factors, such as wealth or education. Other speakers provided further illustrations of this phenomenon in Brazil and the West Indies. The Chairman also made his own point of view clear when he said that a racial situation exists when people think of themselves and of other groups in racial terms, and when the status of groups is similarly defined.

It seemed possible that some of the difficulties and confusions arising in these respects arose because of diffidence over use of the term 'race' itself, despite the fact that this matter has been threshed out by various UNESCO committees and their findings have been published.

A further slant was given to the discussion by reference to the possible relationship of certain personality types to race relations, it being suggested that the authoritarian personality is more prone to prejudice. These views met with the criticism that it is difficult to show how specific so-called psycho-genetic factors may be for prejudice. For example, what happens to this kind of personality in a country or a community providing no opportunity for racial prejudice? Dr. Klineberg expressed this objection pithily in the observation that there are certain individuals who are prepared to hate everybody "irrespective of race, colour, or creed."

Another related trend in the discussion included the comparison of racial relations with a number of other kinds of sociological situation. This point emerged specifically in the discussion of British race relations where, it was pointed out, the position of an African or a West Indian might be similar to that of a working-class person confronted with a 'middle-class' situation. The African or West Indian might complain that they never knew where they stood in British society, but this was also true of the working-class individual who, in the circumstances mentioned, might feel equally uneasy and uncertain of people's expectations of his behaviour.

Likewise, the phenomenon of xenophobia—fear or hatred of the stranger—although often quoted in explanation of racial tensions and difficulties—crops up in a wide variety of other social situations familiarly spoken of in terms of the In-group-Out-group relationship.

Thus, from the general nature of the discussion, including some of the demands made for a revision of customary formulations, it might seem as if students of so-called racial problems are turning methodologically in a somewhat different direction. Recognizing that the notion of racial and ethnic relations is scientifically of little use except as a 'blanket' expression, it may be that future students will concentrate their attention more upon social factors than upon the attitudes and sentiments previously held to influence the behaviour of groups towards each other.

Such a development would be in line with the Chairman's own claim that the study of race relations is progressing with the development of sociology itself as a social science discipline.

KENNETH LITTLE.

SECTION II(1)k
THE APPLICATION OF
SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO THE FAMILY

Chairman: Professor REUBEN HILL (University of Minnesota)

Rapporteur: M. JEAN-RENE TREANTON
(Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris)

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

PIERRE DE BIE et ROBERT HOEBAER (Université de Louvain)

*CONTRIBUTION D'UNE ÉTUDE RÉCENTE DES BUDGETS FAMILIAUX À
LA POLITIQUE FAMILIALE*

L'enquête budgétaire décrite a pour objet de comparer les données relatives à la couverture des besoins des enfants à charge de familles appartenant à trois milieux socio-professionnels distincts: ouvriers salariés, exploitants agricoles, fonctionnaires et employés des cadres.

En vue de répondre à cet objectif trois points ont été analysés: l'influence de la présence d'enfants sur le niveau de la consommation des biens et de l'utilisation des services, les restrictions éventuelles que s'imposent les ménages suite à la dégradation du niveau de vie causée par la présence d'enfants, et le coût de l'enfant à différents âges, coût établi en liaison étroite avec le mode de vie du milieu socio-professionnel considéré.

L'enquête porte également sur d'autres points: elle mesure de façon précise l'incidence qu'ont sur les comportements économiques des ménages le niveau des ressources, la résidence dans un milieu urbain, l'appartenance à un milieu socio-culturel wallon ou flamand.

La méthode de sélection des ménages a été dominée par le principe suivant: obtenir la collaboration de ménages différent entre eux par le nombre d'enfants à charge mais aussi homogènes que possible, à l'intérieur d'un milieu socio-professionnel déterminé, à l'égard des principaux facteurs pouvant influencer le montant et l'orientation des dépenses.

Afin de permettre une analyse portant sur des ménages présentant une homogénéité plus grande, des échantillons plus restreints, appelés échantillons expérimentaux, ont été créés à partir de l'échantillon obtenu en fin d'enquête.

La durée de l'enquête a été de 52 semaines dans les milieux d'ouvriers et d'agriculteurs, et de 14 semaines dans le milieu d'employés. La méthode du livre des comptes a été utilisée mais chez les employés cette méthode a été complétée par celle des interviews. Toutes les dépenses et toutes les consommations du ménage ont été incluses dans l'enquête; dans le milieu agricole les frais se rattachant à l'exploitation agricole ont bien entendu été exclus.

HAROLD T. CHRISTENSEN (Purdue University)

*AN ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL RELATIVISM AS APPLIED TO PREMARITAL
SEX NORMS*

In line with the theory of cultural relativity, it was hypothesized that premarital sex norms not only vary from society to society, but that *the more permissive societies tend to combine greater indulgence with fewer negative effects*—since in these cases intimate behavior is to a large extent compatible with the values held.

For a test of this hypothesis, premarital sex data were studied and compared among samples from three widely different cultures: Denmark, where norms are liberal and permissive; Utah, where they are conservative and restrictive; and Indiana, which holds something of a middle position between these two extremes. As expected, the Danish sample showed the highest rates of illegitimacy and of premarital conception followed by marriage, and the longest interval between conception and marriage for those who became pregnant prior to the wedding. In contrast, Utah rates of premarital conception were found to be the lowest of the three, and her average interval between conception and marriage, for premarital conceiver, the shortest. The divorce-rate-differential between premarital and post-marital conceivers was found to be considerably less in Denmark than in Indiana—though premarital pregnancy turned out to be somewhat associated with divorce in both of these cultures. (Utah data were unavailable for this last comparison).

Thus, as measured by incidence of premarital conception in these samples, permissive sex norms lead to greater premarital intimacy, but with this behavior having smaller consequences in terms of either speeding up the wedding or inducing divorce later on. In other words, premarital sex behavior and its consequences are to a considerable extent relative to the culture. There is a strong suggestion, however, that *not everything is relative*, as evidenced by the association of divorce with premarital pregnancy in both of the cultures studied on this point.

NELSON N. FOOTE (General Electric Company) and ROLF MEYERSOHN
(University of Chicago)

ALLOCATIONS OF TIME AMONG FAMILY ACTIVITIES

The field work of an exploratory study of the activities of forty-eight families in Tarrytown, New York, has been completed and the analysis begun. We ventured upon a study of time allocation in order to describe empirically a family's style of life, and in order to develop a way in which this material can be compared with accounts of how families spend their money. We also wanted to find out in a pilot effort what difficulties would be encountered in a study of time expenditures approaching the size of the major American consumer expenditure studies.

Formulation of a proper research question relevant to theory did not begin until we questioned the meaning of "allocation." Our descriptive study of time allocation gathered depth as we began to conceive of it as an index of the degree to which people do successfully manage their own activity.

Our principal method was to enlist families to keep diaries. The forty-eight families were selected so as to maximize variation by means of a quota-control sample; the quotas were set according to age of head, commuter status, tenure status (own or rent), and occupation. Over the course of one year five diaries were placed, one at a time, with the families, each for a different day of the week and a different season.

Each diary entry was treated as a sentence, and this grammatical assumption provided the basis for coding the diary materials. By coding family activities as sentences—units consisting of verb, object, and indirect object—we were able to organize our data for manipulation by machine sorting and for classification into a number of broad categories.

Activities are manifested through the medium of time; time can be considered the form and activity the content of behavior. We delineated five aspects of time: location, duration, organization, coordination, and allocation. The study was more successful in opening up these avenues for further investigation than in finding out whether people do indeed allocate their time with varying degrees of control.

In asking respondents to evaluate each activity, we found three questions which could help in the interpretation of the significance of the activity. Each activity should be designated (1) as initiated by self or other, (2) as routine or special, and (3) as enjoyed or disliked.

A GIRARD (Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques, Paris)
L'ETUDE DES BUDGETS DE FAMILLE EN FRANCE

Sans donner une liste exhaustive des études sur les budgets de famille en France, cette communication s'efforce de définir les objectifs principaux qui ont présidé aux recherches, surtout depuis la fin de la guerre. Préoccupation démographique d'abord: eu égard à la dénatalité antérieure, étude du niveau de vie selon le nombre des enfants, menée à la fois de manière théorique en comparant les ressources et les besoins, et pratiquée par observation directe. Préoccupation sanitaire et diététique, pour connaître la structure et la qualité de la ration alimentaire. Préoccupation économique, afin de suivre l'évolution du coût de la vie et celle de la consommation, actuelle ou prévisible, en fonction des changements intervenant dans le pouvoir d'achat.

Les travaux ont été rarement accomplis à la demande du sociologue, mais celui-ci pourrait profiter du matériel rassemblé pour élaborer une théorie de la sociologie de la famille. Les relations entre les personnes au sein de la famille, ou entre les groupes sociaux, étant étroitement liées au statut économique et aux disponibilités financières de chacun, une meilleure typologie de la famille pourrait être entreprise, en même temps qu'une analyse par milieu des fonctions de la famille, ou des changements provoqués dans les valeurs par des modifications du niveau de vie. Des expériences pourraient être conduites en faisant varier les ressources de familles dont les modes de dépenses seraient alors étudiés par référence à un groupe témoin. De toute manière, l'observation devrait être poursuivie dans le temps.

En un mot, la complexité de la vie moderne a provoqué un développement des recherches empiriques sur les budgets de famille, actuelles et prévisionnelles, qui se trouvent à la disposition du sociologue, pour élaborer, à partir du concret, un cadre théorique et conceptuel, notamment dans le domaine de la famille.

MIRRA KOMAROVSKY, H. JANE PHILIPS and DOROTHY WILLNER
(Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University)

CLASS DIFFERENCES IN MARRIAGE COMMUNICATION

The paper reports on one section of a larger study of sixty working class marriages based on intensive interviews with both husband and wife in an industrial community of 63,000. The families were predominantly Protestant, native born of native parents, semi-skilled or skilled workers, under 40 years of age, and all with children. In terms of these criteria, 41 were drawn from the city directory, and 19 came from church lists.

The focus of this report is on norms and behavior with regard to primacy and privacy of conjugal communication. It was hypothesized that the highschool graduates would be more likely than those with lesser education to express the ideal of close and exclusive communication between spouses. Two projective tests did support the hypothesis that the highschool graduates indorsed such ideals more frequently.

As to actual behavior, an attempt was made to ascertain whether each subject had a confidant, someone with whom he or she shared regularly personal matters of deepest concern in generally protected areas, at times even matters withheld from spouse. Three types were distinguished:

- A. The "Anomic" subjects, those whose marriage communication was seriously impaired, and who had no one else either.
- B. The Conjugal Dyad, those whose communication with spouse ranged from only fair to excellent, and who had no other confidant.
- C. Those who did have a confidant other than spouse.

Relative frequency of these three types is presented by sex and education. In both educational categories husbands are found to have fewer confidants than do the wives. The "anomic" type occurs more frequently in the less well educated groups and is more common among husbands than wives. On the other hand, highschool women had a confidant about as frequently as the less educated women. It appears, therefore, that women vary more in ideal norms than they do in actual behavior.

EUGENE LITWAK (The University of Michigan School of Social Work)

THE USE OF EXTENDED FAMILY GROUPS IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SOCIAL GOALS: SOME POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this paper is to show that modified extended family relations are used as generalized means for achieving most social goals and to discuss the consequent policy implications which follow. The argument is made that in a society dominated by technological innovation and the consequent social change, learning group tradition will not lead to the achievement of social values. As a consequence, attention should be directed to generalized means which permit individuals to operate in most situations—regardless of their novelty.

Unlike the classical extended family, the modern version does not demand geographical propinquity nor is it ruled by demands for occupational nepotism. At the same time it is argued that this modern extended family provides significant social aid to the nuclear family members.

In this connection the paper seeks to demonstrate that the modern extended family can maintain its relations despite differential occupational and geographical mobility among family members. Furthermore, this aid does not lead to a dominance of the nuclear family by the extended family, but rather to the achievement of nuclear family goals—as defined by the nuclear family. Nor does this aid lead to occupational nepotism.

From this analysis certain broad policy lines for family life are suggested. There is a need to sensitize individuals to the mechanisms by which family relations can be maintained over geographic and social distance. There is a need to sensitize individuals to the mechanisms by which aid can be given without social dominance. There is a need to sensitize individuals to the mechanisms by which family aid can be isolated from the occupational demands for appointment by merit.

LEOPOLD ROSENMAYR (Social Science Research Center, University of Vienna)

VALUES AND ROLES IN VIENNESE FAMILY LIFE: SOME RESEARCH EXAMPLES TO DEMONSTRATE THE INNER CONNECTION BETWEEN "PURE" AND "APPLIED" RESEARCH

The paper presents the hypothesis that any study of the *sociological aspect* of a human problem may result in findings meaningful for sociological theory as well as for practical decisions in social life (e.g., legislative and administrative measures, direct and indirect social action, regional planning, educational and therapeutic practices). The categories of "pure" and "applied" research in the traditional philosophy of science are convenient and justifiable only if they are regarded as

defining an emphasis in the elaboration and presentation of results, but not as a distinction of principle in the selection and classification of research topics or methods.

Findings from three empirical studies conducted by the author at the Social Science Research Laboratory of Vienna University are then reported and the attempt is made to show both their contribution to "middle range" theory formation and to areas of practical application.

One of the studies based on field research furnished evidence that the old people's desire to live together in one household with their adult children was relatively low. Only 29 per cent of a sample of 862 persons (men over 65, women over 60) wanted to live in households together with their families. Of those who actually lived with their adult children more than one third would actually have wished to dissolve this close, day by day association.

Our study demonstrated that the aged people desired regular social exchange and contacts, but, in a strong majority of cases, did not want to live in households with their families. From a theoretical point of view it was interesting to note that neither E. W. Burgess' concept of the dissolution of the multigenerational extended family nor the conclusions drawn from the studies of M. Young, P. Willmott and P. Townsend emphasizing the close intergenerational collaboration especially between mothers and daughters in London could be considered valid for the social reality in Vienna. We were thus led to the notion of an intimacy "*par distance*" to characterize the model of family contacts as old people in Vienna desire them.

Such results have implications also for design and planning of homes and neighborhoods and for the social administration renting the publicly built homes.

Data from a second research project on the role of the mother in Viennese family life gave evidence that despite a commonly observed relation between female labor on the one hand and fertility on the other there is no necessary connection between them. Although it seems to have some general validity to say that through the entry of the woman into the labor force some basic attitudes are changed and thereby also aspirations arise which inevitably affect their sex and family life, it may, as we hypothesized in order to explain one important type of mothers' labor in Vienna, occur that women go to work in order to lay the socio-economic foundation for a home with children.

Such a result leads to a series of consequences in regard to social action for the family. It demonstrates a certain socio-economic "necessity" of female labor and orients family-policy toward the amelioration of female labor and its adjustment to some basic aspects of the female role in marriage and the family rather than toward its negation.

The third part of the paper reported on leisure and the family in a rural area connected with Vienna through commuters who live there, and it demonstrated the range of application of the findings of a time budget study undertaken there.

ERWIN K. SCHEUCH (University of Cologne)

LEISURE AND THE FAMILY

Two basic and largely contradictory evaluations prevail in sociological literature on the effect of leisure on the family and the family on leisure in contemporary industrialized urban societies. While especially in the USA it is often maintained that with the reduction in family size and the loss of functions the family will also lose in importance for leisure, other authors think that the leisure function is of increasing importance for the family along with the general strengthening of affective functions. Material from studies by the Institute for Social Research at Cologne,

based on representative samples, is re-analyzed with reference to such and related theories, and compared with other German sources.

Some characteristic features of the Cologne studies are that not merely individual activities are studied successively, but also classes of such activities. Such dichotomies as activities inside versus outside the home, and family oriented versus non-family centered activities are employed. Furthermore, the content of conversations and the importance of primary contacts are evaluated. In explaining observed frequencies of categories for leisure behaviour, again not only individual factors are used, but also bundles of such factors defined by scaling methods, as well as abstract categories for groups of variables. Examples are: social status, authority structure of families, family type according to composition of membership, as well as activities by phases of the week and the year.

This analysis suggests that leisure even for urban populations is largely familial in character and centered inside the home, with characteristic deviations from this general pattern for subgroups and time periods. There is, however, ground for the suspicion that these studies, as well as most other material available, concentrate too much on husband-wife relationships and neglect interaction between the generations. Critical analysis also leads to the question, whether the pursuit of identical interests can implicitly be used—as it frequently is—as a yardstick in assessing integration and equilibrium in the family. Instead of the assumptions usually connected with the concept of the “companionship marriage,” it is recommended that the differences in functions of leisure due to the differentiation in instrumental roles between man and wife should be more consciously considered.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

LE PR. REUBEN HILL, président de la Commission, avait prévu une discussion en trois temps: brève présentation des communications, réponse aux éclaircissements demandés par l'assistance; à partir de ces exemples concrets, débat sur un problème plus général: quels principes, quelles méthodes, quelles précautions faut-il suivre pour passer de la recherche fondamentale à la recherche appliquée en matière de sociologie de la famille? En fait, les deux premières étapes ont été plus longues que prévu, et la troisième, faute de temps, a été pratiquement sacrifiée.

Nous résumons ici les principaux points sur lesquels ont porté les échanges de vues entre les auteurs des communications et les auditeurs: M. CHRISTENSEN a précisé la notion de *culture* telle qu'il l'a utilisée dans son étude: *Cultural Relativism and Premarital Sex Norms*. Il convient avec M. MOGEY (Gr.-Br.), qu'il serait artificiel de nier le caractère “culturel” des 3 variables (âge, occupation, caractère civil ou religieux du mariage) utilisées pour éclairer certaines différences entre “sous-groupes” à l'intérieur de chacune des 3 cultures qu'il a comparées. Toute classification prête à discussion, mais il semble légitime de considérer ces variables comme “subculturelles” et de les distinguer des autres variables qui définissent les cultures “globales”: ce qui permet de constater que leur influence, à l'intérieur des trois cultures, semble agir dans la même direction.

Sur la méthode qu'il a utilisée pour définir ces trois cultures et sur la nature exacte du facteur religieux dont il a tenu compte (questions posées par M. NOTO, Italie), il précise qu'il a recouru à l'observation participante étendue sur de nombreuses années (Utah et Indiana), à des enquêtes par questionnaires auprès des étudiants (Indiana), à des contacts directs avec la population et du dépouillement exhaustif des matériaux imprimés (Danemark). Il estime que ces procédés lui ont permis d'analyser de façon satisfaisante les différences culturelles entre les 3 pays. Dans l'Utah, la religion mormonne joue un rôle capital non seulement au niveau idéologique, mais aussi dans la vie quotidienne. L'accent est mis sur le "leadership" des laïcs dans la religion, et sur leur intense participation à la vie civique. 75 à 80% des habitants sont mormons, ce qui donne à l'Utah la plus grande homogénéité religieuse des Etats-Unis. Au Danemark aussi, prépondérance très nette d'une seule religion, mais le luthérianisme, sauf pour quelques individus, est religion *nominale* qui ne fournit pas un facteur de motivation aussi puissant, aussi présent dans la vie de tous les jours.

Les questions posées à M. KARLSSON, à la suite de sa communication sur : "Le choix du conjoint et la satisfaction maritale" (*Mate Selection and Marital Satisfaction*) portent également sur la méthode qu'il a suivie pour définir ses variables. Il a mesuré la satisfaction maritale en se servant d'une batterie de 5 questions : Etes-vous heureux ? Pensez-vous que vous seriez plus heureux avec un autre conjoint ?, etc. . . Il convient (pour répondre à une remarque de Miss VIOLA KLEIN, Gr.-Br.) que l'index ainsi obtenu peut prêter à certaines critiques ; mais les résultats obtenus, par d'autres chercheurs, à l'aide d'index beaucoup plus complets, vont dans le même sens que les siens. Quant au choix des conjoints, la tendance à se marier dans une classe supérieure, qu'il a constatée parmi les étudiants, vaut pour les deux sexes, et non pas simplement pour les hommes. Certes, dans les universités, la proportion de femmes de milieu supérieur est plus élevée que celles des hommes ; mais le choix du conjoint se fait souvent à l'*extérieur* du milieu universitaire,

Dans une brève intervention, M. ALAIN GIRARD (France) souligne l'intérêt des recherches comparatives sur *le choix du conjoint* : C'est un problème très large qui a des implications de tous ordres : il influe sur la stabilité du mariage, sur le niveau intellectuel des enfants, sur la fécondité des familles, sur la répartition des gènes dans la population, etc. On peut se demander si le choix du conjoint est aujourd'hui plus ouvert qu'il ne l'était autrefois ou qu'il ne l'est dans des sociétés moins mobiles que les nôtres. D'où l'intérêt des recherches sur les "isolats" (populations à l'intérieur desquelles le choix s'opère)¹. Ces ce qui compense les chances de chaque sexe de trouver des partenaires de milieu supérieur.

isolats ont-ils tendance à éclater? Ou, au contraire, des pressions sociales interviennent-elles pour limiter très fortement le choix du conjoint? Des études comparatives permettraient d'aboutir à des indices de distance (culturelle, géographique, sociale, etc. . . .) entre les conjoints; et de suivre l'évolution de ces indices dans les différentes sociétés et dans le temps.

M. IONASCO (Roumanie) attire l'attention sur les aspects juridiques du mariage et de la condition des époux. Dans la mesure où elle établit l'égalité des sexes la législation peut avoir un effet capital sur la liberté de choix du conjoint, et, indirectement, sur la stabilité du mariage.

Les questions qui sont posées à Mrs. KOMAROVSKY par M. GRUND-SETH (Norvège), par M. DE BIE (Belgique) et par M. ROSENMAYR (Autriche), lui donnent l'occasion de préciser quelques aspects de son étude sur: "Les types de communication dans les couples de milieu ouvrier" (*Communication Patterns in Working-Class Marriages*).² L'exploitation de l'enquête n'est pas encore complètement achevée; aussi les données qui suivent n'ont-elles que la valeur de simples impressions. Certes, les tests projectifs utilisés par les enquêteurs montrent que chacun des deux conjoints met les deux moitiés de sa famille (lignée du mari et lignée de la femme) sur un plan d'égalité en ce qui concerne par exemple les questions de d'aide et de soutien, de vacances, de célébration de la Nöel, etc. . . Mais, en fait, dans le comportement réel, il y a dissymétrie des relations en faveur de la lignée de la femme. Quant au mari, il entretient de son côté ses propres relations avec sa lignée. Au point où en est la recherche, il est impossible de savoir exactement le contenu de ses relations avec son père, son frère, sa soeur, etc. . . Mais il semble que ces liens soient beaucoup moins étroits que ceux qui existent avec la lignée de la femme. On a, d'autre part, l'impression que la mère ou les amies de la femme reçoivent, de celle-ci, beaucoup plus de confidences que le mari lui-même. Il serait vain d'affirmer, comme le font beaucoup de "text-books" sur la famille, que le relâchement des liens entre les époux et leurs parents est un signe de "maturité" conjugale. Le sociologue doit faire preuve de plus de relativisme, et se méfier de ces généralisations psychologiques présentées comme ayant une valeur universelle. Les liens avec les parents ont des implications qui varient selon les circonstances sociales. On peut évidemment concevoir que des familles d'un type moins conjugal offrent autant de maturité que des familles étroitement "conjugales".

M. ROSENMAYR précise, à la demande de Mme. STEIGENGA (Pays Bas) que la totalité de l'échantillon de 1.100 personnes étudiées dans sa recherche: *Values and Roles in Viennese Family Life* ne vivaient pas dans le secteur public du logement: il a donc pu faire des comparaisons entre les réponses du secteur public et les réponses du sec-

teur privé. La politique de la ville de Vienne n'est pas toujours bien définie en matière d'admission aux logements publics ; les plafonds de revenus sont assez variables. Aussi pense-t-il que ces critères d'admission n'introduisent pas de distorsion notable dans la répartition socio-économique de la population étudiée. L'enquête comporterait des renseignements sur les revenus, mais ils n'ont pas encore été utilisés dans l'exploitation des résultats.

Mme TALMON-GARBER (Israël) s'attache au problème des rapports entre la recherche fondamentale et la recherche appliquée, tel qu'il est évoqué dans la communication de M. ROSENMAYR et dans celle de M. HILL. Il lui paraît dangereux de rapprocher trop étroitement les deux types de recherche. La recherche fondamentale suppose qu'on dégage des principes analytiques, qu'on isole des variables et qu'on les mette en corrélation. La recherche appliquée met généralement le chercheur en présence de situations dont il ne contrôle pas la totalité des variables. Il peut avoir la tentation d'un compromis (*short-cut*) entre les deux types d'exigences méthodologiques. La recherche fondamentale peut en subir, dans sa rigueur, un contre-coup défavorable. D'autre part, résoudre un problème pratique signifie qu'on se trouve placé dans un contexte de valeurs et d'idéologies liées à la situation. Ces valeurs et ces idéologies marquent nécessairement le déroulement de la recherche. Une certaine " ségrégation " de la recherche fondamentale peut donc paraître nécessaire au respect des principes méthodologiques qui la conditionnent.

M. HILL souligne l'intérêt de ces remarques et manifeste l'espoir qu'elles seront reprises et commentées dans la discussion générale. Les communications présentées ont le mérite de porter sur des problèmes d'actualité, et de mettre en cause tous les niveaux de la réalité sociale.

La réunion de l'après-midi s'ouvre par la discussion de l'étude de M. BONAC sur : "Les possibilités d'utilisation pratique de la sociologie de la famille en Yougoslavie". En réponse aux questions de M. ROSENMAYR, il précise que l'enquête qu'il a présentée n'a qu'une valeur d'exemple : il a voulu donner une idée des recherches faites en Yougoslavie et de l'intérêt pratique qu'elles peuvent offrir. Les statistiques Yougoslaves (comme M. MILIC l'avait indiqué dans la matinée) sont désormais très complètes en matière de renseignements familiaux. Mais cette recherche a été faite avec peu de moyens matériels. Il a fallu recourir à l'aide de 4.000 instituteurs qui ont donné des renseignements sur un échantillon de 13.000 enfants représentatifs d'une population de 130.000. Les instituteurs ont jugé du progrès des enfants d'après leurs notes scolaires ; ce sont également eux qui ont décrit les conditions familiales des enfants (alcoolisme des parents, type de logement, etc. . .) conditions qu'ils sont généralement à même de très bien connaître. Les critères qu'ils ont utilisés peuvent

prêter à discussion ; mais on peut penser que la combinaison de plusieurs réponses (intérêt des parents pour le progrès scolaire des enfants, niveau d'instruction des parents, etc....) permet d'établir un index global satisfaisant du rapport entre le progrès scolaire et le milieu familial. Chaque instituteur n'avait à donner de renseignements que pour 3 ou 4 élèves choisis strictement au hasard d'après la date de naissance : on peut donc espérer qu'il y a mis le maximum de sérieux et d'objectivité.

Mme. TALMON-GARBER apporte une série d'éclaircissements sur son étude de : "La différenciation du rôle des sexes dans une société égalitaire" (*Sex-Role Differentiation in an Equalitarian Society*). Elle a comparé 3 niveaux de réalité sociale : l'idéologie officielle des "kibbutzim" qui met l'accent sur la parfaite égalité des rôles entre hommes et femmes ; les normes plus spécifiques qui se dégagent de la vie collective ; les comportements réels des individus. Plus les normes deviennent spécifiques, plus elles se rapprochent de la réalité, plus elles tranchent avec l'égalitarisme officiel du niveau n°I. Cette dégradation s'accomplice sous la pression de facteurs institutionnels, et non pas de facteurs idéologiques : l'idéologie reste en retrait et lutte même contre l'évolution des normes spécifiques et des comportements. Certes, comme l'a objecté M. ROSENMAYR, on peut se demander si cette évolution n'est pas due à la résurgence d'anciennes habitudes, d'anciennes normes, intériorisées dans les sociétés d'origine, *avant* l'arrivée en Israël. On pourrait le savoir des analyses plus poussées qui comparerient les immigrés venus de milieux ethniques différents (russe, allemand, irakien, etc....). Ou en comparant, entre eux, des immigrés de même origine ethnique, mais de milieux sociaux ou de traditions culturelles suffisamment tranchés : par exemple, Juifs de Berlin, très cosmopolites, avec Juifs de petites communautés allemande traditionnalistes. Les recherches portant sur la seconde génération, né en Israël, semblent confirmer les résultats obtenus pour la première génération : pression irrésistible des institutions, en dépit de l'endoctrinement idéologique beaucoup plus forte subie par cette seconde génération. Toutefois, ces recherches sont trop peu avancées pour prêter à généralisation.

M. MOGEY (Gr.-Br.) attire l'attention sur le fait que les méthodes d'analyse des réseaux de relations sociales dans les familles doivent beaucoup aux ethnologues et aux anthropologues 3—and non pas seulement aux sociologues britanniques (Bott, Mogey, Townsend, Young) dont M. HILL et Mme. TALMON-GARBER ont signalé l'apport original. Autre remarque : il ne faut pas perdre de vue que les rôles familiaux varient dans le temps, en fonction des événements qui surviennent (changement résidentiel, naissance d'un nouvel enfant, etc.). Les études longitudinales (*panel studies*) mettent ce phénomène en lumière.

Melle. KLOSKOWSKA (Pologne) présente les résultats d'une étude

faite dans une usine textile de Lodz, auprès d'un échantillon d'ouvriers mariés et chargés de famille dont elle a cherché à connaître l'opinion sur le principe du travail professionnel de la femme. C'est un problème qui prend de plus en plus d'importance en Pologne à la suite de l'industrialisation. Les hommes interrogés se déclarent favorables au travail de la femme, et même de la femme mariée (sauf quand ses enfants sont encore très jeunes). Ils approuvent également l'égalité des salaires entre les deux sexes. Leurs opinions sont donc, à ce niveau, en parfaite conformité avec l'idéologie officielle telle qu'elle est répandue par la presse. Mais dès qu'il s'agit de leur propre femme, ils se révèlent généralement insatisfaits de la voir travailler. Quand l'enquêteur leur demande de choisir entre deux réformes concrètes : soit l'encouragement du travail féminin par la création de crèches, de cantines, etc...., soit l'amélioration du salaire des maris qui dispenserait les femmes de travailler, la grande majorité se déclare en faveur de la solution n°2. La femme idéale, à leurs yeux ? La bonne ménagère. Cependant, s'il s'agit non plus de leur épouse mais de leur fille, leur attitude est beaucoup moins traditionnaliste : ils acceptent que leur fille travaille (surtout dans une profession non-manuelle ou libérale : médecin, etc.). Le modèle de la famille patriarcale où le père garde une forte autorité sur ses enfants, semble ici en voie de disparition, peut-être sous l'influence de l'évolution des structures sociales dans la Pologne d'aujourd'hui.

M. CHOMBART de LAUWE (France) indique que cette recherche sur les attitudes relatives au travail de la femme a été entreprise, non seulement en Pologne, mais parallèlement en France et au Canada. L'exploitation de l'enquête française n'est pas encore terminé. Elle a porté sur quatre populations différentes : des familles ouvrières de Paris et de la banlieue, des familles de classes moyennes, des étudiants non mariés, et enfin des salariés de l'hôtellerie, secteur professionnel où la vie de famille est particulièrement difficile. A première vue, il semble que les résultats ne soient pas très différents de ceux recueillis en Pologne : opposition assez générale au travail de la femme, ou tout au moins volonté d'aboutir à des conditions sociales qui lui permettent un libre choix entre le travail et la non-activité. Le sociologue qui se fait l'interprète des aspirations de la population doit chercher les moyens de transformer les structures sociales en fonction de ces aspirations. Les recherches poursuivies en France sur les différences de comportement familial suivant les types de logement, intéressent par exemple les architectes et les urbanistes, et influencent leur action.

M. HILL définit brièvement les questions auxquelles doit répondre le chercheur qui veut transformer une recherche pure en recherche appliquée :

1. Quelles différences doit-il introduire dans la définition des termes du problème ?

2. Dans quelle mesure la situation de recherche diffère-t-elle de l'un à l'autre cas ? Qui participe à la recherche ? Qui intéresse-t-elle ? Le chercheur garde-t-il la même liberté d'investigation, la même liberté de publication de ses résultats ?
3. Dans quelle mesure les objectifs de la recherche varient-ils ? Par exemple, faut-il admettre qu'une recherche fondamentale est aussi valable quand elle n'aboutit à aucune possibilité d'action pratique ?
4. A quelles variables (dépendantes et indépendantes) faut-il arrêter son choix ?

M. HILL invite les participants à réfléchir sur ces problèmes et exprime son désir qu'ils puissent donner lieu à un échange de vues.

La séance du lendemain permet à Mme. JESSIE BERNARD (U.S.A.) d'attirer l'attention sur les grandes possibilités d'analyse qu'offre en sociologie de la famille, la théorie des jeux et des décisions statistiques (*Decision-Game Theory as Applied to Family Policy Formulation and Administration*) et à M. ROLF MEYERSON (U.S.A.) de présenter l'étude sur : "La répartition des activités familiales dans le temps" (*Allocation of Time among Family Activities*) qu'il a écrite en collaboration avec NELSON N. FOOTE. Il en précise quelques points. La notion de "contrôle" du temps est apparue en cours de recherche comme l'une des plus importantes : elle permet d'indiquer si l'activité du sujet est mise en mouvement par lui-même ou par autrui. L'exploitation de l'enquête n'est pas encore assez avancée pour montrer dans quelle mesure ce critère différencie les familles étudiées.

Les communications présentées par MM. GIRARD (France) et DE BIE (Belgique) portent sur l'étude des budgets familiaux, dans leurs deux pays. Si l'on possédait, dit M. GIRARD, des études de budgets familiaux complètes et parfaites, on ne serait pas très loin de connaître le tout de l'organisation et du fonctionnement des familles. Mais on est très loin de la perfection dans ce genre de recherches. La plupart des pays disposent de documents, d'informations plus ou moins éparses, recueillies généralement avec des objectifs étroits et sans la collaboration des sociologues. Cette collaboration serait cependant nécessaire pour formuler des hypothèses théoriques qu'on mettrait à l'épreuve des faits. De telles recherches permettraient de répondre à certaines préoccupations non seulement des démographes (influence du niveau de vie sur le nombre d'enfants, répercussions sanitaires et diététiques, etc...), mais aussi des économistes, soucieux d'analyser l'influence des aspirations et des modes de vie sur la consommation. Elles aideraient à préciser la typologie des familles et des groupes sociaux.

M. ROSENMAYR et M. CARTER (U.S.A.) expriment l'opinion que les études de comportements budgétaires ne se suffisent pas à elles-

mêmes, et que des recherches—au besoin par des méthodes d'approche indirecte (tests projectifs, etc.) sur les opinions et les attitudes sont indispensables pour éclairer les comportements. M. GIRARD est le premier à en convenir.

M. DE BIE et M. HOEBAER (Belgique) mettent l'accent sur l'intérêt d'étudier dans les faits (et non pas seulement par des analyses *a priori*) la progression des dépenses en fonction du nombre d'enfants. La hiérarchie des besoins familiaux (par exemple, en matière de loisirs) varie dans le temps sous l'influence de l'élévation du niveau de vie : le sociologue doit en tenir compte.

MM. KHARCHEV et ARAB-OGRY (U.R.S.S.) soulèvent la question des mesures administratives et sociales qui permettent d'éliminer les discriminations, de droit et de fait, entre les familles de dimension ou de niveau économique différents. Les communications présentées au cours de ces séances les ont vivement intéressés dans la mesure où elles témoignent d'un effort de recherche empirique sur les problèmes familiaux.

JEAN-RENE TREANTON.

¹ Voir : SUTTER et TABAH : "Les notions d'isolat et de population minimum" *Population* 1951, No. 3, 481-89.

² en collaboration avec H. JANE PHILLIPS et DOROTHY WILLNER.

³ spécialement grâce à leurs recherches sur les interrelations des structures familiales et des structures de parenté. Voir par exemple : LEACH, E. R. "The Structural implications of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage", *J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, 81 (1 & 2) 1951, pp. 23-55.

SECTION II(1)

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO LEISURE

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ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

J. DUMAZEDIER (Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris)

TENDANCE DE LA SOCIOLOGIE DU LOISIR

Si depuis VEBLEN, les recherches sur les loisirs ont été nombreuses, elles ne permettent pas de répondre aux problèmes que pose aujourd'hui la sociologie du loisir. Nous nous trouvons aujourd'hui, devant une masse énorme d'observations sur l'emploi du cinéma, de la radio, de la presse etc. . . . mais *le problème général que constitue le loisir dans la civilisation contemporaine est mal posé.*

Le loisir a été étudié comme un fait socio-culturel, plutôt déterminé que déterminant. Les essais d'orientation ou d'organisation du loisir dans les différentes directions du progrès social ou culturel, malgré quelques essais 'évaluation, n'ont pas fait, jusqu'à ce jour, l'objet d'une véritable recherche à la mesure des besoins. Il s'agit avant tout, *de formuler les bases d'une problématique.*

Celle-ci doit favoriser l'étude systématique des relations incidentes ou provoquées du loisir avec les autres éléments de la société globale, en particulier permettre d'estimer l'importance du loisir en tant que facteur de participation ou d'évasion sociale dans les différents contextes socio-culturels de la civilisation industrielle. Dans cette perspective dynamique, la sociologie du loisir se constitue comme une "recherche active," c'est-à-dire une recherche sur une situation dont les éléments favorables ou défavorables *du point de vue des besoins toujours étudiée par rapport à l'action réalisée ou potentielle* destinée à mieux satisfaire ces derniers. *La problématique de la Recherche Active appelle une méthodologie appropriée.* Les enquêtes doivent traiter des questions communes à la recherche et à l'action. A cet égard, *la sociologie du loisir s'oriente de plus en plus vers l'étude expérimentale des conditions et des processus de l'élevation des niveaux culturels du loisir.* Le chercheur doit assimiler la connaissance intuitive que les hommes d'action ont des besoins qu'ils se proposent de satisfaire et des résultats qu'ils obtiennent ou croient obtenir. Ce sont ces données concrètes que le chercheur doit soumettre à la réflexion sociologique et vérifier par des enquêtes d'exploration.

Sur ces bases, il peut construire des modèles théoriques pour l'observation, l'explication et la transformation de la situation.

Corrélativement, ces modèles seront descriptifs, explicatifs et expérimentaux. *Les modèles descriptifs doivent permettre*

1. De dégager des types culturels et 'évaluer des niveaux de culture. La sociologie est à cet égard structuraliste.
2. D'étudier la situation culturelle dans ses processus d'évolution. La sociologie cherche à être prévisionnelle et tendancielle.
3. De connaître les besoins manifestes et latents des sociétés, des groupes, des individus novateurs et conformistes.

Les modèles explicatifs accordent une attention particulière:

1. Aux forces qui influent directement sur le loisir (grands moyens d'information, institutions ou associations de loisir culturels ou récréatifs, relations sociales du temps libre).
2. Aux réalisations novatrices provoquées par les groupes pour l'élévation des niveaux culturels du loisir. A cet égard, la situation du loisir est traitée comme un résultat.

Enfin *les modèles expérimentaux* sont des dispositifs de contrôle mis en place par le sociologue chaque fois qu'un changement survient dans une situation, dans un sens négatif ou positif.

Certains dispositifs d'action contrôlée peuvent dans ces conditions devenir des dispositifs de recherche permanents.

Dans ces perspectives, la sociologie du loisir doit accorder le plus grand intérêt au progrès des sciences de la planification et d'une façon plus générale de la Recherche opérationnelle qui tend à mettre dans le champ de la science non seulement l'information mais la décision.

ROLF MEYERSOHN (University of Chicago)

QUELQUES CONSEQUENCES D'UN CHANGEMENT DANS LES HABITUDES DE TRAVAIL ET DE LOISIR

En janvier 1958, une manufacture d'une petite ville de Californie changeait le rythme de ses horaires de travail, sans en réduire la durée: une semaine, les employés n'avaient qu'un seul jour de repos, la semaine suivante, ils disposaient de trois jours de repos consécutifs.

Cette modification dans le rythme du travail offrait au Centre d'Etudes du Loisir, l'occasion unique de traiter deux problèmes importants: celui des rapports du travail et du loisir, et celui des attitudes à l'égard du loisir.

Deux semaines après le premier week-end de trois jours, un questionnaire fut administré aux 465 employés de l'usine (parmi lesquels on compte 20 per cent de femmes) dans lequel on leur demandait leur avis sur le nouveau calendrier, ce qu'ils faisaient pendant leur week-end, ce qu'ils se proposaient de faire dans les prochains week-ends, s'ils aimeraient leur travail et diverses questions sur leur identité. Six mois après, en juillet, ce même questionnaire fut présenté une seconde fois. On désirait ainsi comparer la modification ou la persistance des attitudes à six mois d'intervalle. Il faut dire que l'année 1958 a été pour les Etats Unis, une année de récession. Dans cette usine, de janvier à juillet, 277 employés ont été licenciés. Il était donc difficile de mettre en rapport les attitudes exprimées en janvier et celles exprimées en juillet puisque l'échantillon de départ avait été considérablement réduit. De plus, à cette époque, les employés interrogés se souciaient moins d'occuper leur week-end que de garder leur travail.

En janvier, une grosse majorité des réponses furent favorables au nouveau calendrier. La plupart alléguait que cette nouvelle formule leur permettrait à la fois de prendre du repos et de remplir les diverses corvées domestiques pour lesquelles il ne leur restait jamais assez de temps. Ils espéraient en outre faire des voyages, de courte durée, en compagnie de leur famille.

En juillet, au contraire, les réponses favorables furent réduites de moitié par rapport à janvier. Les femmes surtout se plaignaient. Elles trouvaient épuisant de passer tout leur dimanche à des corvées domestiques, la semaine où le week-end était inexistant.

D'autre part, les hommes s'ennuyaient à la maison, le lundi de liberté, puisque souvent la femme travaillait de son côté et les enfants étaient à l'école. Quant aux

petits voyages de week-end, les ressources du ménage dans la plupart des cas ne permettaient pas ces dépenses.

Deux raisons peuvent expliquer ce glissement des attitudes de janvier à juillet: d'une part l'effet du climat d'insécurité engendré par la recession, d'autre part l'effet de l'expérience. En effet on avait répondu au premier questionnaire par anticipation. A la première passation, on entrevoyait surtout les avantages des trois jours de liberté. A la seconde passation on ressentait surtout les désagréments d'une durée de travail de 10 jours coupée seulement par un dimanche de repos. Seuls ceux qui avaient fait des projets pour passer leur week-end, penchaient encore pour le nouveau calendrier. Pour les autres, le lundi de liberté n'était pas considéré comme un jour de non-travail, mais, un jour où il fallait assumer les charges domestiques ou s'ennuyer dans une maison solitaire. Au lieu de juger le nouveau calendrier sous l'angle du loisir, les employés l'ont jugé sous l'angle du travail. Finalement en novembre, après un vote négatif, le nouveau calendrier a été supprimé.

S. NOWAKOWSKI (University of Warsaw)

LEISURE TIME SOCIOLOGY IN POLAND

Leisure time and the ways of spending it are elements of culture of a given society and of its structure. Polish pre-war patterns and ways of spending leisure time are now changing rapidly following the violent transformations caused by the war and the subsequent social revolution. These changes are, first of all, reflected in great social mobility, both horizontal and vertical, in the transformation of culture of entire Polish society. Among these changes the principal ones are changes in the structure and functions of the family, rapid urbanization and industrialization, social and cultural promotion of large social groups, changes in the structure and role of local communities, conflict of generations, etc.

The state, in its endeavour to carry the social revolution, gives those changes a strong support. In particular, the cultural policy of the state, driving towards democratization and building an egalitarian society, markedly affects the ways of spending leisure time. Houses of culture, clubs and libraries, the wide spreading of reading habits, a number of institutions popularizing science among the widest strata of society, and special institutions set up to organize holidays of the working people—all these are important elements in the formation of new ways and patterns of spending leisure time.

In spite of Polish sociologists' interest in all these transformations, the leisure time problem was not covered by research in the way it has been done in the West. Research was rather concentrated on the various elements of social and cultural changes, some of them of course very important for the leisure time issues too. It is only of late that research on the leisure time problem, in the strict sense of the term, has been started.

LOUIS H. ORZACK and EUGENE A. FRIEDMANN (University of Wisconsin)
WORK AND LEISURE INTERRELATIONSHIPS

1. Every society institutionalizes the specified amounts of time allotted by its members to each of their different social roles: work, family, religion, community, education, and recreation. The transition in industrial societies from production to consumption phases of organization and values has been characterized by a re-definition in the amounts of time permitted to the individual for each of these social roles.

2. As these changes have occurred in the United States and in other advanced, industrial countries, there has been a decrease in the amounts of time allotted to

work roles, and hence an increase in the amounts of time available for other roles. These time allotment changes have resulted for members of the labor force from the following: (a) the shortening of the work life by reduction in retirement age and increase in entry age; (b) the shortening of the work week; and (c) the sanctioning of released time periods (e.g., vacations, sick leave) during the work year.

3. The increasing discussion of the "problems" of leisure in advanced industrial countries indicates that the allocation of released work time to other social roles has not been readily accomplished by the individual. Value problems exist in the ways in which this extra time is made available and is used by the individual in his other continuing roles. His priority decisions for the assignment of time left over from work to other roles are changing.

4. The reduction in work time has not been equal in all occupational and social class groups. In the United States, there has been an inversion of the historic patterns of released work time available to members of professions as contrasted with industrial workers. Data collected by the authors on several occupational groups will be presented in support of this point. Our empirical studies also demonstrate the inversion of traditional occupational and social class values concerning relationships between work and non-work roles.

ASHER TROPP (London School of Economics and Political Science)

The paper contained an account of the factors which have influenced the study by sociologists of popular leisure and popular culture in Great Britain. The tendency to treat leisure as a "problem" and to concentrate on the more pathological aspects (e.g., betting, gambling, drinking and sexual delinquency) still persists especially in studies of the leisure pursuits of youth.

In recent years various inquiries have been carried out into popular leisure ranging from social histories of various forms of leisure (e.g., music, reading, holidays) to purely contemporary descriptions of the organization and audiences for cricket, football, the cinema, reading matter and the radio. There have also been a series of investigations into the effects of the cinema, radio and television on participants while Government commissions and committees have reported on the press, broadcasting, betting, adult education and the public library system. Most local social surveys contain incidental information on leisure. Much work has been done on the leisure activities of youth although such work often lacks both theoretical and methodological sophistication.

Recently, the problem of leisure has attracted much attention from the younger politicians of both the main political parties. Both the Conservative Political Centre and the Labour Party published statements on leisure before the general election of 1959. They agreed on the need for more national and local government support for sport and art.

As far as future research is concerned what is needed is not so much more crude data collection as more sophisticated analyses based on a theory of the social and psychological functions of different forms of leisure. The growth of leisure needs to be related to the evolving social structures of industrialised urban societies and the conditions of life and values of the new social classes. The extent to which leisure habits can be changed by education, persuasion or legislation is still unknown. With a continued expansion of the national income, the problems of popular leisure and popular culture will certainly demand more attention from social scientists.

The paper contained a bibliography of some 350 items on leisure.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

Monsieur BAUER ouvre la séance. Il prie les participants d'ajouter à leur rapport toutes les informations qu'ils jugeront susceptibles d'aider le public à situer leurs différents travaux dans leur contexte social respectif. Il souligne l'importance particulière des discussions sur le loisir dans lequel il voit pour le sociologue l'occasion de renouveler le problème de la liberté.

Nous aurons à distinguer deux groupes d'interventions : Celles qui ont apporté un complément d'information sur les travaux poursuivis dans les différents pays et celles qui ont posé ou discuté un problème concernant la sociologie du loisir¹.

I.—COMPLEMENTS D'INFORMATION

MEYERSOHN (U.S.A.) Aux U.S.A. le problème des loisirs est dominé par l'augmentation rapide des niveaux de vie et par le développement de l'industrie des loisirs. Le Centre d'Etude du Loisir que dirige Mr. MEYERSOHN à CHICAGO, s'intéresse surtout à deux types de recherche : —la répartition du temps libre dans les différentes catégories sociales et utilisation que font les gens de ce temps libre—L'étude des fonctions et de causes de ces activités. Quels sont les degrés de satisfaction qu'elles engendrent chez les gens ou les compensations qu'elles assurent? Sont-elles motivées par des facteurs économiques, ou résultent-elles d'un choix individuel?

M. TEN HAVE (Hollande)—fait remarquer que les recherches sociologiques sur le loisir sont déjà avancées en Hollande. La Hollande compte 90 Instituts de Sociologie ou de Psychologie Sociale et parmi eux 30 au moins ont traité de loin ou de près, le problème du Loisir.

Ces recherches ont surtout été suscitées par les problèmes posés par les migrations rurales et l'industrialisation. Certains sont terminées. Rapports récents ont été présentés—notamment sur les relations entre 9 volumes ont déjà été publiés sur les résultats de ces enquêtes, et 7 le loisir et les milieux sociaux et sur les attitudes des gens inscrits dans les Associations de Loisir. Un des problèmes spécialement étudié est celui des loisirs des jeunes.

M. JENSEN (Danemark)—A Slagelse (20.000) une enquête a été menée sur les loisirs d'un échantillon au hasard de 790 et d'un échantillon raisonné de 1.500 personnes qui fréquentent les activités d'éducation des adultes. M. JENSEN souligne qu'une forte corrélation positive a pu être établie entre la longueur des études scolaires et la qualité des pratiques de lecture, enfin entre les pratiques de lecture et les autres activités culturelles—the noyau des jeunes qui pratiquent des loisirs actifs est très faible. M. JENSEN a distingué 2 types prin-

cipaux : ceux qui ont une part active dans la vie syndicale sociale politique et ceux qui ont une part active dans la vie culturelle de la ville.

Mlle. GUILLITTE (Belgique)—En Belgique une enquête sur le loisir est intégrée à un survey régional portant sur un groupe de 68 communes groupées dans le Sud de la Belgique. L'étude de l'équipement socio-culturel a été fait en relation avec un sondage sur quatre cents chef de ménage.

Mr. NOWAKOWSKI (Pologne)—décrit le climat dans lequel s'est développé la recherche sur le Loisir en Pologne—Dans les dix premières années qui ont suivi l'installation du socialisme en Pologne, le Gouvernement a essayé d'organiser le Loisir des travailleurs en les incitant à participer à des activités collectives. (Cette action liée à la promotion d'une nouvelle éducation, a donné des résultats intéressants, par exemple en augmentant la vente des livres et des journaux.) Cependant depuis la Révolution d'Octobre, le Loisir a pris des formes plus individualistes.

Le Gouvernement est désormais favorable au développement des Sciences Sociales. Il accorde des subventions. Déjà plusieurs recherches sur le Loisir ont été entreprises, notamment sur les rapports du loisir et de l'urbanisation dans une petite communauté industrielle de 4.000 Habitants. De même des recherches ont été conduites sur l'utilisation de la radio et de la Télévision.

Mr. AHTIK (Yougoslavie)—Souligne les différences culturelles—et socio-économiques de la Yougoslavie par rapport aux autres pays occidentaux.

En Yougoslavie, les horaires du travail professionnel se situent entre 6 heures du matin et 2 heures de l'après-midi. Il reste donc théoriquement un laps de temps libre assez considérable pour le loisir ou d'autres travaux.

D'autre part les organisations de loisir sont ordinairement intégrées aux autres organisations sociales, afin de faciliter le travail d'éducation. Ces activités dites de loisir sont prises sur le temps de travail, il en résulte une certaine pression sur les individus qui ne peuvent guère se soustraire à ces activités collectives sans être passibles de réprobation sociale. (Les activités de loisir ne reflètent pas toujours les intérêts individuels.)

Les ressources individuelles disponibles pour les loisirs sont assez égales pour les différentes catégories sociales. L'argent ici n'a pas la même fonction que dans les pays occidentaux. Les équipements collectifs sont mis à la disposition de tous et peuvent renforcer l'intérêt pour les activités de loisir.

Enfin la relation du travailleur à l'entreprise est originale, puisque 25% des ouvriers sont impliqués dans l'activité gestionnaire de l'entreprise, ayant participé ou participant, aux Conseils Ouvriers. Il n'existe donc pas, une rupture entre loisir et travail, aussi nette que dans les entreprises d'autres pays.

Mr. HENNION (UNESCO)—donne une information sur la naissance et l'Historique du Groupe International des Sciences Sociales du loisir.

Il est né il y a quelques années d'une rencontre de certains éducateurs des adultes et des Sociologues à un moment où l'on s'interrogeait en Europe sur les conséquences du développement du loisir du point de vue de l'Education Populaire.

La première rencontre avait eu lieu à VEGIMONT en Belgique (1954) la seconde à ANNECY en France en 1957. Un projet de recherche interdisciplinaire a ainsi été élaboré, groupant des chercheurs de plusieurs pays européens. Le projet proposait d'étudier dans chaque pays, les comportements de loisir en partant de bases historiques, dans une communauté d'importance moyenne et en voie d'évolution rapide. Il est prévu en outre de compléter ce travail par une étude sur les communautés rurales et par une sorte de Survey Général sur l'évolution des organisations de loisir et des standards culturels dans chacun des pays étudiés.

Ce travail implique une recherche coordonnée afin de rendre possible les comparaisons entre pays. Un certain nombre d'enquêtes sont en préparations ou en cours. En Allemagne, Autriche, Belgique, Danemark, Finlande, France, Grande-Bretagne, Hollande, Israël, Italie, Pologne, Suisse, Yougoslavie, elles sont soutenus par le département des Sciences Sociales de l' UNESCO.

—L'Institut UNESCO des Sciences Sociales (Cologne)

—L'Institut UNESCO de la Jeunesse (Gauting)

—L'Institut UNESCO pour l'Education (Hambourg)

Un bulletin de liaison assure la coordination entre les différents membres du Groupe.

II.—DISCUSSION DES PROBLEMES

Sur l'invitation du Président, Mr. DUMAZEDIER (France) engage la discussion sur trois problèmes qu'il a développé dans sa communication sur les tendances de la Sociologie du Loisir.

1.—*La définition du concept de Loisir*—Le concept de loisir est pris ordinairement dans un sens trop large. Le loisir couvrirait toute la zone de temps non occupée par le travail professionnel. L'analyse de la vie concrète montre que dans cette zone se situent d'une part toutes les obligations extra-professionnelles, familiales et sociales,

d'autre part, les activités mixtes qui, acceptées de plein gré par les individus ne sont pas entièrement détachées des obligations professionnelles familiales et sociales, telles que le bricolage, le jardinage, la participation au jeu des enfants. L'orateur propose d'appeler l'ensemble de ces dernières: Semi-Loisir, et "Loisir" l'ensemble des occupations auxquelles l'individu peut s'adonner de plein gré soit pour se reposer, soit pour se divertir soit pour développer son information ou sa formation désintéressée, sa participation sociale volontaire après s'être libéré de ses obligations professionnelles familiales et sociales.

2.—*Problématique Générale du loisir*—Les problèmes du loisir sont trop souvent posés uniquement à partir des problèmes du travail. Ceux-ci ont une importance première mais Mr. DUMAZEDIER pense qu'aujourd'hui le progrès de la sociologie du loisir est conditionné par une problématique plus complète posée en fonction de la dynamique sociale et culturelle des sociétés.

3. *Rapport de la Planification et de la Sociologie du Loisir.*

Les loisirs se développent dans des sociétés pourvues de plus en plus, de systèmes d'organisation et de planification, libéraux au autoritaires. Aujourd'hui une étude des loisirs devrait se situer par rapport aux types de changements incidents ou provoqués dans l'évolution sociale et culturelle. Elle devrait donc accorder une plus grande importance au contrôle des résultats positifs ou négatifs du mode d'intervention de l'Etat, de la société et des groupes sociaux sur l'évolution du loisir.

Des trois points proposés par Mr. DUMAZEDIER, seuls les deux premiers ont été discutés et c'est surtout la définition du loisir qui a retenu l'attention des participants.

Nous regrouperons donc les interventions sous deux rubriques: premièrement, La Définition du loisir, deuxièmement La Problématique du loisir.

Une matinée supplémentaire ayant été consacrée à une discussion sur les méthodes—notre troisième point concernera la méthodologie des loisirs.

A.—LA DEFINITION DU CONCEPT DE LOISIR

Mr. ASHER TROPP (Royaume Uni)—reproche à la définition de Mr. DUMAZEDIER d'être trop subjective. Se libérer des obligations professionnelles, familiales, et sociales est une question qu'il appartient à l'individu de résoudre. Il faudrait trouver une définition plus objective en reliant le problème du loisir à celui des valeurs sociales et familiales aux problèmes de classes sociales et d'une manière générale en replaçant le problème du loisir dans le problème plus large de la culture.

A cette thèse s'oppose celle de Mr. DIENA (Italie) qui refuse de fonder le concept de loisir sur une distinction entre loisir et obligation, loisir et non travail. Son argument, c'est d'une part que l'individu se donne lui même des obligations pendant son temps libre, d'autre part que la situation dans laquelle s'insère le travail est dominée par la contrainte alors que le loisir se déploie dans un contexte de liberté qui est sa raison même. En conséquence il propose de choisir comme critère de définition la possibilité qui revient à l'individu de choisir ses activités.

Mr. LABOR (Italie)—refuse lui aussi la distinction entre travail et loisir. Il s'appuie sur l'exemple des régions sous-développées où les individus n'ont pas en général la possibilité de se dégager des activités professionnelles. La définition de Mr. DUMAZEDIER conduit à l'exclusion du champ de la recherche de tous les individus qui n'ont pas de loisir. Il estime qu'une définition préalable du loisir ne peut aider à comprendre les individus. Selon lui il faut d'abord étudier la vie concrète pour aboutir ensuite à la définition.

D'autre part, Mr. LABOR, soutient la thèse de Mr. DIENA qui fonde le loisir sur le concept de liberté.

Il refuse d'appeler loisirs, les activités qui sont organisés par un Etat dirigiste ou par les entreprises des pays néo-capitalistes qui incitent les individus à une participation passive ou même au refus de tout engagement. Pour lui le "véritable" loisir—son but et son contenu—c'est la participation active de l'homme à tous les niveaux sociaux et culturels.

On peut également rapprocher de la thèse de Mr. DIENA, celle de Mr. MEYERSON (U.S.A.). Lui aussi insiste pour que l'on insère dans la définition du loisir la notion d'un choix—contrôle ("Self-control"). La faculté d'organiser son temps, en prévoyant et en choisissant ses activités dépend des individus. Mr. MEYERSON tend à éliminer de son vocabulaire les notions de loisir et d'obligations, car dit-il elles ne sont pas utiles pour ses recherches.

En effet les individus ne semblent pas percevoir cette dichotomie entre loisir et non-travail. Il propose qu'à la notion d'activité, on ajoute celle d'un engagement individuel ("commitment").

Mr. N. ANDERSON (U.S.A.)—fait remarquer que la conscience que les individus ont de leur liberté dans le choix de leurs activités et la satisfaction qu'ils en éprouvent est indépendante du contexte de loisir et du travail.

Une méthode pour sonder ce sentiment de liberté serait de mesurer par les échelles d'attitudes, les satisfactions que les individus retirent de leurs activités. En réponse aux thèses faisant appel à la notion de

choix s'inscrit l'intervention de Mr. ANCONA (Italie). Psychologue, il a essayé de définir la structure temporelle en partant des motivations individuelles, mais il n'a pas réussi dans cette voie—Il dénonce l'impassé dans laquelle on s'engage lorsqu'on dichotomise au départ les notions psychologiques et sociologiques de la liberté. Il faut au contraire tenir compte de ces 2 aspects—Mr. ANCONA, souhaite que psychologues et sociologues collaborent à la solution de ce problème. Mr. DUMAZEDIER—rappelle que la définition qu'il propose résulte d'une enquête faite en FRANCE sur la représentation que les ouvriers et employés (environ 1.000) se font de leurs loisirs. Les gens conçoivent les loisirs par rapport aux obligations professionnelles, familiales et sociales. Il refuse de définir le loisir avec des critères subjectifs qui laissent de côté les déterminants sociaux globaux qui pèsent sur le loisir. Parmi ceux-ci il accorde une place privilégié aux obligations—Il précise cette notion d'obligation—Il distingue deux types d'obligations—Les obligations inter-personnelles et les obligations *institutionnelles*—C'est par rapport aux obligations institutionnelles de base que la société et l'individu situent le loisir. Mr. DUMAZEDIER appelle obligations institutionnelles de base l'ensemble des responsabilités (Statuts et rôles) que dans chaque période, la société impose légalement ou moralement aux individus, à l'égard ses institutions fondamentales, professionnelles, familiales, politiques, spirituelles. Ces obligations institutionnelles débordent évidemment le cadre du travail. C'est pourquoi l'orateur croit aussi insuffisante une définition qui opposerait purement et simplement travail et loisir (identifié à non-travail).

B.—LA NOTION DE SEMI-LOISIR

Mr. CALO (Italie)—après avoir remarqué que l'introduction de choix libre dans la définition du loisir n'est pas déterminante, souligne l'importance de la notion de *semi-loisir*, qui permet de classer toutes les activités qui sans être imposées par la contrainte ne sont pourtant pas totalement dégagées des obligations professionnelles familiales et sociales. Or ce type d'activités ira croissant à mesure que les progrès de l'automation rendent les individus disponibles pour d'autres occupations que le travail professionnel. Le temps ainsi libéré ne saurait être consacré uniquement à des loisirs purs.

De son coté M. MEYERSOHN (U.S.A.) voit dans la notion de semi-loisir une possibilité de résoudre les difficultés propres à la situation Américaine où sous l'effet du développement de l'industrialisation, l'opposition entre travail et non-travail s'amenuise.

M. MEYERSOHN tire partie de ce fait pour souligner la part de moins en moins importante qu'il attache dans ses travaux à la nature des activités obligatoires ou libres, pour s'interessser surtout à la façon dont les gens dominent la totalité de leur temps. Par ce biais il réintroduit la notion d'engagement qui lui paraît décisive.

M. LITTUNEN (Finlande) pense que la controverse théorique sur les notions de travail-loisir, obligation-liberté pourrait être résolue en précisant la base méthodologique de ces concepts.

Si on admet que les activités obligatoires de semi-loisir et de loisir forment un continuum, nous pouvons ramener ce problème à un problème de motivations et graduer les motivations selon une échelle d'intensité de type GUTTMAN. Si on place en ordonnée les intensités et en abscisses les différentes notions, on obtiendra une parabole quelques soient les notions considérées à la base.

En outre, Mr. LITTUNEN suggère d'utiliser les récents travaux de GUTTMAN et SUCHMAN, sur les analyses d'intensité pour étudier l'impact du semi-loisir sur la personnalité, car l'aire zéro d'intensité implique habituellement certains caractéristiques motivationnelles spécifiques.

C.—LE LOISIR EN TANT QU'ACTIVITE DE DEVELOPPEMENT —

Mr. LUKIC (Yougoslavie) attache quant à lui une importance particulière à la notion de développement proposée par Mr. DUMAZEDIER. Mr. LUKIC constate que l'effort impliqué en général dans une situation de travail, donc associé à l'idée de contrainte peut s'installer progressivement dans les situations de loisir, lesquelles sont dégagées des contraintes. Mr. LUKIC pense que c'est dans cet effort que réside essentiellement la fonction d'humanisation que l'on attribue traditionnellement au travail. Par ce transfert de l'effort, d'une situation de travail à une situation de loisir le loisir tendrait progressivement à remplacer en partie le travail dans sa fonction d'humanisation.

Mr. LABOR (Italie) fait remarquer que cette notion de développement impliquée dans le loisir est de plus en plus prise en considération par les éducateurs qui se proposent d'élever le niveau culturel des individus. Les éducateurs ne se soucient plus seulement de chercher à insérer les individus dans des groupes préfabriqués de culture populaire. Ils veulent connaître les attentes des individus auxquels ils s'adressent. En ce sens, ils n'attendent pas seulement des Sociologues qu'ils photographient la réalité, mais qu'ils découvrent les besoins latents des individus et qu'il considèrent leur profession comme un engagement social au même titre que l'éducateur. Selon lui la sociologie des loisirs doit promouvoir la participation sociale des individus.

Dans le même ordre d'idées, Mr. CALO (Italie) voit dans l'extension du temps libre, une possibilité offerte aux individus de se perfectionner pendant leur loisir. Ainsi le cadre du loisir pourra être celui de "l'humanisme universel".

D.—PROBLEMATIQUE DU LOISIR

Les thèmes concernant la problématique du loisir, sans avoir fait l'objet d'une discussion approfondie, ont été cependant abordés et nous les regrouperons sous différentes rubriques.

1.—LOISIR ET TRAVAIL

Mr. DUMAZEDIER préconise une problématique global du loisir, qui inclue et dépasse celle des relations du travail et du loisir. Une expérience faite aux U.S.A. et rapportée par Mr. MEYERSON peut être présentée à l'appui de ce point de vue. Dans une usine résidant près de CHICAGO, on a alterné sur un mois les jours de repos, en donnant 1 fois tous les quinze jours une seule journée de repos, et 1 fois tous les quinze jours, trois jours consécutifs. On a étudié les changements d'attitudes et d'activités des ouvriers. Ce changement a influencé leur comportement au travail, mais l'étude n'a pas apporté de solution aux problèmes de la satisfaction que les gens retirent de leur loisir. Cette étude exige une analyse en profondeur. D'après Mr. MEYERSON la satisfaction serait liée avant tout à la compétence avec laquelle on exécute une activité quelle qu'elle soit.

Mr. NOWAKOWSKI (Pologne) pense que dans son pays les problèmes du loisir doivent être posés en rapport avec une structure Sociale, désintégrée par la Révolution Socialiste. Son compatriote, Mr. ZAJAKOWSKI va plus loin encore—Pour lui ce n'est pas dans le travail, mais dans le loisir que se forment des structures les plus spontanées et les plus originales, puisque ce secteur échappe davantage aux contraintes sociales et reste en dehors de la planification sociale. Pour étudier la naissance et le développement des mouvements spontanées c'est du loisir et non pas du travail qu'il faut partir.

2. FAMILLE ET LOISIR

Mr. TEN HAVE (Hollande)—souligne l'importance des rapports des loisirs et de la famille surtout en ce qui concerne les jeunes adolescents.

Mr. ASHER TROPP (Royaume Uni) envisage ce problème sous l'angle des valeurs. La famille, en tant qu'elle est source et gardienne de valeurs, influe sur les formes de loisir. Il serait urgent de pousser très loin l'étude de ce phénomène.

3. LOISIR ET CULTURE

Mr. ASHER TROPP insiste pour que le problème du loisir soit inséré dans ce problème général de la culture. Par culture il entend à la fois la haute culture et la culture populaire. Mais c'est surtout

cette dernière qui l'intéresse. Il y voit deux problèmes : la différenciation des formes de loisir en fonction des classes sociales et le rôle des *mass media* sur la vie populaire.

Mr. BREMOND (France) envisage aussi le problème des *mass media* dans leur rapport avec les individus qui les utilisent. Jusqu'ici on a surtout parlé de l'influence aboutissante des *mass media* qui ne transmettent généralement qu'une culture dégradée. Mais déjà on commence à considérer les *mass media* dans leur aspect positif. On cherche moins à soustraire les individus à l'influence des *mass media*, qu'à les intéresser par ce moyen à des formes nouvelles de culture. Le problème se pose désormais de cette manière : comment éléver simultanément le niveau culturel des *mass media* et le niveau d'exigences des masses consommatrices. Le sociologue du loisir doit savoir que par l'intermédiaire des *mass media*, c'est une véritable civilisation de masse qui se crée.

A cet argument Mr. DIENA (Italie) réplique que le but des *mass media* ce n'est pas de niveler la culture, mais d'être d'un moyen technique de transmission. Il évoque l'exemple des paysans du Sud de l'Italie, qui tout en étant éloignés des centres culturels sont malgré tout grâce à la Télévision en contact avec la culture. Toutefois, cette importation de la culture peut avoir des effets de désintégration sur la vie paysanne.

A cet égard il mentionne l'ouvrage de l'américain HANDLIN *The Uprooted* qui traite des problèmes du déracinement des émigrés italiens, mis brusquement en contact avec la culture américaine.

4. EFFETS DES DETERMINANTS SOCIAUX GLOBAUX SUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT DU LOISIR.

Mr. DELCOURT (Belgique) estime nécessaire de ne pas se borner à l'étude des loisirs du point de vue des individus qui les pratiquent. Il faut distinguer la demande qui dérive des besoins et l'offre qui tend les créer. Le centre de Sociologie à soi à répondre à des besoins soit Religieuse de Belgique a ainsi inscrit à son programme un certain nombre de problèmes concernant le loisir considérés sous l'angle de l'offre.

1.—Le recensement des institutions et des personnes qui contrôlent l'offre en matière de loisir.

2.—La distribution spéciale des différentes formes de loisir et les facteurs qui les déterminent.

3.—Le développement et la rentabilité des différents secteurs de la production des biens et services destinés aux loisirs et l'effet de la publicité sur ce développement.

4.—L'importance du critère de rentabilité économique sur le développement des loisirs. (Mr. DELCOURT prend l'exemple de l'application de prix différents pour l'achat des terrains qui aboutit à une séparation regrettable des activités culturelles et sportives.)

5.—Les formes de loisir qui se développent en marge de la société organisée ; par exemple les jeux de hasard, les gangs, la prostitution, ou les substituts offerts par la Société à des formes de loisir qu'elle condamne.

E.—METHODOLOGIE DU LOISIR

Mr. DUMAZEDIER, considère que ses orientations méthodologiques sont dominées par le rapport entre la Recherche et l'action. Recherche sur une situation sociale, Action pour changer notre situation. C'est ainsi qu'il désigne sous le nom de "Recherche Active", cette recherche menée *pour l'action, sur l'action et le plus possible par l'action*.

La Recherche Active se situe aux trois niveaux, de l'observation, de l'explication, de l'expérimentation. Elle se distingue de l'Action Research (K. Lewin) qui ne couvre que le domaine de l'expérimentation. Elle se distingue également de la Recherche appliquée qui est seulement guidée par des objectifs pratiques souvent extérieurs à la recherche elle-même.

La Recherche Active tour à tour critique et constructive, étudie une situation du point de vue des résultats positifs ou négatifs obtenus par une action passée et des besoins manifestes ou latents à satisfaire par une action future. Elle doit permettre une recherche permanente sur les besoins d'une situation sociale, sur les processus incidents ou provoqués de satisfaction de ces besoins et sur les résultats objectifs de ces processus.

Cette définition de la Recherche Active aboutit à l'aménagement de modèles théoriques et opératoires pour les descriptions, l'explication et l'expérimentation.

Mr. AHTIK (Yougoslavie) distingue deux approches aux problèmes du loisir, l'approche empirique et l'approche théorique—la première approche, suppose qu'on adopte des cadres de référence pour situer le contenu du loisir, pour delimiter les segments de population et les segments de temps que l'on veut étudier. Il s'agit là d'un problème de fidélité ou de validité, ou des problèmes relatifs à l'observation des phénomènes.

D'après lui, ce ne sont pas là les problèmes méthodologiques les plus importants.

Ce qui importe c'est de former des concepts, d'expliquer. A cet égard on doit préciser le niveau d'explication auquel on se place.

Est-il Economique, Sociologique ou psychologique ? Il faut trouver le lien entre la méthode et la théorie. Sinon on risque de figer graduellement les méthodes, les concepts et les pratiques qui en découlent.

Dans le cadre précis de l'enquête Internationale sur le loisir, le problème le plus urgent, c'est l'adoption, d'un cadre de référence conceptuel commun.

Au contraire certains participants ont paru gêné par le choix d'une définition préalable à la recherche qu'ils jugeaient difficilement convenable à toutes les situations sociales. (Mr. NOWAKOWSKI, Mr. ZAJAKOWSKI).

Mr. MEYERSOHN distingue deux approches : d'une part, l'enquête sur les activités des gens et leurs attitudes dans ces activités. D'autre part, l'étude des motivations et des fonctions des divers modes de comportements, leur degré de rigidité et d'élasticité et les implications individuelles qu'elles supposent.

Il craint qu'attaquer le problème du loisir par la notion d'activité ne réduise la recherche à n'être qu'une étude de marché ou un sondage d'opinion.

Mr. DUMAZEDIER est d'accord avec Mr. MEYERSOHN. La Sociologie doit favoriser le passage du niveau descriptif au niveau explicatif par l'établissement de types et de niveaux. Selon lui c'est par les recherches correlationnelles de structure que l'on pourrait valoriser le niveau descriptif.

Mr. LITTUNEN constate que nous décrivons la réalité à plusieurs niveaux et que le calcul des correlations peut s'appliquer à chacun de ces niveaux. La corrélation explique un niveau concret d'étude, mais lorsque nous atteignons les niveaux les plus abstraits d'explication c'est sur leur valeur prédictive que l'on peut juger de leur adéquation à la réalité.

Pour faire des théories, il faut bien travailler sur les niveaux les plus abstraits—Mr. LITTUNEN, préconise l'introduction des techniques plus fines de description et d'explication. Par exemple l'emploi des échelles et de l'analyse factorielle pour analyser et récomposer le concept du loisir.

Mr. ASHER TROPP a surtout pris comme point de départ de ses recherches l'évolution historique des loisirs dans différentes couches sociales.

A cet égard il soutient que l'établissement d'une bibliographie sur une base historique pourrait donner lieu à des confrontations utiles entre pays.

Mr. DUMAZEDIER répond aux différentes remarques qu'avaient susci-

té sa communication et se félicite du vigoureux développement de la sociologie du loisir depuis le dernier congrès mondial de sociologie (1956).

Enfin le Président BAUER remercie les participants de leur active contribution aux discussions de notre section. Il s'interdit de tirer des conclusions générales. Il souhaite que chacun développe sa recherche dans sa propre voie. La sociologie du loisir ne peut que s'enrichir de cette diversité.

J. DUMAZEDIER.

¹ Afin de faciliter la lecture de ce rapport, nous présentons les interventions dans un ordre, non pas chronologique mais logique.

SECTION II(1)m

**THE APPLICATION OF
SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO MEDICINE**

Chairman: Dr. GEORGE G. READER
(The New York Hospital—Cornell Medical Center)

Rapporteur: Dr. MARY E. W. GOSS
(The New York Hospital—Cornell Medical Center)

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

JOSEPH BEN-DAVID (The Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

DEFINITIONS OF ROLES AND INNOVATIONS IN MEDICINE

Two hypotheses were formulated about the possible effects of the professionalization of science and its differentiation from practice in the fields connected with medicine: (I) that professionalization would have restrictive effects on scientific innovation, and (II) that the development of empirical methods of inquiry has created means which can ensure the emergence of new ideas as well as more efficient research, and, therefore, whatever the merits of the "outsider theory" may be for the explanation of historical cases, it does not apply to modern professional science.

The cases for the exploration of these hypotheses were selected with a view to find situations where there was the greatest likelihood that outsiders (i.e. not professional scientists, but medical practitioners) should play a decisive role in the process of innovation. Two cases, the beginnings of bacteriology and of psychoanalysis were found suitable.

Analysis of the cases lends limited support to hypothesis I. Two role types played distinctive parts in the innovations:

1. People working in frameworks where research was only rudimentarily differentiated from practice;
2. People who were trained as professional scientists, but became interested in practical problems which were at the time outside the scope of scientific interest. The abrupt change from theoretical research to applied science is well established in the biographies of Pasteur and Freud. As far as the structure of such "fundamental marginal innovations" is concerned it seems therefore plausible to hypothesize (1) that they tend to be established in situations of "role hybridization," i.e. where scientists set themselves to solve practical problems which fall outside the scope of scientific interest; and (2) that they are attended (or, perhaps, preceded) by the pioneering work of "practitioner-scientists."

If this is the case then, indeed, practice may continue to play an important part in introducing a greater variability of problems and ideas into research. This raises the question, how can research be professionalized in a way to make it possible for scientists to engage in such marginal problems without endangering their status beyond the risk taken by every innovator. This is to a large extent identical with the question of the reception of such innovations within various scientific systems.

If this analysis is correct then one would expect such "closed" academic systems as existed in Germany to lose some of their efficiency due to resistance to fundamental marginal innovations. But once the innovation is sufficiently established in

another system, it may be taken up by the closed one and developed there rapidly (this is what in fact happened with bacteriology).

It seems, however, that the closure of the scientific reference groups is not an inevitable consequence of the differentiation and professionalization of scientific roles. The kind of professional structure which emerged in the U.S. contains elements which made possible the differentiation of scientific roles yet prevented the creation of a cleavage between the outlook of the academic and practising sectors of the profession.

Medical "professionalism," which consciously aims at maintaining a balance between the development of medical sciences and practice, can be regarded as a sequel to the establishment of research as a separate institution during the 19th century. It represents a phase of growing integration between science and practice following the differentiation of academic research in the medical field. The growth of professionalization in an increasing number of disciplines suggests that the developments observed in medicine may have parallels in other fields.

HARLEY D. FRANK (Fairdene and Netherne Hospitals, Coulsdon, U.K.)

CREATING NEW ROLES IN SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY

The growing interest of sociologists and social psychologists in the field of social psychiatry has resulted in increasing numbers of such persons coming into this field recently.

The entry of these professional, but non-medically trained persons into hospitals in particular, poses the question of what roles they are to play in such settings, e.g. non-participant research worker, policy advisor, policy maker, or therapist for patients or staff.

Factors to consider in creating roles for sociologists and social psychologists in this field, and selection of problems for social investigation are discussed.

An account is also given of the role performed by the writer while engaged in an empirical study of medical and nursing administration in a large English mental hospital.

I. GADOUREK (University of Groningen)

DEVELOPMENT AND PROSPECTS OF MEDICAL SOCIOLOGY IN THE NETHERLANDS

In the Netherlands, the high perfection of the existing health services made the promoters of public health look for new branches of special science to integrate into medicine. One realized that new sources of knowledge had to be tapped should the already low mortality rate be further cut down.

Medical sociology that arose from these trends owes its origin to the protagonists of social medicine as well as to the individual research workers who dealt with medical problems by applying sociological methods and techniques.

Out of the 9,000 medical practitioners in the country, about 1,400 work as employees of the government, school-boards, factories and firms; a new curriculum, including methodology of sociology was demanded for these new "specialists" by the recently appointed professors in social medicine.

As to research, several projects have been launched: studies of food-habits; of

the doctor-patient relationship; of the functional analysis of a doctor's assistant-nurse; of the adjustment of nurses in the hospitals; of the attitude of the public towards magnetic healing, and others.

There is a growing tendency towards institutionalization of service and research. The Department of Mental Health of the Netherlands Institute for Preventive Medicine, for instance, engaged in several research projects that have been carried out by sociologists. Other medical institutions try to build in sociology in their research- or diagnostic teams.

Characteristic of the present state of medical sociology in the country is the fact that an entire issue of the *Sociologische Gids* (edited by Dr. J. A. A. van Doorn) has been dedicated to the subject. Here, for the first time, some theoretical problems of the new specialized branch of sociology have been discussed before the Dutch reading public.

The promising beginnings of the medical sociology should not make us blind for its foibles and difficulties. The communication between the physicians and the sociologists working in the field is often hampered by (1) the diversity of training (sociologists being chiefly trained for research and sharing a generalizing attitude, physicians being trained for practice and used to casuistry, the study of individual cases); (2) the emphasis on professional secrets rooted in the vested interests of the members of free professions.

As to the future prospects of the discipline, a backward integration with the earlier "social pathology," "social disorganization" or "social problems" should be considered. Next to the studies of suicide, alcoholism, "personal disorganization" and the like, psycho-somatic medicine could form another bridge to the study of social ecology of dangerous situations: stress, anomie, inner loneliness and isolation, inter-personal tensions.

As to the sociology of medicine, the evaluation of the medical enlightenment and safety propaganda and of the efficiency of the medical service seems to be a promising field in Holland.

We should like to conclude the summary of this paper by a tactical device for the area: since the sociology of medicine is not yet accepted as an established special science, one could lean upon the more developed and accepted branches of study such as industrial and religious sociologies and approach the problem of health by way of study of industrial absenteeism and of denominational organizational problems in the field of public health.

OSWALD HALL (University of Toronto)

THE SALARIED DOCTOR: HALF MEDICAL MAN, HALF ADMINISTRATOR

This paper attempted to explore some of the hazards faced by the doctor who has turned administrator, by contrasting the typical demands made on the administrator with the typical training undertaken by the doctor. Four areas of strain were discussed.

The initial training of doctors tends to isolate them so that they come mainly in contact with fellow students, doctors, and clients; hence they have very limited acquaintance with work institutions, which are the prime concern of successful administrators. The importance of colleague relationships to doctors tends to blind the latter to the complex web of positions which make up a work organization. The emphasis attached to the professional-client bond tends to deflect the attention

of the doctor from the general area of organizational bonds. The image of the doctor in the larger society tends to strengthen these orientations on the part of the doctor.

Doctors are not unique in finding that their professional training handicaps them as administrators; similar hazards face any occupation that has become heavily professionalized.

GUSTAV JAHODA (Glasgow University)

SOCIAL CHANGE AND INDIVIDUAL TENSIONS IN GHANA

The transformation of the social structure in Ghana began about half a century ago, but it has greatly accelerated since the war. The traditional tribal way of life, whose central organizing principle was the co-operative relationship of kin within small rural communities, is giving way to an urban competitive system in which social class differentiation of a western type is developing. In the present period of transition, conflicting norms exist side by side, so that individuals often lack a firm guide for their conduct in various situations. Moreover, people are led to adopt new goals, often difficult to achieve, and this is liable to generate anxiety and discontent.

Whilst this broad pattern is well-known, few attempts have been made to investigate its impact on individuals. The present report, forming part of a wider study in this sphere, is particularly concerned with the consequences in terms of mental health. First, a selection of cases dealt with by traditional healers was investigated, in order to discover how far these reflect the effects of current social pressures. Second, some material was collected about a new type of institution, evolved to meet the needs of the newly literate section of the population; it represents a blend of traditional supernatural belief with religious and occult notions imported from the West. Lastly, case-histories of patients at the Government Mental Hospital were examined. From this material, taken as a whole, a clear picture emerges of the ways in which social stresses produce severe tensions in many individuals, and may lead to breakdowns in some.

GEORGE A. SILVER and ELIOT FREIDSON (Montefiore Hospital and the City College of New York)

THE USE OF SOCIOLOGY IN A MEDICAL CARE RESEARCH PROGRAM

The Family Health Maintenance Demonstration of Montefiore Hospital was an experiment in organizing medical care on a preventive basis. During its life, (1950-1958) it served 150 families and observed them as well as 150 control families. The study families were served by specially organized working teams of doctor, public health nurse, and psychiatric social worker, with access to a variety of other specialists, medical and non-medical.

In serving the study families, special emphasis was placed on preventive care for both physical and emotional problems. This emphasis was manifested not only in attempts at early diagnosis, but as well necessarily, in encouraging the patients to utilize the professional services more freely than is usual in conventional American medical practice.

The basic problems studied by the sociologist attached to the Demonstration were two-fold: first, how the interprofessional team functioned; second, what

factors lay behind patient utilization of services. The problems of interprofessional team practice were seen to stem from overlapping and competing claims of professional jurisdiction and authority, and from the impact on those claims of the patients' actual choice of professional worker for specific services and authoritative advice. The pattern of the patients' selective utilization of professional workers was seen to stem from the way the organization of those professional services fitted into the organized culture of neighborhood life.

Since the Demonstration was in part a controlled experiment, it could not be changed to conform with these findings. However, a new program of medical care is described that will, among other things, test the utility of these findings.

GEORGE A. SILVER and ELIOT FREIDSON (Montefiore Hospital and the City College of New York)

SOCIAL SCIENCE IN AN EXPERIMENTAL MEDICAL PROGRAM

The work of a social scientist in a program involving a controlled experiment on the effect of the organization of medical care on health was discussed. Using the concept of interpersonal influence in the flow of information and decisions, analysis was made of patients' use of the services of the social workers in the program, and of "outside" physicians who practiced independently of the program. The concept of lay referral system was formulated in order to embrace both the lay culture involved in evaluating medical problems and the network of influential lay consultants that supports and channels the seeking of help. On the basis of this study, specific hypotheses were formulated about the conditions under which maximum utilization of the services of a medical program could be expected.

MARGRET TÖNNESMANN (University of Cologne)

SOME ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION IN MEDICAL SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY IN GERMANY: A TREND REPORT

This paper showing the contemporary trends of medical sociology and social psychology in Germany is based on a collection of all available material published since 1945 and also on recent unpublished research work.

I was able to find three main trends: Firstly, a small amount of work—mainly theoretical publications—done by sociologists; secondly, some research work on a small scale done by medically trained people interested in problems of medical sociology and also some theoretically orientated publications; thirdly, a lot of material which showed an increasing interest in medico-sociological questions but lacking any scientific background.

On this basis I met the problem that, at the moment, it is not possible to speak of a special field of medical sociology in Germany in a strict sense.

Nevertheless, I was able to demonstrate that there is a base on which more properly scientific research can be done in future. First steps were taken recently when two general discussions took place between sociologists and medically trained people. One discussion was centered on the point whether it is possible at all to do team work research and also whether it is advisable for sociologists to do research work in the field of "sociology in medicine." Furthermore it dealt with problems of the definitions of illness and patient, seen in different ways by different authors. The other discussion arose in connection with a meeting of sociologists, psychologists,

statistically trained people and medically trained people, originally arranged to discuss one of the recent medico-sociological research projects in the United States. They agreed that it would be desirable to do team work research. Both the discussions gave an indication of the opportunities as well as of the difficulties which will arise when future research work starts.

Mainly based on the third part of my collected material I was able to analyse on the one hand the difficulties which will arise when medically trained people and the medical institution as a whole have to integrate the findings of medico-sociological research in their field. On the other hand I could define the particular questions which need early answers by properly scientific research.

JEAN-PAUL VALABREGA (Centre national de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris)
QUELQUES FACTEURS DE L'ÉVOLUTION DE LA RELATION MÉDICALE

Les sociologues d'une part et les psychanalystes de l'autre ont été des pionniers dans l'étude de la relation médicale.

Le concept de *relation* est considéré encore comme nouveau en médecine. On étudie trois facteurs principaux de l'évolution de la relation médicale: le progrès technique et la spécialisation, l'adjonction de données psychologiques, l'adjonction de données socio-économiques.

On examine et critique la *thèse technologique* qui attribue au progrès un changement intrinsèque dans la nature de l'acte et de la relation médicale. On s'appuie en particulier sur les recherches effectuées par M. BALINT à la Tavistock Clinic.

L'évolution de la relation médicale tend à substituer un rapport *soigné-soignant* au rapport *malade-médecin* classique. Cette évolution s'accomplice selon un double mouvement:

Psychologisation de la relation (apparition de la Psychosomatique)

Sociologisation de la relation. Un phénomène caractéristique est le passage du *besoin d'aide* au *droit aux soins*.

Ce passage ne s'effectue pas sans conflits sociaux qui sont même parfois politisés.

On note enfin l'apparition d'attitudes revendicatives, souvent secondaires et qui posent à leur tour de nombreux problèmes psychomédico-sociaux.

SUB-SECTION ON MENTAL HEALTH CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTORY PAPER

ARNOLD M. ROSE (University of Minnesota)

A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY OF NEUROSIS

A partial theory of the causation of neurosis is set forth in terms of the intervening variable of a negative, depreciated, or "mutilated" conception of one's self. This interactionist theory holds that a significant and persistent pattern of self-depreciation—either reflecting accurately the negative evaluations from others or reflecting a distorted selection of "blows" from the social environment—manifests itself in (a) an inability to internalize strongly-held values; and (b) an inability to act effectively to attain those values or goals that one does have. These manifest themselves behaviorally as neurosis, which can range from mild ineffectiveness to something bordering on the mental disorder known as involutional melancholia. If the

self-deprecation is repressed, the neurosis will probably take a compulsive or hysterical form rather than the more direct form of anxiety.

This hypothesis is based on a more general theory of social psychology known as symbolic-interactionism, whose founders were Charles H. Cooley and George H. Mead. It is an essential element of Cooley's "looking glass self" concept and of Mead's concept of the "me" that part of the self is a reflection—albeit sometimes distorted—of other people's reactions toward the person in question. If the reaction of others is generally negative, and the individual gets a correct perception of this negative reaction, and if he accepts this negative evaluation regularly, our proposition is that the individual becomes neurotic. In other words, an element in the chain of causes leading to neurosis is held to be the social psychological factor of psychological self-mutilation. The psychoanalyst Carl Jung recognised this in speaking of a sense of "loss of significance" as a major factor in adult neurosis. A depreciated or "mutilated" self is a major factor in the development of a neurosis, we hypothesize, because an individual's ability to accept strongly-held values of any kind and to act effectively to achieve those values is a function of his conception of himself—a conception that he is an adequate, worthwhile, effective and appreciated person. At the extreme, the mental state is similar to that of the person who commits what Durkheim calls "egoistic" suicide. The difference lies solely in that the individual either retains a compunction against suicide or else is not sufficiently organized to engage in the act of suicide.

Rejection and devaluation by others is probably the most important cause of devaluation of self, provided the individual is not so psychotic or psychopathic that he cannot accurately perceive the opinions of others. Of course, an accurately perceived negative evaluation from others may be rejected by the individual concerned, but in such a case the individual generally has accepted what is for him the higher, more-valued opinion of a small, select group—perhaps even a group not in immediate social contact with him. The "looking glass self" is not a mere reflection, it involves selection and evaluation, and hence the resulting self-image is far from being the image of the individual as seen by others with whom the individual interacts.

This selective and evaluative process can also give rise to a second type of self-disparagement—that in which the individual selects the negative reactions of others, and gives them prime importance among the wide range of others' reactions to build his conception of himself. Persons who do this have a perfectionist attitude, and even the slight blows to their egos are accorded a subjective importance out of all proportion to their objective importance (in the eyes of a neutral observer). Such a perfectionist or "over-sensitive" attitude probably grows out of a certain childhood experiences of a harsh nature, and hence may be thought of as psychogenic. At any rate, the tendency to over-rate the negative reactions of others serves to inflict regular blows on one's conception of self. Over the course of time, our hypothesis holds, this is a link in the chain of causes that produce neurosis.

It is to be noted that at first these two types of neurotics are able to communicate with, and receive communications from, others, as well as non-neurotic people can. There is no immediate interruption of communication such as is generally associated with psychosis. In fact, it is in the process of communication that the neuroses develop. However, if the self-deprecation persists and becomes greatly exaggerated, communication becomes interrupted and/or distorted. The disturbed individual concentrates his attention on himself to the partial exclusion of all other external stimuli. His very preoccupation with the unworthiness, uselessness and hopelessness of his self tends to restrict communication with others. Others no longer have to

carry on their depreciation from the outside—although they may tend to do so as the individual fails to conform to their social pressures—for the self-deprecatory process comes to be reinforced by itself. The individual's obvious unhappiness which makes him unattractive to others, and his own concentration of attention on himself, tend to isolate him. Thus there are certain tendencies toward an interruption of communication and a withdrawal from reality which are productive of a psychosis on the border of neurosis—usually called "involuntional melancholia," at least in its milder form. On the other hand, unless the individual withdraws himself physically from social relations, the usual stimuli of everyday life intrude on his attention and keep him in some touch with reality. Thus the neurotic is only partly out of touch with reality, in so far as he over-selects the negative responses of others to the relative exclusion of the positive ones and in so far as his attention is concentrated on himself to the partial exclusion of some external stimuli. But if the neurotic further withdraws himself from society and broods almost exclusively on his unhappy self and its psychic pains, an involuntional process with melancholia as its external manifestation will result.

The more extreme form of neurosis occurs most frequently in Western society when the major and highly valued life roles—occupational for men and child-rearing for women—automatically disappear, usually at around the age 60–65 for men and 40–50 for women. Unless new life roles are satisfactorily substituted, the individual finds himself feeling persistently lost, worthless, unappreciated. Our culture does not automatically provide new life roles, but they may be found or developed. If not, the persistent negative attitude toward the self results in neurosis. Loss of major life roles is not the only source of persistent self-deprecation, of course, but it may well be the most frequent source of persistent self-deprecation, and hence—if our theory is correct—of neurosis.

The suggested therapy deducible from this theory involves either (a) getting the individual into a new life-situation (including helping him develop new roles) so that the reaction from others will be more positive, or (b) helping the individual to redefine himself in relation to others and to perceive more accurately the positive evaluations of himself coming from others, if there are such positive evaluations. If neither is possible, it may be that "adjustment" can be achieved only by losing contact with some of the negative reactions of others; self-delusion may be the only alternative to complete apathy and depression or suicide.

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

JOHN A. CLAUSEN (National Institute of Mental Health)

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIPS PRIOR TO HOSPITALIZATION FOR MENTAL ILLNESS

Mental illness manifests itself in the person's failure to meet his own or other persons' expectations. Patients whose illness was first manifest as illness after several years of marriage have, to a considerable degree, achieved stable adult roles and a reasonably satisfactory complementarity of expectations with their spouses. The disruption of complementarity by mental illness affords a basis for research on the perception of deviance and on alternative ways of attempting to cope with deviance in a marital partner.

Interviews conducted with spouses of a number of psychotic patients soon after the patients' hospitalization inquired into the nature of the marital relationship

antecedent to symptomatic manifestations and the events and interpersonal vicissitudes intervening between the initial perception of "something wrong" and the patient's hospitalization. In most instances there was a marked weakening of affectional ties prior to the spouse's recognition that the patient had a severe emotional problem.

The nature of the symptomatic behavior first perceived by the spouse varies with the spouse's characterization of the previously existing marital relationship. Both of these variables in turn influence the nature and amount of communication centered on the problematic behavior (failure of complementarity). Eventual recognition that the patient's deviance was attributable to mental illness frequently had the latent function of reconstituting the spouse's commitment to the marriage.

HERRE A. HALBERTSMA (Amsterdam)

NEIGHBORHOOD NORMS AND THE RECOGNITION OF ABNORMAL BEHAVIOR

A common practice in current research work is, to consider social structure as a complex of classes, and income as the main status determinant. This conceptual model corresponds only in a very general way to status distinctions as made in reality. Experiences in new neighborhoods in Amsterdam suggest, not only that other factors besides the material one influence status distinctions, but also that different people attribute a different value to each factor. As a first step towards the development of a multi-dimensional status concept, a number of old neighborhoods in Amsterdam are being studied.

In the analysis of the data, a distinction is made between positive and negative adjustment to neighborhood norms, no adjustment meaning that the individual functions so much outside the social structure of the neighborhood in question, that his behavior is practically irrelevant to it. In the same way a distinction is made between positive and negative ambition to leave the neighborhood, no ambition meaning indifference in this respect. For purposes of interpretation the concept of personality orientation is used, different types of finalistic, formalistic, and materialistic orientations being distinguished. The distinctions between these types are further refined by introducing the concepts of extremeness and rigidity of orientation.

In different neighborhoods a different relationship was observed between type of orientation and neighborhood norms, the same type of orientation being connected with positive adjustment in one, negative adjustment in another neighborhood. In each neighborhood a complicated relationship was observed between extremeness and rigid orientation and adjustment to neighborhood norms, the same extreme and rigid orientation being connected with a high degree of positive adjustment in one, negative adjustment in another neighborhood. In each neighborhood an inverse relationship was observed between ambition to leave the neighborhood and adjustment to neighborhood norms, positive adjustment being connected with negative ambition, negative adjustment with positive ambition to leave the neighborhood.

The conclusion is that the recognition of the behavior of an individual as being abnormal is a function, not only of his personality structure, but also of the norms of the neighborhood in which he lives. This point of view gives an added interest to data of abnormal behavior, scarce recognition of certain types of abnormal behavior pointing to the possibility of institutionalization of these types of behavior.

in the neighborhood in question. Further research concentrates on the principle of role differentiation in small groups, that counteracts the principle of selective migration between neighborhoods.

ANNE PARSONS (USA)

SOME COMPARATIVE OBSERVATIONS ON WARD SOCIAL STRUCTURES

The speaker presented some comparative observations made in the course of her research activities in public psychiatric hospitals in the United States and Southern Italy. It was felt that between the Provincial Hospital of Naples and many state hospitals in the United States and other countries where there are no active socially oriented treatment programs, there is an important contrast: namely, in Naples one does not encounter nearly as great a degree of breakdown of normal channels of social interaction, e.g., in that the majority of patients can respond actively and integrally to casual social contact. It was proposed that this difference can be explained with reference to certain features of the social structure and value system of Southern Italy as opposed to those of highly industrialized societies. These include the degree to which social interaction centers on family ties which are frequently preserved even when there is long term hospitalization and the cultural value emphasis placed on the expression of transitory feeling states in the immediate, a type of social action which can be carried on inside a mental hospital as well as outside. On the other hand the situation of psychiatric hospitalization can be seen as more traumatic and potentially more disorganizing in its consequences in any society in which purposeful long-term life planning is socially enjoined and in which many significant social ties are extremely vulnerable to rupture in situations of strain. In addition some statistical material was presented on discharge patterns in order to test the hypothesis that such a hospital situation should be less conducive to chronicity among schizophrenics. Adequate material was not available for precise comparative analysis, but it was felt that there was more chronicity than expected. Thus it is necessary to consider both social and other factors which in Naples may act so as to keep the patient in the hospital as well as those noted which appear to lessen the degree of potential personal and social deterioration.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

THIS report summarizes the proceedings of the discussion section on the Sociology of Medicine held at the Villa delle Azalee, Stresa, on September 9-10, 1959. Part I lists the names of those who participated in the discussion and Part II describes the general arrangement of the meetings. Part III outlines the major topics and problems that received attention from the discussion group.

I. PARTICIPANTS

Chairman, G. G. Reader (U.S.A.); Rapporteur, M. E. W. Goss (U.S.A.); V. Aubert (Norway); J. Ben-David (Israel); K. Bowden (England); G. W. Brown (England); T. E. Chester (England); J. A. Clausen (U.S.A.); J. V. R. Douglas (England); H. D. Frank (England); E. Freidson (U.S.A.); I. Gadourek (Holland); N. I. Grashchenkov (U.S.S.R.); E. Gronseth (Norway); O. Hall (Canada); H. A. Halbertsma (Holland); G. Jahoda (Scotland); M. Jeffreys

(England); P. L. Kendall (U.S.A.); P. F. Lazarsfeld (U.S.A.); J. B. Loudon (England); J. Margot-Duclot (France); R. K. Merton (U.S.A.); A. Parsons (U.S.A.); M. Pitzurra (Italy); A. M. Rose (U.S.A.); K. Rudfeld (Denmark); G. A. Silver (U.S.A.); N. Simon (U.S.A.); S. S. Spivack (U.S.A.); M. Tonnesmann (Germany); A. Ullmann (U.S.A.).

II. GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS

Three discussion sessions were scheduled and held. For all sessions the Section on Public Health joined the Section on Medicine, through mutual agreement between their respective chairmen, Professor Grashchenkov and Professor Reader. Professor Pitzurra, rapporteur for the Section on Public Health, therefore agreed to submit a brief report which would be merged with the present account.

Professor Reader presided over the two sessions held on September 9. At the prior invitation of Professor Reader, Professor Rose organized and presided over the third session, held on September 10 and devoted particularly to the Sociology of Mental Health. All sessions were well attended.

In order to provide starting points for discussion, Drs. Reader, Ben-David, Gadourek, Hall, Kendall, Silver, Tonnesman, and Grashchenkov gave resumes of their prepared papers at the September 9 sessions, as did Drs. Rose, Frank Jahoda, Halbertsma, Clausen, and Parsons at the session on September 10. Abstracts of these papers will be found on pages 245-254 above.

III. DISCUSSION TOPICS

On September 9 both prepared papers and discussions focused on three inter-related topics: the nature and current status of medical sociology; some procedural difficulties sociologists may face in carrying out research in this field; and the significance of selected types of empirical studies for understanding problems of mutual concern to sociologists and medical personnel.

The September 10 session was devoted primarily to papers and discussion bearing on the relation of various social factors to mental illness. Distinguishing characteristics of the sociology of mental health and illness were also considered.

Nature and Status of Medical Sociology

Participants here emphasized certain matters which have salience not only for the definition of the field of medical sociology but for its future as an international research area as well.

If medical sociology be viewed as comprising systematic study of

the social etiology and ecology of disease, social components of therapy, medical care as a social institution, and medical education as a social process, then it is clear that the field is not equally accepted and developed in all countries. For reasons which bear exploration, research on these problems appears to have gone forward somewhat more rapidly and extensively in the United States than elsewhere. Acceptance of medical sociology as a distinct field for inquiry would also seem to occur more commonly in the United States. Nevertheless, the field is on the way toward gaining recognition as a profitable area for theoretical analysis and empirical study in other countries as well. This was effectively exemplified by reports on the current state of medical sociology in the Netherlands and in Germany, and also by the range of research in Great Britain described by participants. Soviet studies in public health and preventive medicine evidently emphasize the importance of social conditions in promoting health and preventing disease, but whether medical sociologists have any role in conducting such studies was not noted.

In this connection, the problem of accurately classifying some of the ongoing work in the various nations deserves attention. Many investigations undertaken by medical researchers under the labels of social medicine, public health, or preventive medicine also represent studies in medical sociology, though they are not always viewed as such. Thus it is easy to underestimate the extent of current research on subjects germane to medical sociology, particularly for purposes of international comparison. It is also easy to underestimate the potential role of medical sociologists in the future. Participants noted that in many realms of common research interest, sociologists and physicians might well pool their knowledge and skills in the execution of co-operative projects, rather than continue to attempt parallel but independent studies. This would mean, of course, the institutionalization of interdisciplinary research teams to a far greater extent than is now the case.

Some Procedural Problems

For the present, however, the difficulties that tend to confront sociologists when they undertake research on medical subjects should not be minimized. The experience of some sociologists who are members of interdisciplinary research teams suggests, for example, that at least initially, collaboration with medical colleagues can pose frustrating problems. By and large, physicians have received less training in research techniques; moreover, they are likely to be oriented toward the individual patient as a clinical problem. Their approach to the proposed joint research may, therefore, differ markedly from that of the sociologist. It was also observed that sociologists are often still "marginal men" in medicine, with uncertain status and few prerogatives. They find that they cannot conveniently enter a medical

setting or study phenomena in that setting without approval from medical authorities ; they are sometimes asked to advise on medical research projects only after the study design has been formulated and the data collected. Apparently these and related experiences are not confined to sociologists in any one country. Rather, in some measure they tend to occur wherever sociologists begin to work with or around medically-trained personnel.

Yet the research path of the medical sociologist is not inevitably studded with difficulties. Instances of productive collaboration between sociologists and members of the medical disciplines are known to exist, which would suggest that it is possible to minimize or eliminate various sources of strain under appropriate conditions. Instead of abstractly discussing potential problems and ideal solutions, medical sociologists might do well to determine the nature of such propitious conditions through identification and systematic analysis of a series of known cases of successful collaboration. The experience of some sociologists suggests, for example, that entrée to hospitals for sociological research purposes is facilitated if the hospital is undergoing directed change in its arrangements, and that physicians involved in effecting innovations in medical schools may be more appreciative of sociology as a scientific discipline than are members of the medical profession generally. These impressions are based on only a few cases, however ; their generality should be explored through examination of additional instances.

Contributions to the understanding of Substantive Problems.

It is perhaps too early to speak of widespread "applications" of sociology to medicine. But there are clear indications that sociological research in medicine has much to contribute to the understanding of a variety of medical—as well as sociological—problems.

The organization and administration of hospitals is a case in point. Those whose task is to insure that hospitals provide effective, efficient, and economical care for patients have long expressed concern about the stressful relationships that frequently exist between a hospital's administrative officers and its professional medical staff, on the assumption that such disharmony impedes achievement of hospital objectives. Sociologists have also been concerned with this problem, but primarily because it offers an opportunity to investigate significant questions in the sociology of complex formal organization as well as in the sociology of occupations and professions.

Analytical and empirical studies described by participants in the discussion suggested that resolution of conflict between administrative and professional staff is a more complex matter than some administrators imagine, in part because the likelihood of conflict is rooted in the different types of orientation and training each group receives

as well as in their unequal social status in the hospital hierarchy. Nevertheless, through exposing students of hospital administration to some of the training medical students undergo, an interesting British experiment reported by Chester is attempting to lessen the disparity in training and, by increasing administrative salaries, to raise the prestige of hospital administrators. Whether such procedures necessarily result in more satisfactory relationships between administrators and professional staff members was considered open to question by some participants, who indicated that an alternative and perhaps more effective procedure might consist of giving physicians training in administration and placing them in hospital administrative posts. Even without formal administrative training some physicians manage to be quite effective administrators ; the distaste for administrative work which these men often express may be mainly for the benefit of their medical colleagues who, by and large, tend to compare administrative work unfavourably with patient care.

One of the general questions at issue here, of course, is whether a bureaucratic organization with a professional staff is better administered by professionals or non-professionals. The preliminary analyses of this subject have been enlightening with respect to the formulation of hypotheses, but before the question can be answered adequately additional empirical research focused on the situation of physicians and other professionals who work in bureaucratic settings is required.

Another problem of interest to both sociologists and physicians concerns the extent to which the social relationships of patients affect their use of medical services. As suggested in one of the papers presented as well as in the discussion, physicians tend to assume that a comprehensively insured patient who is in need of medical care will automatically use the services made available to him, and they are puzzled when not all patients do so. Sociologists are inclined to view such behaviour as a possible instance in which individuals are subjected to cross-pressure of a social nature while making important personal decisions, and thus as an interesting problem in the social psychology of decision-making. The cross-pressure identified by Silver and Freidson in their study of patients in a health maintenance demonstration project consisted of a "lay referral system" on the one hand, and of the traditional "professional referral system" on the other hand. Recommendations made within the professional referral system were found to be subject to scrutiny in the lay referral system ; if a patient's friends and relatives expressed doubt about particular professional recommendations, the patient appeared more likely to seek further professional advice from doctors outside the project. Also, the observed under-utilization of the services of the project's social worker appeared to be at least partly due to the fact that per-

sons in the lay referral system generally had no clear-cut image of the social worker's role. Discussants stressed the possibility of regional and national differences in assessing the importance of lay referral systems as they may affect patient's behaviour, and emphasized the need for comparative studies which would explore this phenomenon under various types of health insurance plans.

The realm of medical education represents still another area in which sociological and medical interests coalesce to the apparent profit of both. Within the last several years various patient-oriented changes have been made in the curricula of a number of American medical schools, and medical educators have been eager to know whether the changes have any demonstrable, positive effect on medical students' attitudes, values, and behaviour. Sociologists have welcomed the opportunity to aid in the empirical evaluation of such educational innovations, since at the same time they have a valuable chance to apply and extend sociological theory regarding the social processes through which a lay person becomes a professional. At the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University, longitudinal studies are underway which systematically explore the experiences and relationships of medical students with their families, their student peers, the patients whom they see, and the faculty members who are their teachers. All these relationships—as well as the student's relationship to himself (his "self-image")—were initially believed to play a role in the student's professional development, and the findings available thus far bear out this belief. Medical students whose father are doctors, for example, are likely to intend to specialize in the same area of medicine chosen by their fathers; students who think that patients view them as doctors rather than students tend to see themselves as doctors also. Not all the findings could have been as easily anticipated as these examples suggests, however, as illustrated by the fact that at one medical school, comparison of certain patient-oriented values of faculty members with those held by students showed that the two were not entirely in accord. Periodically-administered questionnaires constitute a major source of data for the studies described, but personal interviews, systematic observations, and diaries kept by students have also been utilized. Thus cross-checking of information is possible.

The same group of researchers is just beginning an investigation of how professional attitudes, values, skills, and behaviour further develop during the internship and residency period. The investigation includes follow-up of students previously studied during their four years of undergraduate medical education as well as a cross-sectional survey of interns and residents in a representative sample of hospitals in the United States.

Information from comparable studies in other countries was

solicited. One participant noted, however, that duplication of studies of medical education such as those described would not be feasible in all countries, e.g., Italy; curriculum arrangements of medical schools differ, especially with respect to the contact students have with patients.

*Sociology of Mental Health and Illness : General Considerations**

Returning from the specific to the general, participants discussed the sociology of mental health and illness ("psychiatric sociology") in terms of its distinctive features. Psychiatric sociology has a longer history of theory and research than have most other sub-fields in medical sociology, and from the beginning work in this area has involved concepts and problems that are central to sociology as a whole. It was suggested further that the public plays a greater role in defining mental illness as compared with physical illness, and therefore that the categories of mental illness are more subject to change. Some participants took issue with this point of view by emphasizing the common social and professional context in which definitions of both physical and mental illness are formulated at any given time.

Another approach to distinguishing the field of psychiatric sociology from other branches is to list the study areas it involves. These include investigations of personality formation and malformation, epidemiology and etiology of mental disorder, relationships between mental illness and socio-cultural variables institutional arrangements for therapy, public attitudes toward mental disorder, associations between mental and social problems, the mental patient's social setting, and mental health as a social movement.

Social Factors and Mental Illness

The study areas are of course closely interrelated, as participants exemplified in their discussion and prepared reports. Given particular attention was the potential significance of social change, mental hospital organization, and negative self-conceptions as causative agents in mental illness. Variations in social norms as they affect recognition of mental disorder were also considered.

Social change may be an important factor in causing mental illness, since it frequently entails conflicting social norms to which individuals must make new adjustments. The role of the healer in helping people to make such adjustments—as well as in relieving other kinds of tensions—should not be underestimated, however. And the question of whether social change necessarily produces more tensions than do the strains encountered in ordinary living is open to further research ; available evidence at present is somewhat equivocal.

* See the Chairman's Introductory paper for the Sub-section on Mental Health, page 250 above.

The relationship of hospital organization to therapeutic success or failure in the care of mental patients also requires further study. Case studies of patients in two mental hospitals, one in England and the other in Southern Italy, provide further evidence for the general proposition that the social structure of hospitals may be an important factor in promoting or hindering recovery from mental illness. But they also underscore the necessity for additional investigations of a systematic, cross-cultural nature.

As part of a social psychological theory of neurosis, based on the concept of traumatic self-devaluation, the possible effect of negative self-conceptions on the development of mental ill health received attention. Some participants acknowledged the potential significance of negative self-images in leading to mental ill health, but emphasized their belief that a pluralistic theory of causation which also took into account neurophysiological and genetic factors might be more acceptable. In addition, it was noted that perhaps too little information is yet available to permit formulation of a satisfactory "global" theory of neurosis or psychosis development.

Finally, the importance of variations in social norms and affective ties as they affect recognition of abnormal behaviour was illustrated by an analysis of Amsterdam neighbourhoods and a study of American family settings in which mental breakdown had occurred.

MARY E. W. GOSS.

SECTION II (2)

Sociological Aspects of Social Planning

SECTION II (2)
PLENARY SESSION ON
SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL PLANNING

Chairman: Professor C. PELLIZZI
(University of Florence)

*Main Papers**: Professor GUNNAR MYRDAL (Sweden)
Professor C. BETTELHEIM (University of Paris)
Professor S. OSSOWSKI (University of Warsaw)

Prepared Discussants: PAUL A. BARAN (USA)
SURENDRA PATEL (India)
G. DE RITA (Italy)

Rapporteurs: J. GOUDSBLOM (University of Amsterdam)
A. PIZZORNO (Centro Nazionale di Difesa e Prevenzione Sociale, Milan)
N. BIRNBAUM (Nuffield College, Oxford)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

THE session opened with Professor OSSOWSKI's presentation of his paper. There followed prepared remarks by three invited discussants: BARAN (USA), PATEL (India), DE RITA (Italy). BARAN criticised MYRDAL's characterisation of western economies as subject to at least limited planning under Welfare State regimes which had attained full employment. On the contrary, he argued, the US economy (1) depended upon a reserve army of unemployed, (2) was dominated by monopolistic and oligopolistic market conditions, (3) utilised "compensatory" government spending on arms to keep structural unemployment in the system under some control, (4) displayed considerable waste and irrationality in the composition of its product, which failed to meet obvious domestic and foreign cultural and economic needs. Finally, BARAN said, "genuine economic and social planning" entailed conscious social decision about the principal determinant of society's existence.

PATEL dealt with the "vicious circle of poverty" cited by MYRDAL: the process by which industrially less-developed countries are unable to increase investment because too much of their current production is exhausted by current consumption and no saving is possible without severe decreases in the latter, decreases which in the nature of the case are both socially unacceptable and must have a quickly attainable limit. The Indian and especially the Chinese experience, were adduced by PATEL to disprove this view. Increases in investment and consumption

* These papers were published in Volume II of the *Transactions*. Professor Myrdal was not able to attend the Congress.

there were directly correlated, and efforts at greater investment in similar circumstances need not be deterred by the fear of the consequences for consumption. "There appears to be no necessary absolute connection between the current rate of saving and the potential rate of growth; given adequate policies, economic growth can be financed as a draft on future expansion of resources." Growth rates of 8-10 per cent per annum for most countries are therefore possible and within a half century the present gap between rich and poor countries could be closed. Investment and consumption are inversely correlated in a static situation and directly in a dynamic one.

DE RITA (Italy) proposed to define social planning as the "programming of the social and cultural changes connected with a developmental process and as coordination of the intervention designed to carry out these changes." The evolution of social structures and cultural patterns should not be treated simply as a consequence of economic changes, but should be approached as an autonomous process which could introduce new values appropriate to contemporary needs. A policy of social and cultural change for undeveloped countries must be based on the assumption that most are at "a stage of backwardness which does not require a radical transformation of the economic and social structures, but only certain improvements in living conditions (health, education of a managerial class, agricultural productivity, etc.). Once this pre-developmental stage has been reached and its problems solved, it becomes possible to adopt a policy involving changes in structure which will be more closely connected with the transformation of farms, the setting up of new industrial enterprises, and the overall evolution of the developing society." The social agencies responsible for change are far more differentiated in developed countries. Intervention leading to changes in underdeveloped countries is "complex and delicate" and should not, therefore, be rigidly planned by the government. "The latter should act as a stimulating factor giving the agents a sharper realisation and clearer conception of their objectives" and intervene to coordinate the work of these agents only occasionally.

DUMAZEDIER (France) held that it was necessary to distinguish between scientific planning and dogmatic planning. The problem of a typology of planning entails a distinction between authoritarian planning and "*planification indicative*." Sociology must utilise experimental models applicable to the tasks of planning and utilise historical sociology in the same way, to study deliberately induced social changes. Further, we have to study society as a whole, simple researches into opinions and behaviour are insufficient. Our most important task is to study needs, but this requires an integration of descriptive with interpretative models. A sociology of planning has to deal with (and obtain) the modification of cultural attitudes, and this means that we cannot be bound, ourselves, to the past.

CHOMBART DE LAUWE (France) said that we must distinguish two aspects of planning. One was the technical development of certain countries to adapt them to the models of other, advanced countries; the other was a response to needs and here was the major import of a sociology of planning. Sociology as the study of human values, for the sake of human values, was a sociology of liberty. The sociologist had to describe the contradictions between the systems being imposed on societies and the aspirations seeking expression. Even where it appeared that there were no aspirations, there were such—the sociologist could not simply accept the technical problems posed by the planners.

Mrs. ABADAN (Turkey) characterised the ideological aspect of planning as organised *prévoyance*. Organisation can lead to an excess of bureaucratisation, and we have to provide for flexible control systems. Internal controls are insufficient and external ones must be used (governmental powers, executive, legislative, and judicial and especially public opinion). Voluntary participation and not coercion should be the guiding principle, and planning has to be made compatible with needs and motives as well as with the goal of economic equality. In Turkey, voluntary planning had been achieved.

ROSE (USA) sought to defend MYRDAL's views and to challenge some of BARAN's observations on the USA. There was planning in America, but it was diversified and not centralised; influenced by group pressures, subject to change and not controlled by ideology. As with the United Kingdom and Scandinavia, the values directing planning came from society as it is. It was incorrect of BARAN, further, to ascribe unemployment to manipulation of the economy; unemployment in America was confined to marginal groups of workers. The determination of values occurs all the time in a democratic society, where it is open to all groups. Finally, Rose held that planning in underdeveloped countries should try to avoid the mistakes made in developed ones.

SOEDER (German Democratic Republic) challenged the view he ascribed to some thinkers, including OSSOWSKI, that a planned economy implied the dictatorship of a small minority. Planning could not be carried out by a small group, because the entire population had to participate. In the German Democratic Republic, in accordance with this fundamental principle of socialist planning, all plans are submitted to the people and proposals come from the enterprises and the workers (through their unions) before ratification by the People's Chamber.

HAMON (France) described the contradictions entailed by planning. In regimes characterised by a multiplicity of parties and pressure group activity, planning entailed the politicisation of the economic sector. But precisely because the conflict of group interests entails a certain *immobilisme* in politics, the public can become depoliticised. The

necessity to introduce a certain *élan* in economic decision, then, may require a certain authoritarianism. The remedy is to develop polycentric rather than monocentric planning. Further, planning deals with the allocation of scarce resources and this inevitably entails conflict, an irreducible fact obscured by utopianism.

Academician V. NEMCHINOV (USSR) in his contribution discussed the "Sociological Aspect of Planning" with particular respect to the Soviet experience. He began by considering the new plan for education in his country; this, he pointed out, required the provision of scholarships and the rearrangement of working time. Further, social agencies which supplement family care of the young and old entail "very tangible changes" in the family and although it remains the "primary cell of society" sociology has to analyse these processes of change to make practical planning recommendations. He noted that in the USSR the social services cost one-sixth of the national income and set these expenditures in their social framework by discussing the way in which the problem of "ascension up the social ladder" changes under conditions of socialist economic organisation.

Among the problems still to be solved by sociology in the Soviet Union is that of leisure time under conditions of increasing productivity and shortened working hours. The USSR in its new Seven Year Plan expects to shorten the working week to 40 hours by 1965. Another problem given by the plan is that of the rational provision of housing facilities and their optimum location. Among the basic sociological problems of the planned economy is that of the determination of the structure and inner dynamics of the consumption capacity of the society and the investigation of the social productivity of labour, which also has its own laws of development.

Finally Academician NEMCHINOV contrasted the economies of planning with those of the market. Economic calculation and pre-vision in the latter did not have the same theoretical and practical status as in the former; under planning the entirety of economic relationships was subsumed under control. Whilst under market conditions there could in fact be no such control. Planning in market economies was therefore qualitatively different from planning in the socialist economy.

NAVILLE (France) said that in some countries not belonging to the Soviet bloc, there were at least some elements of planning which had at least suggestive value for more global planning enterprises. The contrast of centralised to decentralised planning has to take into account the coordination of planning in one country with that in another, for instance, Bulgarian planning had to take account of Soviet planning. We are unable to envisage, within the present limits of our knowledge, the development of a social system except in very general

terms. It suffices to recall that the movement of certain planned economies had been modified recently not alone by public discussion but by more serious conflicts which even took the form of armed conflict.

S. M. MILLER (USA) held that planning could be inserted in a number of different social contexts. Decentralisation can be introduced into socialist contexts. It is social goals which determine economic means and the failure to differentiate political factors in planning leads to monolithic, simple conceptions of planning. It is necessary to study the sociology of organisation.

S. M. LIPSET (USA) found it a hopeful sign that an American could criticise his society and an eastern European his social system. He pointed to the political context of sociology: some 80-90 per cent of sociologists from non-communist countries at the Congress were socialists. Marx himself has said that he could not predict the structure of the future socialist society. In reality there were two types of planning: (1) Horizontal, in underdeveloped countries where orders were handed down for all sectors and (2) vertical, decisions taken at the top based on certain political criteria, as the need to reduce the rate of unemployment. The costs of a planning goal will vary from society to society and will include costs which, at times, many people would be unwilling to pay. There are no utopias and utopia cannot serve as a basis of analysis.

WIATR (Poland) discussed what he termed a paradox: in the socialist countries a great deal of planning had been done, but until recently they had not developed the science of conducting sociological surveys. He noted a new tendency in these countries towards more empirical sociological research. Sociological theory, in his view, had an important role in the solution of practical problems, for instance, in the assessment of the role of the state as the promoter of planned change and as the guarantor of freedom.

KRAHL (German Democratic Republic) insisted on the identity of socialism and social planning, an identity found in the work of the early utopian socialists. Scientific socialism is essentially the idea of a society planned in all of its forms. In our times, the idea of planning has been taken up by capitalist countries, but there planning is not real social planning for it lacks an all-embracing scope. The entire people must be involved in all three stages of social planning: drafting, execution, control. Execution can take place by coercion, or by economic stimuli, or by appealing to the social conscience of all members of a society. The use of force is applicable only in the first stage of socialism—the goal is the latter stage. Certain objective proportions must be considered by all planners. Disproportionate effects may arise, due to human fallibility, even though the principles are right.

NEURATH (USA) pointed to an instance of the unanticipated consequences of planning he had observed in India. Groups originally convened to hear radio suggestions, in villages, had defined themselves as political action groups. The speaker thought it necessary to assign trained observers to the *locii* of change to anticipate these processes.

DROR (Israel) held that we ought to be uneasy about our limited knowledge of planning and our inability to define the term "social" in the concept of social planning.

BICANIC (Yugoslavia) described planning as too serious to be left to the economists, especially if it is to be given a humanistic content. The Yugoslav example of decentralised competitive planning with workers' control merited attention. Planning could mean a structure imposed on the workers; if the German Democratic Republic had the full participation SOEDER described why did they not give the workers a role in the direction of the enterprise? In any case, the different types of planning problem had to be differentiated.

GOLDSCHMIDT (German Federal Republic) held that the choice before us all was limited and that a certain evolution in the direction of socialism, due to social and historical constraints, was inevitable; in the capitalist countries, the public pressures on capitalistic forces was strong.

CHESTER (UK) intimated that he hoped to separate ideology from science in his contribution. Planning entailed a host of problems; an exchange of views between different countries with different experiences would be very useful. He noted that according to Professor NEMCHINOV, the USSR spent exactly what the UK did on the social services, namely one-sixth of the national income. The British experience, which also showed that full employment brought its own problems, suggested that we needed a hierarchy of control; but the allocation of resources was difficult. Finally, the speaker said that in view of the overwhelming amount of literature on these problems, ISA might publish yearly assessments of it, and it might, further, sponsor international research projects.

BARAN (USA) suggested that in the discussion "planning" had not been defined consistently or well. He meant by planning the conscious determination of the level and composition of the social product. Planning in the US aimed at avoiding catastrophe but not at the attainment of a fuller and better culture. He did not believe in "muddling through" based on false conceptions of practicality. Moreover, it was false to oppose the interests of present to future generations in planning. It was necessary to distinguish between mistakes in application of the principles and the validity of the principles of planning.

BETTELHEIM (France) said that in his paper he confined himself to

socialist societies since only there did social planning take the form of conscious collective action to transform society as a whole. Coherence between the ends and means of planning could not be attained by juxtaposing several partial plans but could be evaluated only from a central position. The problem of social participation in planning was indeed an important one and its modes required study. But in certain interventions the effects of planning itself had been insufficiently distinguished from the effects (certain phenomena of coercion, certain forms of conflict and of tension) of an accelerated development—effects which were now tending to diminish. A sociology of needs would become the point of departure for a sociology of planning at the moment at which the countries with planning attained the standard of living of the free market countries. At present, the latter served the former as models with respect to certain forms of life style. But in the future, the countries with planning would have to invent a new style of life.

Professor OSSOWSKI (Poland) remarked that it was his devotion to the ideal of planning which had prompted his remarks on some structural difficulties with planning in practice. He thought that the countries with planned economies had already overcome the pathology of commercialised culture, so prominent in the free market societies. It remained to solve the problem of the reconciliation of a polycentric style of life with centralised planning, and this challenge to shape a new social order had to be taken up by the intellectuals.

N. BIRNBAUM
J. GOUDSBLOM
A. PIZZORNO

SECTION III

Plenary Session

SECTION III
PLENARY SESSION ON DEVELOPMENTS
IN SOCIOLOGICAL METHODS

Chairman: Professor A. N. J. DEN HOLLANDER (Netherlands)

*Main Papers**: Professor PAUL LAZARSFELD (USA)

Professor JEAN STOETZEL (France)

Professor RENÉ KÖNIG (German Federal Republic)

Rapporteurs: Mr. J. D. REYNAUD (France)

Dr. R. DAHRENDORF (German Federal Republic)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

MONSIEUR KÖNIG fait un bref résumé des trois rapports principaux et retire leur accord sur trois points: la méthodologie ne se réduit pas à l'énumération des techniques de recherche; l'analyse du contexte et généralement les méthodes d'interprétation des résultats montrent la nécessité d'une intégration théorique; il faut distinguer la théorie sociologique et ce qui, sous le nom de théorie, est en réalité une évaluation et une critique sociale.

La séance est consacrée ensuite à la discussion de trois thèmes fondamentaux. Chacun d'eux est introduit par l'auteur d'un des rapports principaux; les deux autres présentent leurs commentaires et la parole est ensuite donnée aux participants.

Le premier sujet est introduit par M. STOETZEL: les effets de l'organisation de la recherche sur l'exercice de la sociologie. Les ouvrages de méthodologie posent rarement le problème de manière explicite. Cependant, l'usage de moyens matériels importants, la collaboration de différents spécialistes, l'organisation administrative exigée mériteraient d'être étudiés.

Quelles sont les principales conséquences de cette organisation de la sociologie?

Tout d'abord une institutionalisation de la recherche sociologique elle-même: le rôle du sociologue est un rôle mieux défini (qui se différencie de l'intérêt général pour les "problèmes sociaux") et par conséquent mieux accepté en public.

Ensuite, le contenu même et les subdivisions de la recherche sociologique se transforment. On ne cherche plus à saisir des aspects "essentiels" de la société (psychologie des peuples, institutions cérémoniales). Les divisions se fondent soit sur des domaines concrets d'application (sociologie rurale, industrielle, urbaine) soit sur une méthodologie qui

* These papers were published in Volume II of the *Transactions*.

a pris la place d'une simple conceptualisation (stratification sociale, étude des petits groupes).

Enfin, le contenu des préoccupations méthodologiques se transforme. Autrefois, discussion philosophique sur la nature des faits sociaux (le meilleur exemple en est donné par les *Règles de la méthode sociologique* de Durkheim), elles sont aujourd'hui tournées vers les techniques de recherche.

On a souvent reproché à cette évolution d'aboutir, avec la standardisation des techniques, à une sorte d'automatisation de la recherche qui la conduit à l'insignifiance. Reproche peut-être justifié; mais qui néglige la transformation du rôle du sociologue. On ne forme plus des disciples, mais des professionnels et le premier exigence à leur égard est qu'ils maîtrisent les instruments de leur discipline.

Il est vrai aussi que la limitation des moyens matériels de recherche conduit, à des degrés divers selon les pays, à se concentrer sur les objets les plus faciles, c'est à dire, qui donnent le plus de résultats pour les dépenses engagées. Ainsi s'explique en partie la floraison d'études sur les petits groupes. Mais l'intérêt théorique d'une étude ne se mesure pas à l'urgence immédiate des problèmes abordés.

M. LAZARSFELD fait trois remarques critiques: (1) il n'est pas exact que ce problème ait été négligé. Il a fait l'objet de nombreuses discussions et d'importants travaux aux Etats Unis, ce qui ne signifie certes pas qu'il soit résolu. (2) Il faut tenir compte des différences d'organisation selon les pays. Si dans beaucoup de cas aux Etats Unis, l'organisation est fortement coordonné et peut-être rigide, c'est le contraire qui lui paraît dominant dans l'organisation française. Le Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques juxtapose un grand nombre de recherches sans lien entre elles et le problème serait plutôt la manque de coordination. (3) Dans quels cadres les instituts de recherche doivent-ils se développer? Est-ce nécessairement dans les universités? La question n'est pas tranchée. En Yougoslavie, par exemple, la recherche s'organise, non comme une série d'entreprises individuelles (c'était le cas des Etats Unis), mais par des subventions directes de l'Etat qui n'empruntent pas le canal universitaire pour des raisons pratiques.

L'institutionnalisation de la recherche, comme toute transformation, a des aspects disfonctionnels. Il se peut qu'elle diminue parfois la créativité et la liberté individuelles. Mais le vrai problème est de trouver le moyen de corriger ses défauts en gardant ses avantages. L'étude des organisations de recherche et particulièrement de l'administration de la recherche peut y contribuer.

M. KÖNIG retire qu'aucune formation appropriée ne prépare à l'administration de la recherche. Où apprend-on, en Europe, à faire le plan d'une recherche, à en établir le budget, à en fixer le calendrier? Les chercheurs apprennent par essais et erreurs, et généralement avec

beaucoup d'erreurs. Le coût de ces erreurs est assez élevé pour qu'il vaille la peine de faire figurer l'administration de la recherche dans la formation méthodologique.

M. GOLDMANN (Paris) retire l'omission d'un point important: l'institutionnalisation de la recherche la rend plus vulnérable aux pressions des grands organismes qui détiennent l'argent nécessaire. Il faudrait étudier comment et à quel degré, dans différents pays, peut subsister une sociologie non-conformiste.

Le second thème est présenté par M. LAZARSFELD: quelles sont les différences entre Europe et Etats-Unis dans la recherche empirique ou si l'on préfère dans les méthodes sociographiques? On en énonce généralement trois: les Européens s'attachent à des problèmes dont l'importance sociale est plus grande; ils donnent à leur recherche une dimension historique; leur conceptualisation est plus raffinée. S'il s'agit d'état d'esprit, on peut admettre cette opposition. Mais se traduit-elle dans la recherche elle-même?

Problèmes plus importants? C'est surtout vrai à cause du contexte social des travaux. Dans des pays où les changements sociaux sont spectaculaires comme la Pologne presque tout a une signification importante. Dans un pays comme les Etats-Unis, pays, malgré les apparences, fort traditionnel, où il y a peu de changements sociaux brutaux, et où il y a peu d'intervention de l'Etat dans la vie sociale, c'est le contraire.

Un seul exemple: une étude française sur une manufacture des tabacs met en cause, comme le montre son titre même, la politique de l'administration publique. La même étude aux Etats-Unis aurait un intérêt limité et serait volontiers caractérisée par les Européens comme purement commerciale. Une étude de petit ampleur paraît insignifiante aux Etats-Unis et hautement significative en France.

Dimension historique? L'étude de STOETZEL sur le Japon montre bien l'intérêt d'une interprétation historique d'une enquête d'opinion publique. Mais c'est l'interprétation qui est historique, non la méthodologie qui est celle des sondages. Souvent même, l'intérêt historique semble surtout une affirmation d'intention: telle étude sur la famille à Vienne commence par un exposé historique sur l'évolution de la famille depuis l'Antiquité. Puis elle donne des chiffres fort intéressants sur la situation actuelle à Vienne—mais sans rapport étroit avec le cadre historique esquissé.

Conceptualisation plus fine? Il est vrai que certains travaux médiocres aux Etats-Unis usent d'une conceptualisation grossière et surtout verbale. Il est vrai aussi que les Européens mettent quelque coquetterie à analyser les notions. Dans une étude française, par exemple, on est frappé de la finesse des distinctions établies entre les différentes formes

de loisir. Mais l'étude qui suit ne donne pas à ces concepts une forme opératoire. Et les données ne sont pas recueillies avec la même finesse phénoménologique.

Du point de vue méthodologique il est donc permis de conclure que les différences invoquées restent à l'état d'intention: elle n'ont pas, jusqu'ici au moins, trouvé à se réaliser dans des études empiriques.

Il faut considérer aussi, ajoute M. KÖNIG le retard de l'information entre les deux continents malgré le développement des échanges. On discute PARETO, SIMMEL, MAX WEBER, et DURKHEIM aux Etats-Unis et d'importantes publications ont salué le centenaire de ces deux derniers (alors qu'il n'était célébré ni en Allemagne ni en France). Réciproquement, on traduit en allemand Elton Mayo mais on connaît souvent mal en Europe les développements de la sociologie industrielle aux Etats-Unis aujourd'hui.

Pour M. STOETZEL une partie de la différence s'explique par le nombre de chercheurs employés de part et d'autre, par les moyens qu'ils ont à leur disposition et aussi par le soin mis aux Etats-Unis à la présentation des travaux.

M. CATLIN (Canada) retire que la situation des sociologues est une situation inférieure en Europe. La structure universitaire, donnant le pouvoir aux philosophes ou aux juristes, tire les sociologues vers la morale, vers l'histoire ou vers d'autres sciences. Les sociologues sont une classe déprimée, sinon opprimée.

J. D. REYNAUD

In introducing the third topic of discussion Professor R. KÖNIG (German Federal Republic) posed the question: Can we grasp the entire depth of social life with empirical research? Professor KÖNIG answered this question in the negative. Although GURVITCH has recently (and by contrast to his earlier writings) claimed that by what he calls "hyper-empiricism" we may be able to comprehend the totality of society, there are in fact two fundamentally different types of social theory. There is, first, "sociological theory," i.e. a set of specific propositions oriented towards and testable by empirical research. There are, secondly, "theories of society," i.e. sets of statements about social life that are too general to be of immediate relevance to findings of empirical research. Both these types of theory are legitimate, but they bear witness to two different concerns. Propositions of sociological theory have a cognitive function. They are scientific statements which, although they merely enable us to comprehend sectors of social reality, can be controlled by empirical research and communicated to other scholars. Theories of society, on the other hand, serve a largely expressive function. Being philosophical statements about the totality of

social life, they have an ideological character and cannot directly be checked by empirical research. Professor KÖNIG made it clear that he himself favoured sociological theories of the middle range which are testable by empirical research, even though these may not enable us to grasp the entire depth of social life.

In his comment on Professor KÖNIG's statement, Professor STOETZEL (France) noted that there are two conceptions of the role of the sociologist. According to the first, it is the sociologist's task to analyze particular social facts in a scientific manner: according to the second, total comprehension of social life is the concern of sociology. According to Professor STOETZEL, it is largely a matter of temperament which conception the individual sociologist chooses for himself. Tolerance demands that we accept them both as legitimate. Professor LAZARSFELD (USA) taking a more definite stand, argued that in a methodological discussion the primary question was always the meaning of different types of propositions and theories. In his opinion, it seemed doubtful whether what Professor KÖNIG called the "theory of society" was methodologically sensible.

The ensuing discussion, most of the participants in which concerned themselves with Professor KÖNIG's distinction, brought out three main positions with respect to this problem. (1) There were speakers who, from a non-Marxist point of view, emphasized the feasibility and necessity of a general theory of society. (2) Other speakers defended this totalitarian approach from a more or less rigidly Marxist point of view. (3) A third group of speakers professed general agreement with Professor KÖNIG's position while criticizing it in detail.

Professor JANNE (Belgium) who opened the discussion, dissociated himself pointedly from Professor KÖNIG by stating that a general theory of society based on empirical observation was not only possible, but absolutely necessary for sociological analysis. Instead of Professor KÖNIG's distinction between sociological theory and theories of society he distinguished between microsociology and macrosociology. While he considered it important to undertake profound microsociological research on particular facts and problems, he thought it more urgent for sociologists to create a general orientation of a macrosociological kind. In analogy to economic theories of national economies we need theories of total societies which make use of statistical and survey data and are, in this sense, based on empirical observation. In a rather more philosophical sense this position was also taken by Dr. BAUMANN (Poland), Professor RYBICKI (Poland) and Dr. TOURAIN (France). Dr. BAUMANN laid special emphasis on the moral concern with improving society which can be satisfied only if we have a critical general sociology that answers the questions of the character of total societies and the place of the individual in them. With reference to Aristotle's *Politics*, Professor RYBICKI claimed that no critical effort and indeed

no meaningful empirical research was possible without an image of total societies. As Aristotle had the image of the "polis," so we have to develop a general theory of our own societies. Dr. TOURAIN reinterpreted the contrast between sociological theory and theories of society as one between a "sociology of social relations" and a "critical sociology." Each of these was concerned with the same subject, but in a significantly different frame of reference. Thus, what appeared as "morale of the enterprise" in the first, was the "worker's consciousness" in the latter type of sociology. He felt that, far from abandoning the latter concern, a new emphasis was needed on the general theory of social dynamics which marks the foundation of critical sociology.

The more strictly Marxist position was taken first by Dr. GOLDMANN (France), who claimed that the very way in which Professor KÖNIG had posed the problem betrayed an ideological bias. There was no real alternative between a positivistic and a totalitarian approach to the understanding of particular social phenomena. Whatever the problem, we would have to take into account the totality of social facts, among them above all the position of the sociologist himself. This position was expanded considerably by Professor FRANZEV (USSR) who stressed the extreme importance of methodological considerations along the lines of a sociology of sociology. In our investigations, we would have to abandon the isolation of particular events and processes, and try to gain an over-all view of society. In order to do so, however, it was necessary to avoid the arbitrary choice of subjects of research. Only when these subjects are dictated by the social and political problems of our society can we hope to combine empirical research with a general social theory. Professor FRANZEV then proceeded to illustrate this position by reference to an empirical study of metal workers in the Ural undertaken by Soviet sociologists. Dr. HEYDE (German Democratic Republic) and Professor SROVNAL (Czechoslovakia) both pleaded for Marxism as an appropriate general theory of society which provides us with "objective general laws" for the understanding of historical development.

More specific criticisms on the basis of general methodological agreement with Professor KÖNIG's statement were offered by Professor PARSONS (USA), Professor BECKER (USA) and Dr. NOWAK (Poland). Professor PARSONS doubted that the distinction between theories of the middle range and theories of total societies introduced by Professor KÖNIG is of any real significance. Scientific theories always consist of an intricate web of generalizations on all levels, and they eventually aim at statements on the highest level of generality. The level of generality of statements is independent of their applicability to empirical research. In this sense it is wrong to say that statements become less scientific to the extent to which they become more general. Professor BECKER, who agreed with this criticism, added to it a plea for an explicit statement of the epistemological premises underlying the research and

the general statements of sociologists. Dr. NOWAK followed along these lines by re-stating the methodological principles of scientific enquiry of any kind. He reminded his audience that isolation of individual facts and was an inevitable prerequisite of scientific research, even though from a practical point of view it was evident that societies were total phenomena. Thus there are in fact two types of systematization of knowledge: theoretical systematization such as role theory, reference group theory, etc., which is the task of the empirical science of sociology, and practical systematization for purposes of political and moral action.

The discussion which—as this report shows—was of a largely “expressive” character, was nevertheless not without its merits. Although it remained inconclusive with respect to the methodological issues raised, it served to clarify certain basic attitudes to sociological analysis which are present in most countries of the world today.

R. DAHRENDORF

SECTION III
Seminars

SECTION III
SEMINAR ON EXPERIMENTAL METHOD

Chairman: Dr. DENNIS CHAPMAN (UK)
Rapporteur: Dr. GEORGE HELLING (USA)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

IN his introductory paper Dr. F. STUART CHAPIN (USA) delineated the area for discussion by the seminar on the Experimental Method in the following terms:

"In sharp contrast to . . . laboratory controls of observation there remains the problem, largely untouched, of applying experimental method in the natural community situation to measure the effects of treatment of some influence which seems to be changing psychological patterns or social structures. For too many years we have been content to rely on uncontrolled observations of such phenomena despite the fact that large sums of money continue to be spent in the *belief* that our chosen means of rehabilitation actually *do* achieve the purposes for which they were applied. Yet we continue to invest tax moneys in public housing, in programs to prevent juvenile delinquency, to assist needy persons toward rehabilitation, etc.

"With these considerations in mind, it is the purpose of the Seminar to focus attention on an analysis and description of how to apply appropriate "adaptations" of experimental method in the evaluation of such programs. . . . The problems involved in community experiments constitute a more difficult assignment (than laboratory experimentation), but one which is worth study because of its importance to democratic control of group life.

"It is also an intellectual challenge of no mean proportions. We begin with the proposition that the essential logic of experimental method applied in the community situation is to make observations of changes or events in group life under conditions of control of the more salient variables which appear in human behaviour *in situ*."

Although, due to illness, CHAPIN was prevented from attending the Congress, his influence on the seminar was considerable. Dr. DENNIS CHAPMAN (UK) who assumed the role of chairman in his absence, retained the format that CHAPIN had suggested in his introductory paper, based on the following five topics:

1. Obstacles to randomization in experiments on human subjects: how some obstacles may be overcome.
2. Control of variables by matching: limitations and advantages.
3. Objective methods of analysis of variables in experimentally obtained data.

4. Ex post facto experiments and probability.
5. Salvaging defective experimental designs.

CHAPMAN also summarized CHAPIN's statement of the present status of experimental methodology as a starting point for the contributions of the invited discussants.

In the first of these, a short paper primarily concerned with ex post facto experiments (topic 5 above), Dr. GEORGE HELLING (USA) illustrated a difficulty that arises in laboratory experimentation by showing how certain generalizations long accepted in biology textbooks (i.e. lizards are "cold-blooded" animals) had stemmed from observations that were valid only in the specialized environment of the laboratory where they had been obtained and represent a highly misleading description of the animal in its typical natural situation (where lizards maintain a temperature comparable to that of mammals by basking and other instinctive behaviors) and concluded:

"The solution the laboratory provides to problems of controlling extraneous factors that are so persistently troublesome in the community situation is simply to exclude them. But this is a deceptively simple solution for as it seems likely that human behavioral responses are infinitely more plastic than those of lizards, the danger of results that are "unreal" (falsely predictive outside the laboratory) is profound. This is not to disparage the brilliant work in such areas as small group leadership and morale, industrial sociology, child development, and collective behavior that has won for laboratory experimenters such a large share of the initiative in sociological research in recent years. Quite the contrary, it seems that they have often been successful despite an approach that embodies problems of control that are both pervasive and subtle. At any rate, as the successful laboratory experiment does not provide conclusions that can be assumed to apply in the community situation (but merely especially well-grounded hypotheses) the growing mastery of techniques for the study of human social behavior in laboratory settings does not allow us to bypass experimentation *in situ* but instead adds urgency to the need for solutions to the outstanding problems in that approach.

"Experimental method is the most rigorous technique of research available to the social scientist and commands itself to our attention in the laboratory or in the field. It would seem that the strongest argument for choosing community rather than laboratory settings for carrying out sociological research by experimental design is that the measure of control obtained by matching or statistical techniques does not eliminate in advance the possibility of new discoveries beyond those hypothesized and built into the situation. This would seem to be particularly important in cross cultural research where a

priori judgments of the researcher may be wide of the mark.

" This advantage, however, appears to have a corresponding disadvantage and both were cast in sharp relief by the investigator's research into the impact of social and technical change on the peasant village in Turkey. An ex post facto design had been employed. Two Turkish villages were matched in regard to population size, ethnic and religious characteristics, natural setting, and the prerequisites of agricultural production in climate, soil, water, etc., but located so that the first (the control village) had been largely insulated from the Westernizing changes of the last three decades in Turkey, the second (the experimental village) very strongly exposed. Differences in social organization were not eliminated by matching and statistical techniques of control left them untouched, raising the question whether techniques that have built in nominalistic assumptions can be made to take into account qualities of the " whole " that are not summed up by collecting measures of individuals."

In the discussion period BRUUN expressed doubt that so broad and complex a condition as " Westernization " could be called a variable and asked if it were not indeed made up of several factors. HELLING responded that it certainly is but to separate out one factor from the bundle (i.e. better roads) would be unjustified in our present state of knowledge. Contending that nearly all sociological variables turn out to be " bundles of factors " in the perspective of later research, HELLING argued against premature refinement of the terms of analysis in cross cultural study (a fault of some assessments of economic aid programs, in his opinion) in favor of more long term " funnel shaped " approach which attacks the same problems again and again making ever more penetrating discriminations.

Among the practical obstacles to randomization in experiments with human subjects (topic 1 above) CHAPIN had stressed those that result from deeply entrenched administrative and philosophical objections typical of service-oriented officials through whom the sociological investigator often must work in research situations (i.e. " need " rather than " chance " should determine eligibility for presumed beneficial treatment according to norms of social work administrators). He had therefore suggested that safeguards of scientific effectiveness should be incorporated in the original research design and that cooperation of administrative officials be fostered by assisting them in understanding the needs and benefits of research. An effective approach involves showing how random selection of cases is consistent with human principles of service (i.e. selection " by lot " eliminates favoritism).

CHAPMAN, in a paper titled " Some Field Work Problems of the Experimental Method " approached a series of related problems from the perspective of his own community research experience and singled out the following difficulties for special emphasis:

"Citizens' advisory committees: This has the defect that the sociologist must modify his study to meet the wishes of his committee or add to his inquiry topics of interest to them. . . . Many topics of study are neglected for fear of the social consequences to the investigator or the institution which supports him.

"Sex of respondent: Responses of women and children are modified in deference to the expected views of the male head of the household or differ according to the degree of confidentiality that is guaranteed. Male dominance may also control the kind of information available within the family, thus it is not uncommon to find wives who have inadequate information about their husbands' earnings and expenditure.

"An unrecognized source of bias: In industrial studies it was found hard to gain access to large bureaucratically controlled industries and to small family firms, but relatively easy to work in medium size plants with young professional managers whose training and skills had factors in common with those of the sociologist. . . . Firms owned or managed by Quakers dominated studies in industrial psychology and personnel management in Britain and in the immediate post war period studies in Britain were made in medium size firms where managers and owners had taken up a quasi religious-political-psychoanalytic faith in 'Human Relations.' Thus academic industrial studies, as contrasted to commercial industrial studies have been greatly controlled by social factors to which little attention has been given, and in Britain some major industries have hardly been studied at all.

"'Feedback,' cause and control: In any social system the actors (participants) will use any social change to assist their own adjustment. This will be independent of the aims of the experimenter although he may, if he recognises the situation, induce in the subject changes in his motivation to inhibit such behaviour; or if the data permit he may measure and control the influence of such action in his analysis.

"Perhaps because the questions to be raised are so complex, many investigators content themselves with a few routines, trusting that the social situation will be undisturbed or adopt methods which ensure that change will take place in a particular way."

The atmosphere of the discussion period was informal and CHAPMAN drew laughter when he explained his rather unique difficulty in one factory where workers have acquired such confidence that improved conditions will follow his visits that whatever he suggests brings an increase in production.

In regard to the second topic (above) CHAPIN had indicated his own

position by the statement: "When obstacles to randomization cannot be overcome the alternative is matching." Reasons that he regards matching as an inferior solution to randomization as a means of control include the inevitable loss of cases that cannot be matched, and the fact that powerful statistical tools cannot be used legitimately. (Statistical tests may be used "analogically" however.) An example of matching perhaps unprecedented in scope was described in the second of two studies reported by PEKKA KUUSI and KETTIL BRUUN in "Some Comments on the Use of Experimental Methods in Finnish Alcohol Research." The study, actually carried out by Dr. K. E. LANU, matched two experimental groups of Finnish "misusers" of alcohol who had been subjected to a surveillance program to two control groups of "misusers" who had not. The effectiveness of buyer surveillance in Finland was under sharp dispute—did its results in curbing misuse justify the imposition of restrictions and administrative control over all drinkers? LANU sought to isolate the effects of the program by matching the individuals of his groups on the following variables: sex, place of residence, place of birth, marital status, education, age, occupation and professional status, age when first intoxicated, age when first loss of memory in connection with drinking occurred, age of first hangover drink, frequency of drinking in 1949, frequency of drunkenness in 1949, frequency of loss of memory in connection with drinking in 1949. As a result he saw his groups shrink from 1,338 to 110 in the first of his experimental groups and from 470 to 82 in the corresponding control group. It is the contention of BRUUN and KUUSI that the extensive matching failed as a method of assuring the soundness of the results. As they say:

"In this experiment, as in many others, the experimental treatment was not randomized. If every individual with reported misuses had been brought under the buyer surveillance, there would have been no control group of misusers. The very existence of the control group composed of misusers means that there were individuals free of surveillance in spite of their recognized misuse of alcohol. People who enforced the buyer surveillance program certainly did not apply the sanctions at random. It is thus justifiable to assume that there were hidden differences between misusers in the experimental groups and those in the control group. If these differences remained also after matching, then the purpose of the matching was defeated. If these hidden differences had been eliminated and the misusers in the experimental groups and those in the control group had been made more comparable, the remaining subjects would have been even fewer and less representative of the population before matching. This would have then further impaired the generalizability of the experiment."

The results of the LANU experiment gave no support for the continuance of the surveillance program.

The other experiment described by KUUSI and BRUUN was carried out on a large scale.

"In three towns where no alcoholic beverages whatsoever had been sold up to that time, the Finnish State Alcohol Monopoly opened up beer and wine shops for the purpose of experiment. The study was performed in close collaboration with the Alcohol Monopoly, which also financed it. What the experiment was supposed to do was to show what changes the sale of beer and wine in a rural population center brings about in the consumption of alcoholic beverages by the local inhabitants. The hypotheses regarding the expected changes were formulated in such a way that the most fundamental—and often contradictory—arguments publicly presented could be put to test in the study. The choice of the test localities had to be made strictly on practical grounds on account of legislative restrictions. The control localities were chosen by matching with the test localities. In both the test and control localities, the measurements of alcohol consumption were made twice, i.e. before and after the opening of the experimental shops. The four measurements thus obtained were essential for each experimental shop in discerning the net result of the experiment by eliminating the initial differences between the test and control localities and differential effects of external factors introduced during the course of the experiment from the gross changes observed."

They state:

"All in all, the study served to show quite an abundance of statistically significant net changes. To be specific, the frequency of drinking increased, but not among those persons who had not used alcoholic beverages before. Radical changes took place in the structure of consumption. That is, as the use of beer and wine increased that of hard liquor and illicit beverages decreased, with certain exceptions. It is noteworthy that in the consumption of alcoholic beverages to the point of intoxication no changes could be observed. Drunkenness proved to be a variable independent not only of the proximity of liquor store but also of the degree of urbanization of community. Trips to town—i.e. trips to purchase alcoholic beverages—decreased greatly in number, particularly among the heavy users. Opinions with regard to beer and wine shops became somewhat more favorable among those who had initially opposed their establishment."

It would appear that CHAPIN's plea for the use of experimental studies as the foundation for social policy decisions has been heard at least in Finland for KUUSI and BRUUN state:

"The favorable results achieved in Finland during the last one decade in the sphere of experimental alcohol studies have led to an

acceptance of the experimental method as a normal procedure in formulating and administrating policies of the Alcohol Monopoly."

In the discussion period GADOUREK asked BRUUN, "Are there not some intervening variables in the design? Is this not the trouble with all experiment—that a single variable cannot be isolated?" BRUUN responded, "We are not seeking laws—one must distinguish between cause and prediction and prediction is enough for policy determination." CHAPMAN suggested the formulation of Braithwaite, British philosopher of science, might reconcile the views. Braithwaite accepts reliable prediction as the aim but with a progressive intellectualization of the component elements. GADOUREK objected that this reduces his question to a matter of terminology—he wonders whether there *are* unitary causes in sociology or only complex ones.

It happened that the paper by Dr. IVAN GADOUREK (Netherlands) which concluded the contributions of the invited discussants bears upon the solution of the very problem raised by the matching difficulties in the LANU study. Despite his title, "A Substitute for Randomization Designs in Sociological Research," GADOUREK is of the opinion that there is "no real substitute for randomization." He continues, however, to state:

"There is, on the other hand, no reason for defeatism. The choice is not between the 'pure,' isolated causes and naive, indiscriminate correlations passed for causation, but rather between the infinitely conditional and definitely conditional hypotheses."

Attacking a problem of matching he says:

"The experimental method consists of testing out a strategic hypothesis under the condition of strict control of all relevant variables. (However, though we have in randomization a technique for controlling unknown, presumed causes) we cannot determine the strategic value of the association to be tested, without previous knowledge. Neither can we distinguish the 'other relevant' causes that have to be consciously kept under control."

Distinguishing these other relevant causes is a pertinent problem at the present time and the objective technique available—factor analysis—is both ill adapted to sociological data and too laborious to provide an adequate solution. In the absence of a suitable technique, sociologists are likely to resort to deliberate subjective choice of control variables or to assume, uncritically, that in controlling "sex, marital status, occupational status, age, educational level, social status, and religious affiliation" the crucial variables have been taken care of, poor substitutes for objectivity in either case.

"Our solution to the problem has been a relatively simple one. About a decade ago, we were struck by the ingenious method that

Festinger and his associates from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology found for the identification of cliques in matrix of sociometric choices. . . . In our adaptation the persons had to be replaced by abstract concepts, those of causal factors.

" This is what we actually have done in a number of studies that dealt with such different subjects as a structural analysis of a Dutch community, the attitudes of workers in steel-works towards technological changes, attitudes of workers in a semi-agricultural region to a firm in monopoly position, and social factors in drinking and smoking habits. In all these studies, both ' basic variables ' and the variables we are interested in are put into a matrix of relationships. . . . When we square the matrix, we obtain in the cells corresponding to those contributing a positive value in the basic matrix a number of all potentially intervening variables in our design. (Note: For a detailed description, illustrated on a matrix containing 34 variables, see I. Gadourek, *A Dutch Community*. Leiden, 1956, Part II, pp. 330-343.) The intervening variables can then be identified by a search of the basic (unsquared) matrix.

" It is not difficult to grasp the significance and the instrumental nature of this technique for other methods of social sciences. In social experiments, the identified ' potential intervening variables ' can with success be employed as the controls that the research worker consciously introduces into his designs. They do not represent an exhaustive list of such variables; in addition to the obvious limitation due to the omission of possible relevant causes in the basic matrix, there is another limitation due to the variables that work in opposite direction and cancel each other to the effect that no significant association appears in the basic matrix.

" Of much higher value is the technique in the cases where randomization does not seem possible. Here the above-mentioned limitation does not apply, as there is no danger that the research worker will pass an association for causation that did not appear in the basic matrix. He is, on the other hand, warned not to causally interpret an association before examining the influence of any one of the possible intervening variables that have been identified. This examination consists, in the most simple cases, of the inspection of the direction of associations."

In the solution of the problem of discovering the " other relevant " variables:

" Matrix-identification also can be of good service to an ex post facto study that stands on its own; the variables that are identified as potential intervening variables (are the ones that) should be used as controls in the process of matching."

The concluding discussion ranged over all of the topics that had been presented with questions raised by KINT (Belgium) and NOVAK (Poland) as well as the panel members. The largest contribution from the floor came from J. DUMAZEDIER (France) who suggested a reanalysis of the problem of models for research in terms of a system of levels (ideal, initial, projected, attained) which he described as "action research" models. He stressed a need for surveying latent needs and expectations and expressed his opinion that evaluation categories should be determined *a priori* rather than *a posteriori*.

The seminar had early moved to send good wishes and thanks to CHAPIN, and CHAPMAN reiterated these in his final remarks. Despite unresolved problems and differing interpretations of the proper mission of experimental investigation, he looked forward to growing influence for the experimental approach in social science research.

G. HELLING.

SECTION III

SEMINAR ON OBSERVATIONAL METHODS

Chairman: Dr. P. CHOMBART DE LAUWE (France)

Prepared Discussants: Professor T. CAPLOW (USA)
Dr. H. HIMMELWEIT (UK)
Professor J. SZCZEPANSKI (Poland)

Rapporteur: Professor KURT B. MAYER (USA)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

THE CHAIRMAN, P. CHOMBART DE LAUWE (France), opened the proceedings with a resumé of a paper on the role of observation in sociology which had been circulated to prepared discussants but not generally distributed. Tracing first the historical development of observational methods, the speaker pointed up several dangers inherent in observational methods: (1) an illusory objectivity, caused by hidden hypotheses underlying the research, (2) the contrary tendency to prove preconceived theories through selective observations, (3) the artificiality of observations derived from laboratory groups outside the larger social context.

Defining observation as including both direct and indirect observation he outlined the objectives of the method as follows: (a) observation of individuals and groups, (b) observation of the social milieu, including space and time, (c) observation of social change. In trying to meet these objectives there arise problems of measurement, of objectivity and control, and of technique in establishing rapport with the subjects of observations. The most basis of these problems is that of control, the absolute need to ensure the objectivity of the observer and the reliability and validity of the data. In accordance with this definition, the speaker included among the observational techniques not only participant observation and the observations made by genuine members of the subject groups, the value of which he particularly emphasized, but also interviews, questionnaires, group discussions, tests, content analysis, etc.

The speaker finally listed some of the most complex aspects of observation as a basis for discussion: (1) the intimate connection between observation and experimentation, (2) the need for basic research in the face of mounting demands for applied studies, (3) the necessity to link micro- with macro-sociology, (4) Observation must also include attitudes and beliefs in addition to behaviour, (5) it must be supplemented by case studies, and (6) lead to the establishment of typologies. (7) New techniques of observation need to be developed, including aerial photography, films, etc. (8) Hypotheses must be stated explicitly. Finally, (9) problems of professional ethics loom large in observation and must be clarified.

Commenting on the remarks of the Chairman, J. SZCZEPANSKI (Poland) stressed the importance of epistemological and psychological considerations which are basic to methodological questions. Observation cannot be opposed to other research methods since it forms part of every other method. Its underlying problems are psychological, they stem from the personality and the experience of the observer which filters and selects the facts perceived by him. The most essential need, therefore, is the development of standardized techniques of observation which eliminate the personal influences and psychological distortions and permit replication by other observers.

Speaking from the point of view of a social psychologist, H. HIMMELWEIT (UK) deplored the existence of a prestige hierarchy among observational techniques some of which are considered superior, while others are held to be inferior. In reality, all techniques are equally valuable, and research personnel should not be specialized in merely one or the other method but get training in all of them. One solution lies in the conduct of research programs rather than individual researches which permits the shifting from one technique to another because of their continuity. Commenting on the problem of observer bias, the speaker proposed the use of several observers of different persuasions for the observation of the same phenomenon.

T. CAPLOW (USA) took issue with the Chairman's definition. He felt that the term "observation" should be distinguished from other methods of collecting data and should refer merely to participant observation. In weighing the advantages and disadvantages of participant observation, the speaker listed four main difficulties: (1) the limited scope of the observer, (2) observer bias, (3) the difficulties of proper recording, and (4) the problem of codability of the data for comparative analysis. He reported on attempts made to overcome or minimize these difficulties in a recent study of "skid row" in Minneapolis.

V. MILIC (Yugoslavia) stressed the task of sociology which is to study society as a whole. Results of detailed analytical studies must be synthesized. Sociology can learn from other social sciences engaged in such endeavours, especially economics. Global studies of society need an adequate theoretical framework, which is not yet fully developed in sociology but several models are already available for synthesis: (a) social stratification and mobility, (b) social organization, (c) ecological and morphological models. A lot of official statistics are available, presently unused by sociologists, but they need to be correlated for the purpose of building sociological models.

R. MERTON (USA) again raised the problem of definition. One must distinguish between observation and other methods of collecting sociological data. If observation is defined narrowly as the direct use of eyes and ears in observing actual behavior it then becomes possible

to discuss how observation can be combined with other research procedures. When does one use observation rather than other techniques? The speaker suggested that the answer to this question lies in the characteristic *functions* of observation as compared with the functions of other techniques. Can observation provide a greater fund of new ideas than other methods? Observation can act as a check on other data. This raises the problem of what to do in case of conflicting results. Finally, can observation confirm or disconfirm an hypothesis?

In considering these questions the speaker stressed the desirability of interweaving various types of data by combining direct observation with other methods. He reported on a large-scale study of medical schools in which multiple sources of data were collected on the same phenomenon by a combined use of observation, interviews and questionnaires.

K. MAYER (USA) reported on a pilot study of small businessmen being conducted in Providence, R.I., which involves the combination of interviewing with non-participant observation by the same research personnel.

By contrast L. DIENA (Italy) employed two separate teams of researchers in a study of the resettlement of internal migrants from underdeveloped regions. One team interviewed, the other merely observed. However, it turned out that this division of labor created resistance among the subjects who accept interviews voluntarily but dislike being observed by non-participant and silent observers.

Replying to MERTON and other speakers, P. CHOMBART DE LAUWE (France) felt that a very narrow definition of the term observation is unsatisfactory. If one deals with 100 or 200 subjects in depth it is not possible for every member of the team to use his own sense organs exclusively, yet this still represents direct observation. He also stressed the point that the very presence of observers inevitably changes the behavior of the observed group.

This same point was again made by D. GOLDSCHMIDT (German Federal Republic) who further emphasized the fact that the sociologist never abandons his role as a sociologist in participant observation, although his objectivity lessens as he comes to understand his subjects more intimately. The speaker further argues that a sociologist who has not had previous experience in some other professional role is not capable of adequate insight into the social life of different groups.

H. HIMMELWEIT (UK) pointed out in connection with definitional questions that there exists a considerable literature in the field of child-development which provides well-defined categories for observational procedures. It should also be kept in mind that behavior changes over time, which raises the problem whether the period of observation used gives a typical picture of behavior or not.

T. CAPLOW (USA) remarked that there is no single best way of observing. The crucial problem is to employ a method which can be demonstrated valid and reliable.

V. MALINSKI (Rumania) drew attention to the economic aspects of social behavior. In observing the life of communities account must be taken of the primary importance of the socio-economic structure. This primordial factor is not adequately taken into consideration by the theories of multiple causation which seem to prevail in sociological research and which minimize the importance of economic factors. The speaker asserted that historical materialism provides a more adequate conceptual framework.

W. BLYTH (UK), speaking as an educational sociologist, pointed out the peculiar role of the teacher as an observer. The teacher can observe children's behavior and keep fairly systematic records without causing any change in their behavior because he is accepted in the social situation. On the other hand his commitment to the educational institution is a drawback and his opportunities for analytical work are limited.

P. ATTESLANDER (Switzerland) felt that the difference between participant observers and observing participants, stressed by the chairman, is unimportant. What matters is the comparability of the data. He also commented on the problem of professional ethics, asserting that sociologists engaged in industrial field-work should not translate their findings into lay terms directly, useful to either management or trade unions but should preserve their scientific neutrality by sticking strictly to sociological terminology.

The last speaker, G. VEGA (Colombia), emphasized that many difficulties of observation are caused by the impact of differences in the environment and experience of the observer and the observed. This is particularly evident in the culture clash which occurs when observers with a Western background work in primitive societies, but it also applies to members of the same society with different class backgrounds.

KURT B. MAYER

SECTION III

SEMINAR ON SURVEY METHODS

Chairman: Dr. M. ABRAMS (UK)

Prepared Discussants: Dr. R. LIKERT (USA)
Mr. G. TODD (UK)
Mr. L. MOSS (UK)
Miss S. STAR (USA)
Dr. J. DOUGLAS (UK)

Rapporteur: Mr. C. A. MOSER (UK)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

THE Seminar was opened with some remarks from the Chairman, Dr. M. ABRAMS (UK), on the development of survey methodology over the last few decades. He spoke of the early work on different methods for obtaining information from respondents, the later dramatic developments in the theory and application of sampling, and, yet more recently, the increasing attention paid to errors of a non-sampling nature, on the one hand, and to problems in the analysis and interpretation of survey data, on the other.

He explained that the Seminar discussion had been planned around certain aspects of survey methodology which were of special concern to practitioners at the present time. In the first place, as surveys were often used to predict economic and social behaviour, there would be a paper dealing with the prediction of consumer spending. Turning in the opposite time direction, there would follow a paper on the reliability of memory, an important topic in view of the preoccupation of many surveys with past events. The discussion would then broaden to include other sources of error in survey data, particularly in family budget studies. After this, the Seminar would turn to some problems encountered in programme evaluation studies, that is studies designed to evaluate the effects of action programmes of one kind or another. Finally, there would be a discussion of longitudinal surveys, their problems and special advantages.

The first paper, by R. LIKERT and E. MUELLER (USA), dealt with the use of surveys in understanding and predicting consumer behaviour. Dr. LIKERT began by pointing out that consumers are increasingly able to alter significantly their rate of buying consumer durable goods and that the level of purchasing such goods has an appreciable influence on the total level of the economy. It is therefore of utmost importance to know what changes the consumer sector is going to make in its expenditure on durables and the reasons for these changes. Such knowledge,

if reliable, would be of obvious significance to government and other agencies concerned with economic policy measures. Dr. LIKERT's remarks were devoted to showing how sample surveys can be used to produce data on consumers' capacity, willingness or motivation to buy.

That sample surveys can be used effectively in studying capacity to buy, in the sense of consumer incomes, assets, indebtedness, etc., has been well demonstrated by the Surveys of Consumer Finances in the United States, and comparable surveys elsewhere. The more difficult task is the measurement of the willingness or motivation of consumers to buy, and Dr. LIKERT confined himself principally to this. Two survey approaches are possible: one can either ask straight questions about buying intentions, or one can measure consumer sentiment directly by asking people about their financial welfare, their worries and uncertainties, the news they have heard, their expectations for the future, and their attitudes towards prices and market conditions. In the surveys conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan both approaches are used. Dr. LIKERT stressed that there is no attempt to measure the *absolute* level of the various motivational forces, but rather the changes which occur in them.

The surveys described by Dr. LIKERT have been going on over the last nine years, so that there is some basis for examining the relation between the data on consumer attitudes and the fluctuations in consumer purchases. An Index of Consumer Attitudes is constructed from eight questions. Two of these measure people's attitudes towards their personal financial situations, two measure their expectations as to business conditions, two relate to attitudes towards market conditions and prices, and two deal with buying intentions for houses and automobiles. The eight components are given equal weight in the scoring. Optimistic replies to a question receive a score of 2, pessimistic replies a score of 0; divided, undecided, the "same," answers are scored 1. A person's score can vary from 0 to 16. Dr. LIKERT presented data on the course of the Index over the period 1952-1959, together with the Department of Commerce series for personal disposable income and durable goods sales to consumers. Whilst the longer-run trend in these sales is best explained by the rising trend of personal income, the various fluctuations are matched better by the Attitude Index than by fluctuations in the growth of personal incomes. In terms of time-series correlation, the multiple correlation between durable goods expenditures, on the one hand, and disposable personal income and the Index of Consumer Attitudes, on the other, was .94. If sales are related to income only, that is if the Index of Attitudes is omitted, the correlation drops to .64. Thus, over the period 1952-1959, attitudinal data did make a substantial contribution to the short-term forecasting equation. Dr. LIKERT's evidence showed that of the two parts of the Index—attitudinal series proper (with a weight of $\frac{3}{4}$) and buying intentions (with a weight of $\frac{1}{4}$)—the former had a more valid forecasting record.

than the latter. On the other hand, the buying intentions component has been based on only two items, houses and cars, and its value could probably be enhanced by adding other major household items.

Dr. LIKERT continued with some general remarks on the use of surveys of consumer sentiment for forecasting, and on the interpretation of the Index of Attitudes and its various components. He discussed in particular the light such surveys can throw on attitudes to, and reactions in the face of, price inflation. He ended by stressing that surveys designed for these purposes were still in a relatively early stage, but that results to date indicate that they can yield information of importance for economic theory as well as data of value for policy and operating decisions.

In the discussion that followed, speakers (NEURATH, STREIB and Moss) underlined the importance of consumer behaviour surveys for government agencies concerned with fiscal measures, stressed the importance of further methodological research and asked for clarification regarding the type of sample used.

The Seminar next heard a paper from Mr. G. TODD (UK) on some experimental work on the reliability of memory, taken from the field of tobacco smoking.

A completely accurate statement about a past event involves three components: accurate observation of the event, accurate recollection of this original observation, and accurate description of the recollection. So-called memory error can be due to error in any of these components. Since facts about smoking are not difficult to describe accurately, the third component is likely to be minimised in this field. Furthermore, Mr. TODD argued, it is a field in which casual observation of one's past or current smoking habits might be expected to reach a relatively high level of accuracy. As a research topic, it has the advantage that since the total tobacco smoked in the UK is known, the accuracy of casual observations of the quantities currently smoked can be checked.

The experiments described by Mr. TODD were two-stage studies in which respondents interviewed about their smoking habits (among other things) at one period were re-interviewed at a later date. The first "Memory Enquiry" was based on re-interviews, in 1952, of some 400 men and women originally interviewed in each of the years 1948, 1949 and 1950 consumer surveys. Questions were asked about the respondents' smoking habits at the time of the re-interview and at the time of the original interview. A second Memory Enquiry, in 1957, was based on re-interviews with 400 men originally interviewed in 1955 or 1956, and there were further re-interviews (making a third interview) with over 200 men who had originally been interviewed in 1948, 1949 or 1950 and already re-interviewed in the first Memory Enquiry. In this second Memory Enquiry, those interviewed were asked about their

smoking habits in 1957, and were also asked to recall their normal smoking habits at each time on which there had been an earlier interview. Fairly substantial non-response was encountered in the two memory enquiries, but the evidence suggests that the non-respondents differed little from the respondents in relevant respects.

The first results given by Mr. TODD related to the recollection of *current* smoking habits and were aimed to show how accurate the memory was in recalling events that took place on an average 24 hours previously. When the survey results were "blown up" for comparison with the known national aggregates, there was an over-statement of 6 per cent and 12 per cent in 1948 and 1949, and understatements of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, $16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and 15 per cent in 1950, 1955 and 1956, respectively. The overstatement in the first two years is thought to have been due to technical reasons which were eliminated from later surveys. From 1952 on, consumer surveys such as these gave an under-statement of cigarette consumption of 10–15 per cent. The results became remarkably consistent. On close examination, however, the error was found to be not essentially due to memory. It seems that smokers did not attempt to recall each cigarette smoked the preceding day, but rather to describe the broad mental picture they have of themselves as a smoker. A person thinks of himself as a "20 cigarettes a day" man, and this image, rather than attempted accurate recall, is the general basis of the answers. This conclusion was supported by various pieces of evidence. Answers in round numbers were more common than expected. Questions about "normal" smoking habits yielded very much the same answers as those relating to smoking on the previous day. In terms of brands smoked, there was evidence that people answered in terms of the best-known and conventionalised brands, rather than the actual brands smoked.

Mr. TODD then turned to evidence concerning recall over intervals varying from 6 months to 9 years previously. Though the ranges into which cigarette smoking were classified were broad (0–4 cigarettes a day, 5–14, 15–24 and 25+), after a lapse of only 6 months, 23 per cent of the smokers reported a level of cigarette consumption that fell into a different range from their original report. After 18 months, the percentage was $34\frac{1}{2}$, after 5 years 37 and after 7–9 years, 48. In discussing these findings, Mr. TODD suggested that what smokers did in answering the question was to start with the picture they had of themselves as smokers at the present time, and then to work backwards. Since the *changes* in their smoking habits were frequently unperceived or forgotten, the picture they gave of themselves as smokers was very similar to the picture they had of themselves at the present time. If the smoker's habits had not changed much during the period in question, the answers given were usually fairly accurate. If the habits had changed, on the other hand, there was likely to be considerable forgetting of the previous usual brand and level of consumption. Mr.

TODD concluded that "there is much in the statements about their past smoking habits made by men and women who have changed their levels of consumption to confirm Sir Frederick Bartlett's more general conclusion that 'accurate recall is the exception and not the rule'."

Several speakers (WHELPTON, ROSENMAVR, RHEE, MOSS) contributed to the discussion. Miss CARTWRIGHT (UK) gave some evidence on memory errors from a local health survey, showing that gross errors could be substantial and yet leave, after cancelling effects, quite a small net error. Mr. F. LINDER (USA) gave evidence on memory errors from the nation-wide health survey in the United States. He stressed the difficulty of having a sufficiently large number of cases for tracking down such errors, and discussed the possibility of adjusting survey results for memory errors. This possibility rested on accumulating sufficient evidence on the relation between accuracy of recall, on the one hand, and the nature (and importance) of the event and the time span between its occurrence and the interview, on the other. With such data it might be possible to establish "memory error curves," on the basis of which survey estimates could be improved. Sir FREDERICK BARTLETT (UK) followed with some remarks on the nature of memory. He stressed that the remembering of the *order* of events was a particularly hard task since the brain tends to deal with things in "chunks" rather than in individual items. He further suggested that there would often be profit in concentrating on what respondents tend to forget rather than what they think they remember. Finally, he speculated on the possibility that the time may come when by the use of mechanical devices, we might be able to record a great many of the features and events of the daily behaviour of a selected population: then it would really be possible to check the accuracy of recall. Dr. LIKERT warned against a too ready reliance on check figures used to assess the accuracy of survey results; often the latter were more suspect than the former. He also wondered whether errors which might be anticipated as inherent in survey procedures might be at least partly corrected, e.g. by the use of deliberately loaded questions.

The discussion then turned to the question of non-sampling errors in general, with special reference to budget surveys. Mr. L. MOSS (UK) gave a good deal of evidence from the UK household expenditure survey in 1953/54 to show that progress had been made to overcome some of the errors referred to in the discussion. Accuracy achieved on different expenditure categories naturally varied, but on the whole it seemed higher than had been achieved in the past. In the UK experience, this was due partly to the considerable experimentation that had preceded the enquiry. There had been experimental studies on the best way of securing information, the use of account books, the optimum reference period for different items, the effect of including income questions, the best level of incentive to offer, and so forth. Current continuous consumer enquiries were giving further opportunities for

research. Mr. Moss added some comparative observations on a family budget survey in Ceylon with which he had been concerned. Two points were especially noted: the reconciliation between income and expenditure was very close, and non-response was much less of a problem than in most Western surveys.

The next paper, from Miss S. STAR (USA), dealt with determining the purposes of what is variously called program evaluation, program research or simply action research. The action part of such research generally turns out to be a mass information programme via the major media—TV, radio, newspapers, etc. In its format it generally had its roots in two older traditions, and does little to correct the inadequacies of either when it is extended beyond its original preview. On the one hand, there is a long tradition of research in advertising effectiveness in which effectiveness has always meant increase in sales. On the other hand, the major communication media have long been carrying out audience research, although not always with too clear an idea of what they wanted to know or why. But with the interposition of electronics or newsprint between the performer and the audience, questions began to be raised about whether anyone was listening, who he was, what he thought of whatever he was hearing, reading or seeing, and how he was affected by it. Much of audience research took its departure from this descriptive kind of interest and suffers from a lack of clarity about what is meant by the impact of the communication: the number of people exposed to the programme or article, the extent to which they enjoy or approve of the item of programming, the amount of information they absorb or remember or the extent to which they are influenced in attitudes or actions or both.

In the paper Miss STAR was especially concerned with evaluation of programmes of social improvement. Something of a cult has grown up about this kind of research, its proponents speaking of it as a totally independent field of social research, whose problems and methods are unique. Miss STAR argues that there is nothing very different *in principle* between programme evaluation research and other survey research, but that *in practice* the typical survey is far more carefully designed and executed than the typical evaluation study. This is especially clear if we turn from the techniques employed to the care and imagination with which the goals of the research are conceptualised. For various reasons, researchers worry far less about questioning the *ultimate* aims of an evaluation survey than with straightforward descriptive studies. Too readily is it accepted that the goal is to instruct and inform people, or that there is some invariable link between informing people and some more ultimate goal, e.g. some kind of positive action.

Miss STAR suggested that this lack of concern with the real goals of evaluation research was due, among other things, to the preoccupation with techniques and especially with the delights of experimentation,

and to a cultural bias which makes the researchers feel that the spread of information (through the programmes) is itself necessarily a good aim and that it will accomplish a great many other things which need not be questioned. In fact there are many fundamental questions which should be raised regarding any evaluation study, e.g. whether the aim is simply to evaluate the programme being conducted, or also to get guidance on how it might be better adapted to its objectives; to what extent the criterion of effectiveness is a compound of reaching people and influencing those reached; what exactly it is the client wants people to learn from the programme and why, etc.

Miss STAR then illustrated these points with some real examples, showing how prone programme evaluation studies were to give negative results (i.e. to show little effectiveness, as normally measured), and asked why we go on measuring the impact of mass media in situations where we can be fairly sure that the impact is nil. The reason, she suggested, was that to do anything else raises research problems we cannot yet solve—e.g. how to use surveys to tell a client how to *design* his campaign, how to be sure that mass motivation, if this can be created by suitable education, will create support for the causes advocated by the campaign, etc. Perhaps the best way to influence people is by personal or small-group contacts, first by involving and changing a few key persons, who in turn influence others, etc. Such questions demonstrate that the real need in this field was for hard theoretical about ultimate goals.

In the discussion both Dr. ABRAMS and Dr. LIKERT supported Miss STAR'S argument. Dr. ABRAMS gave evidence from other fields to show that the negative results of evaluation studies were due to the poor conception of the campaigns themselves. Dr. LIKERT said it was most regrettable that surveys were used more to evaluate campaigns than to help in their design. He went on to cite examples of faultily conceived campaigns, and underlined the point that face-to-face influence was far more potent than mass campaigns. Sir FREDERICK BARTLETT gave an example of a (road safety) campaign, which suggested an inverse correlation between behaviour and level of information.

The last paper, by Dr. J. DOUGLAS (UK), dealt with some problems encountered in a longitudinal survey of a national sample of children. The survey, which is sponsored by the Population Investigation Committee, the Society of Medical Officers of Health and the Institute of Child Health (University of London), covers some 5,000 children born in Great Britain during the first week of March, 1946. These children were a sub-sample of all children born in that week, the sub-sample comprising one in four children of manual workers' families and all children of non-manual families. Since their birth twenty-one separate contacts have been made with their homes and schools, and with their mothers, teachers and the children themselves. Health visitors and

school nurses have visited the homes on ten occasions, school doctors have examined the children (specially for the survey) three times, the children have taken two batteries of mental ability and school achievement tests, and filled in an inventory on emotional adjustment, and the school teachers and headmasters have completed five reports. Special records of school absences have been kept by the primary school teachers. Dr. DOUGLAS in his paper concerned himself with the two central problems of longitudinal surveys: the losses in sample numbers and the effects, if any, on the children due to the fact of their being observed.

After thirteen years, only 1·8 per cent of the children have been lost trace of, 4·9 per cent have died and 5·5 per cent have emigrated. These last two classes of loss have not of course been random—deaths have occurred more among the poorer and less well educated section of the sample, whilst parents who emigrated were on the average prosperous and well educated—but they are a natural decrease and can hardly be said to have biased the sample. Refusals are a potential source of bias. After thirteen years 7·4 per cent of parents have withdrawn their children. In the early years the parents who refused were more often those from the more prosperous families, but in later years similar losses have been sustained in each social group. The refusing families include a rather high proportion who were unfavourably assessed for standard of care and who failed to use the available medical services, and also of children with low mental ability and school achievement test scores. But the total loss through refusals has been sufficiently small for these biasing tendencies to have little effect on the representativeness of the remaining sample. One reason for this small loss is the fact that the sample is a national one: movement of the family to another area has thus not meant a sample loss. Wide geographical coverage is a major advantage in a longitudinal survey.

The other problem of longitudinal surveys is that the survey population may become atypical through the very fact of being kept under observation. This point has been studied by comparing the children of manual workers included in the survey with a comparable sub-sample (of one in four) specially set aside at the outset for the purpose. In 1957 both groups were examined by a school doctor, and were also compared on secondary school selection tests. Apart from very minor points, the groups were in close agreement.

Since the survey can be used for repeated questions about the same event, it provides some evidence on the accuracy of recall. For important incidents like admissions to hospital, or illness in early life, mothers' memories were surprisingly accurate even for small detail. The accuracy of recall falls as the children get older, as the size of the family increases, and as one passes from more to less important events. A study of the accuracy of reporting even such simple sociological information as

occupation of the husband showed up many sources of inaccuracy which are only likely to be disclosed in a longitudinal survey where the same questions are asked on many different occasions.

A good deal of discussion followed (LINDER, TODD, ABRAMS, MOSER, LIKERT, STREIB, STAR, MOGEY, ROSS, ROSENMAYR). Dr. DOUGLAS gave some information about the staff and finances underlying the project, about its general organisation, and about publications. He also enlarged on the many advantages of a longitudinal survey from the point of view of securing meaningful data, and of getting good value for money. He instanced certain types of data which could be secured only through such enquiries: it was possible to get to know the individual families intimately, and to study what happened to them in various phases of their family life, and their economic and social progress. Several of the speakers confirmed from their own experience the peculiar advantages of longitudinal surveys.

In closing the Seminar Dr. ABRAMS referred to the often-expressed view that progress in survey methodology had tended to come to a standstill during the last few years. He suggested that several of the contributions to the Seminar had shown evidence of constructive thinking along new lines, an encouraging sign to all concerned with this field.

C. A. MOSER

SECTION III

SEMINAR ON SMALL GROUP ANALYSIS

Chairman: Professor G. C. HOMANS (USA)

Prepared Discussants: Professor J. MAISONNEUVE (France)

Professor J. ISRAEL (Sweden)

Professor P. BLAU (USA)

Professor F. STRODTBECK (USA)

Rapporteur: Dr. JOSEPHINE KLEIN (UK)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

Methodological Problem 1: What might be useful demarcations within the general field of small group studies?

The chairman suggested the following sections:

1. The study of face-to-face interpersonal relations in groups without a formal task, e.g.: sentiments and attitudes of members towards each other; pressure of group norms on individual behaviour; etc.
2. The study of the mutual effects of task and structure in work-groups, e.g.: leadership as affected by different types of task; the interrelations of popularity and leadership, etc.
3. The study of the mutual adjustment of component groups within a larger organisational unit, e.g.: relations between higher and lower management in a firm; management practices; workers' satisfaction and productivity; problems of interdepartmental communication; etc.

For these purposes a variety of methods is available, and the data thus secured are readily amenable to statistical treatment. The fourth section has not as yet so rich a supply of methodological tools—this may be related to the more backward state of theory in this area.

4. The study of larger organisational units in order to arrive at statements concerning generally perceptible and applicable processes, e.g.: the bureaucratic process; features common to hospitals or other service agencies; etc.

Methodological Problem 2: What are the advantages and disadvantages of the tools at our disposal?

Professor MAISONNEUVE distinguished three types of approach:

- (a) Studies based on a sample of a population.

- (b) Laboratory studies.
- (c) Field studies.

Typical of the sample studies is the investigation of the social atom of clearly defined categories of persons, by questionnaires, sociometry, relational analysis, interview, etc. Valuable as these studies are, they create problems of their own: different subjects may interpret the questions differently; different research workers may be sensitive to different aspects of behaviour; there is a loss of psychologically significant content due to the aggregation of varied traits into a vague, global "profile," or due to a false rigour in the coding categories, or due to the use of ill-conceived categories such as "doing things together."

Typical of laboratory studies is the investigation of experimentally created variables such as "motivation," "liking," "competitiveness" in groups created for the purpose. Among the problems created by this approach are: an uncertainty that the experimentally created variables has the same effect as, or is caused by the same conditions, as would be the case in every day life; the ephemerality of the group; the uncertainty of generalising from controlled to uncontrolled situations.

Typical of field studies is the investigation of events in a normal environment by means of previously constructed methods of observation and analysis. In Professor MAISONNEUVE's eyes, this approach avoided the problems created by the other techniques he had surveyed.

The afternoon saw a good deal of discussion on this subject, which it is convenient to summarise at this point:

1. On new groups, old groups and artificial groups. We must not be misled into thinking that a "new group" or an "artificially created laboratory group" consists of members without group experience. These members have already been trained in culturally normal group behaviour by previous experience.
2. On ephemerality. To have a group meet a number of times rather than just once does not make it more "real." What it does is to enable you to test hypotheses which could not otherwise be tested.
3. On validation. What is important is whether you have a fruitful theory; how you test it—as long as you do it well—does not matter.

The only way to determine if artificial groups differ from other groups is to show where the propositions derived from the one are inconsistent with those derived from the other.

4. On mistaken generalisations. The point at issue between "live" and "lab" proponents is whether experimentally created motivation, perception, etc., is at all comparable to that created by force of natural circumstance.

Asch's index of vulnerability to social pressure, developed in the laboratory, was modified by Crutchfield and used on live groups, where it had no predictive value. Presumably, variables controlled out of existence in the lab, reappeared to operate in the live situation.

5. On focal concepts. If one constructs theory in terms of group processes, the distinction between laboratory and live is useless; if one constructs theory in terms of the persons who act or interact, the distinction is of importance.

Methodological Problem 3: How to perceive the similarities that enable us to generalise?

Professor ISRAEL's main contribution was an analysis of the idea of "similarity" in replicated studies.

- (a) Two studies might be similar in concepts, experimental variables and population.
- (b) The same concepts and experimental variables might be rigidly re-applied to different populations.
- (c) Two studies might be based on the same conceptual grounding, but experimental variables might be modified in order to preserve their essential meaning for different populations.

A careful analysis of this kind contributes to methodological clarity in two ways. Firstly, it clearly has a bearing on the problem of legitimate generalisation from one study or one approach to other more or less related topics (see discussion points under Methodological Problem 2. Indeed had the group fully absorbed this point, much fruitless discussion might have been avoided). Secondly, it refines our sensitivity to essential constants and disparities in cross-cultural research (e.g. in an experiment carried out in seven European countries, in which the same experimental variables were treated in the same way, the "low" reward—as contrasted to a "high" reward—was a movie ticket. But with one set of boys, the culture was against their movie-going. For these, the tickets became "highly" valued. The objectively similar variable changed its subjective meaning).

Methodological Problem 4: What effects are group effects?

If one takes a habitual pattern of action, common to a number of people, can one disentangle the roots nourished by the personality as a continuing entity, from those nourished by the life of a group to which the person feels allegiance?

Professor BLAU contributed an elegant attempt at such a distinction. Sixty members of twelve work groups in a public welfare agency reported their attitude to a general increase in financial assistance to clients. Pro-client workers were those who favoured such an increase. Pro-client groups were those with a majority of pro-client members. It was found that:

- I (a) *Pro-client workers were more apt to provide services to clients than other workers were, whether they belonged to a pro-client group or no (mainly individual effect).*
- I (b) *Even if we exclude the effect of individual attitudes, members of pro-client groups were more apt to provide service to clients than members of other groups (mainly group effect).*
- II(a) *Pro-client workers were less often willing to delegate responsibility for financial decisions to clients than other workers were, whether they belonged to a pro-client group or no (mainly individual effect).*
- II(b) *If we exclude the effect of individual attitudes, members of pro-client groups are more often willing to delegate responsibility than were members of other groups (mainly group effect).*
- III. A worker's pro-client attitudes tend to *increase* his involvement with clients, but pro-client groups norms *discourage* involvement in the interests of clients.

Methodological Problem 5: What contribution does the study of small groups make to more general sociological and psychological insights?

Professor STRÖDTBECK demonstrated the applicability to wider social issues, of techniques first developed in the small-group laboratory. From the laboratory he derived an operational definition of dominance as the ability to win a majority of disputes in a group. The technique was found illuminating to the study of decision-making in the family. Thereupon some of its implications were tested in different cultural settings, Mormon, Navaho, Japanese-American. It was found that when the father's dominance was, culturally speaking, disproportionately high, the son tended to display the following characteristics: a relatively lower motivation to achieve success, a relatively lesser willingness to postpone the gratification of an impulse, a slighter belief in his ability to control his own destiny, and more reluctance to work as a member of the group. It was thus possible to show a regular relationship between culture, personality and a structural peculiarity in certain groups.

J. KLEIN

SECTION III

SEMINAR ON HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY

Chairmen: Professor ASA BRIGGS (UK) and Professor C. WRIGHT MILLS (USA)

Rapporteur: Professor GEORGES GORIELY (Belgium)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

Voici, à notre sens, les thèmes principaux qui furent abordés tant dans les deux rapports présentés (par MM. Briggs et Mills) pour le séminaire que dans les débats qui leur firent suite :

- (1) Sociologie et lois—éventuelles—de l'histoire
- (2) Sociologie et situation historique et sociale de l'historien
- (3) Sociologie et conceptualisation des faits historiques empiriques
- (4) Sociologie et dépassement des aspects particuliers sous lesquels l'histoire est abordée, au profit d'une conception totalisante

De tous ces thèmes, c'est le premier qui entraîna le moins de discussions. De tous les genres sociologiques aucun n'est aujourd'hui plus abandonné (comme l'a notamment souligné Mlle. MITRANI) que la philosophie de l'histoire au sens classique du terme (lequel ne doit pas être confondu avec celui de réflexion philosophique sur l'histoire). Peu de penseurs croient encore pouvoir établir quelque loi objective inhérente au processus d'évolution global. Seul un jeune représentant de la République allemande, M. SCHILFERT, manifesta une pareille confiance. Selon lui une telle loi existe et le matérialisme dialectique nous la fournit. Le peu d'écho rencontré par ce propos vaut d'autant plus d'être remarqué que plusieurs des intervenants se réclamaient explicitement du marxisme, tel M. GOLDMANN, ou dans tous les cas lui faisaient un large sort comme MM. HOBSBAWM, TROPP, et même MILLS; mais aucun n'en donnait une interprétation déterministe, n'y voyait une volonté de réduire les faits humains à une loi de type physique.

Notons combien plus prudent que M. SCHILFERT se montra le professeur soviétique FRANTZEV. Il estima assurément que les hommes "ne peuvent cesser de s'intéresser à la théorie du processus historique d'ensemble"—mais ce fut pour noter combien les interpretations données jusqu'à présent de ce processus, depuis Comte jusqu'à Toynbee, sont peu satisfaisantes. Et d'ailleurs, pourrions-nous ajouter, s'intéresser au processus historique d'ensemble implique-t-il en quoi que ce soit le désir d'en dégager la loi? Aussi, à la lumière de l'importante intervention de M. Frantzey, le marxisme qui inspire les recherches historiques et sociales en U.R.S.S. n'apparaît-il pas au premier chef comme la volonté d'établir des lois, et par conséquent des prévisions en matière d'évolution, mais celle de "montrer tous les phénomènes sociaux dans leur unité contradictoire et dans leur action réciproque, de concevoir la vie

sociale dans son ensemble" ainsi que d'examiner "le changement des forces productives et des rapports de production". Et il n'est personne qui n'ait accueilli favorablement l'offre de collaboration internationale, formulée par M. FRANTZEV en vue d'une telle recherche.

Non seulement, aux yeux de la plupart des intervenants, la raison ne peut pleinement dominer le processus historique, mais l'homme apparaît comme dominé par lui jusque dans son appréhension proprement intellectuelle des faits. Plutôt que de dégager les lois de l'histoire, un des rôles essentiels de la sociologie historique semble être de nous décrire la situation historique de l'historien. Voilà ce que nombre d'intervenants soulignèrent à l'envi, en en fournissant d'ailleurs des interprétations théoriques variées. M. BRIGGS donna une véritable sociologie de la pensée historique, en en montrant l'extrême variabilité dans le temps. M. BARBU parla d'une loi de rétrojection par laquelle nos préoccupations présentes nous feraient découvrir tel aspect du passé plutôt que tel autre. Pour M. JANNE un choix de valeurs décide de l'orientation intellectuelle de l'historien comme du sociologue. Selon M. GOLDMANN, chaque époque pense son passé en fonction de sa situation de classes et de son idéologie dominante. Et à cette nécessité "d'historifier" toute pensée historique, le marxisme n'échappe nullement, nous précise M. BIRNBAUM.

Il est intéressant de noter que chacun avait tendance à voir dans la spécialisation de l'autre un complément indispensable à son propre univers des préoccupations et une source essentielle de renouveau: les participants à formation surtout sociologique dans l'histoire, ceux à formation principalement historique dans la sociologie. Ils étaient tenté de situer à droite leur propre discipline, à gauche la discipline complémentaire. Ainsi M. MILLS voit dans le formalisme sociologique une conception conservatrice, et une expression de l'idéologie bourgeoise dans les recherches ou les réflexions qui se veulent ou se croient anti-historiques ou transhistoriques. Pour M. BRIGGS, au contraire, seule la réflexion sociologique aurait permis de renouveler les conceptions traditionnelles de l'histoire. Telle est l'opinion de M. TROPP, pour qui au moins en Angleterre, les historiens appartiennent dans leur majorité à l'*establishment*, alors que les sociologues se veulent presque tous progressistes. M. BIRNBAUM émit une opinion semblable, mais sous une forme plus nuancée: un même type de recherches peut avoir des significations idéologiques différentes selon les circonstances; le renouvellement des recherches sociologiques empiriques qui accompagne la liberalisation dans les pays de démocratie populaire, spécialement en Pologne et en Yougoslavie, indiquerait, au moins dans ces cas-là, le caractère progressiste de ce type de recherches.

Cette aspiration à prendre une distance critique vis-à-vis de sa propre discipline, au besoin en la dénigrant dans sa forme traditionnelle et en valorisant des aspirations intellectuelles complémentaires, n'est

assurément pas caractéristique de l'attitude du grand nombre des historiens ni des sociologues. Elle a peut-être entraîné quelque schématisation de l'orientation idéologique que les uns et les autres avaient tendance à attribuer à leur discipline respective. Ce désir de collaboration—conforme à la voie ouverte par Max Weber—pourrait néanmoins être fécond. De plus, c'est cette insatisfaction même que certains sociologues et certains historiens éprouvent à n'être que ce à quoi on les confine qui les amène les uns comme les autres à une confrontation avec leur propre situation historique et sociale.

Existe-t-il quelque moyen de dépasser cette perspective situationnelle, d'acquérir une vue pleinement objective de la réalité sociale? Personne ne l'a tenté, sauf, évidemment, M. SCHILFERT, pour qui le problème était résolu avant d'être posé. Mais peut-être est-ce cette conscience même de la part inévitable de subjectivité qu'elle comporte qui permet à la réflexion historique et sociologique d'atteindre le plus haut niveau possible d'objectivité ou, à tout le moins, d'impartialité.

Plusieurs intervenants, MM. HOBSBAWM, GOLDMANN, JANNE, SMETS, TROPP, ont souligné la nécessité de conceptualiser les faits, de les ramener à des modalités générales, intellectuellement élaborées, du comportement social, de leur trouver une logique interne, bref de penser en sociologue le donné historique. Ainsi M. HOBSBAWM s'étant intéressé à un phénomène historique relativement limité, le banditisme, a estimé qu'il importait pour l'historien non seulement d'établir des faits de banditisme, mais d'en dégager la signification générale, d'établir le genre de société globale auquel il correspond (société des paysans et de grands propriétaires terriens), le type de légendes qui généralement l'accompagne, bref de construire le modèle sociologique général du banditisme. Presque tous les intervenants ont été d'accord que toute grande œuvre d'histoire implique une certaine conception générale des rapports sociaux et que plus celle-ci sera explicite, pensée avec précision et méthode, plus elle ouvrira de voies aux recherches historiques ultérieures.

Seul M. HANDLIN a semblé être d'un avis différent. Pour lui l'approche sociologique n'est pas l'approche historique; il y aurait non seulement divergence de méthodes, mais les synonymies même peuvent camoufler de profondes divergences conceptuelles; lorsque les historiens parlent de classe ouvrière ou paysanne, ont-ils nécessairement en vue le même objet que celui dont traitent les sociologues dans leurs nombreuses théories des classes? Que l'approche de l'historien et celle du sociologue soient différentes, qu'ils se situent à des degrés dissemblables de généralité, voilà qui est certain encore qu'à cet égard il y ait des manières diverses de faire de l'histoire et de la sociologie. Mais qu'un historien et sociologue puissent parler d'autre chose, qu'il puisse exister une vérité sociologique incompatible avec la vérité historique, voilà qui nous paraît inadmissible. Il doit exister, à tout le moins, une règle de co-validité entre concepts

historiques et concepts sociologiques. C'est une bien pauvre sociologie que celle qui à force d'abstraction et de formalise cesse d'éclairer la signification des faits historiques particuliers. Mais c'est aussi une bien pauvre histoire que celle qui nedépasse pas le stade de la chronique et qui par accumulation irraisonnée des faits ne peut être de nul enseignement pour le sociologue.

Le dernier point, qui était au centre des préoccupations de M. BRIGGS, n'a été qu'abordé dans la discussion, par M. GOLDMANN surtout. S'il existe une tendance dominante dans la sociologie actuelle, c'est l'accent mis sur le concept de totalité, c'est le désir de dépasser l'interprétation analytique des relations causales entre aspects sociaux divers, qu'on cesse de tenir pour mutuellement isolables, "discrets", réductibles à l'état de facteurs. C'est un point où se rejoignent pleinement la psychologie de la forme, la phénoménologie, le néo-durkheimisme (ou le durkeimisme tel que l'interprète actuellement M. Gurvitch) et le marxisme dans son interpretation lukacsienne (défendu surtout par M. Goldmann) et même récemment sartrienne.

Quelle portée donner dans cette perspective à une histoire qui se prétendrait avant tout politique, économique, sociale (au sens classique et restreint du terme), idéologique, religieuse, esthétique? Il ne faudrait voir que des efforts d'abstraction, méthodologiquement inévitables peut-être, mais qui faussent dangereusement l'apprehension du réel, lorsque l'esprit croit trouver dans l'un ou l'autre de ces aspects, des réalités possédant par elles-mêmes et pour elles-mêmes, une plenitude d'existence. Or, le progrès même de l'érudition, la multiplication des champs d'investigation obligent indiscutablement l'historien à des efforts de spécialisation de plus en plus poussés.

Les historiens traitent aujourd'hui *de* tout, mais ne risquent-ils pas ce faisant de perdre le sens *du* tout? Ce tout n'est jamais pleinement donné. Il reste appréhendé par des individus, eux-mêmes partiels par leur situation. Il n'a rien de cohérent ni d'harmonisé: nous sommes loin de la totalité des organicistes, de toute totalité totalitaire. Et pourtant c'est par ce mouvement difficile et par moments périlleux vers la totalité que l'histoire peut devenir science au sens antique et philosophique du terme, qu'elle peut atteindre à l'universel concret.

Etablir les cadres sociaux de la pensée historique, élaborer avec méthode et précision les concepts sociologiques auxquels naturellement l'historien recourt, parvenir à saisir tout aspect particulier de l'histoire en tant qu'expression d'une totalité, voilà les trois domaines où la réflexion sociologique peut aider et enrichir la recherche historique. Telles sont du moins les conclusions qu'il est permis de tirer du séminaire de sociologie historique.

GEORGES GORIELY.

SECTION III

SEMINAR ON THE COMPARATIVE METHOD

Chairman: Professor S. N. EISENSTADT (Israel)

Prepared Discussants: Professor R. BENDIX (USA)
Dr. N. ELIAS (UK)
Professor A. INKELES (USA)
Professor S. M. LIPSET (USA)
Professor E. SHILS (USA)

Rapporteur: Dr. S. ROKKAN (Norway)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

THE CHAIRMAN opened the meeting and reviewed the major problems in the use of comparative cross-national and cross-cultural methods in sociology.

The great evolutionary sociologists of the 19th century had seen in the comparative method the principal tool in the advancement of a science of society. In the 20th century, sociology had become much more nation-centered and given primary emphasis to studies of conditions and forces *within* given state-societies. With the rapid development of world communications and international organizations after World War II, problems of inter-societal comparisons had again come to the forefront of sociological discussions. The organization of the Seminar at the Fourth World Congress reflected the growing concern of a number of sociologists with the problems of comparisons across cultural and political units.

The Chairman distinguished two major problems for discussion:

- (1) The problem of the *design of comparisons*: the choice of *units* for comparisons and the choice of *variables* to be related to each other.
- (2) The problems of the *comparability of the data* and the *possibilities of standardization*.

Comparative analyses have focussed on a variety of units or types of dependent variables:

- (a) "total" societies,
- (b) *institutions and institutional processes*—e.g., economic institutions, political institutions, family structure, age groups.
- (c) *types of groups*—categories of participants and organizations within each system, e.g., intellectuals, priests, political parties, bureaucratic organizations,

- (d) *social trends and processes of institutional development*—urbanization, industrialization, democratization,
- (e) *rates and distributions of individual behavior*—e.g., voting, delinquency, alcoholism,
- (f) types of *cultural systems* such as religious beliefs,
- (g) *personality structures and processes of socialization.*

At all these levels of comparisons, the typical design of a comparative analysis asks: what are the *conditions for emergence and maintenance* of such and such a state of the given dependent variable? what are the *conditions making for stability or change* in the given variable?

No systematic procedures have as yet been established for such comparative analysis but a variety of attempts have been made to correlate given characteristics of societies with other characteristics of the same societies or of units within them. The correlations established between "independent" and "dependent" variables are often very difficult to interpret. What is needed is a systematic analysis of the *intervening processes*, the social processes behind the correlation of one trait, e.g., economic development, with another, e.g., political institutions. This is a central problem for further advances in the methodology of substantive comparisons.

The Chairman further reviewed briefly the problems of *comparability and standardization* in cross-societal research:

- (a) The problem of the *cultural range* of comparisons as discussed between "globalists" such as Murdock, and "regionalists" such as Schapera.
- (b) The relative merits of *case studies vs. wide-ranging comparisons* using indexes and correlation procedures.
- (c) The problems of the *sampling of societal units* and the use of control units.

The Chairman emphasized that problems of this kind could not be discussed in *abstract*: the problems would have to be dealt with in the concrete context of a given set of substantive comparisons. It had been decided to focus the Seminar papers and the discussion on one broad set of substantive problems of central concern in comparative sociology: the analysis of the *conditions for the growth and maintenance of modern political systems.*

Professor SHILS (USA) stated that he would not himself be directly concerned with the "grammar" of comparisons but would seek to illustrate the uses of a comparative method in analyzing a major factor in the development of the new states in Asia and Africa: *the role of*

the intellectuals in the politics of the emergent states in the economically underdeveloped countries.

He defined the "intellectuals" in these countries as those who had gone through an advanced modern education. These groups constitute only very small proportions of the total populations in each of the new states and differ much more drastically from the rest of the population than is the case in western countries. The intellectuals in underdeveloped countries in the vast majority of cases get their training in humanities and law: this training prepares them for activity in public affairs and in politics, and accounts for the high degree of "politicization" of the intellectual elites of these countries. So far only small proportions of the students have taken technological or natural science degrees. The students are deeply concerned with *politics and the problems of authority* and they acquire training for dealing with such problems, either within a civil service or within opposition movements. Intellectuals in the under developed countries are markedly *nationalist*, *socialist* and *populist* in their ideological orientations. This can be accounted for in part from the reactions against foreign political rule and foreign business dominance but also from a deep-seated concern with the contrast between "metropolis" and "province": between the exercise of authority at the center and the reactions to authority in the periphery. The nationalist ideologies are clearly creations of intellectuals: nationality is not something they already share with the rest of the population. The ideological emphasis on the delimitation of ethnic in-groups clearly serves the function of broadening the opposition to foreign authority. Allied to nationalism is a widespread *populist* orientation: a tendency to identify with the unadulterated peasantry of the territory. All these ideological emphases give a highly emotional tone to the politics of the new states and do not make for the development of a network of autonomous institutions of the kind which would make for stable pluralist régimes. The possibilities of change in this situation are all contingent on continuing economic development. With the growth of tertiary occupations and the development of independent scientific and academic institutions chances will increase for a reduction in the emotional tone of political life.

Professor LIPSET (USA) reported on his attempt to account for differences between political systems in the stability of their régimes and in their ability to cope with disruptive forces under the impact of industrialization and economic change: details of this analysis had already been published in an article in the *American Political Science Review* for March, 1959.

LIPSET maintained that at the present stage of comparative studies the intellectually most fruitful procedure was the *method of the dialogue*: the statement of wide-ranging theses about the relationship between variables and then successive counter-theses and rejoinders emphasizing deviant cases and different explanatory variables.

LIPSET's basic thesis was that two sets of conditions were necessary for the maintenance of stable democratic régimes: *economic efficiency* as measured by indexes of growth, urbanization, industrialization, the spread of education, and *political legitimacy* as manifested by the continuity of institutions and the general acceptance of the constitutional framework in the face of radical changes in socio-economic conditions.

Stable democratic régimes in the sense of systems allowing organized opposition and yet never seriously threatened by extra-constitutional movements could only be found in countries at a high level of economic growth, with high educational standard and with strong constitutional traditions ensuring the legitimacy of the régime. The majority of these stable democracies had, paradoxically enough, retained their monarchic framework. This was an indication of the ability of the systems to counteract the disrupting tendencies brought about by industrialization and the entry into politics of working class organizations. Working class movements tended to develop chiliastic ideologies in the early phases of industrialization and the viability of political systems undergoing rapid economic growth depended essentially on the capacity of the decision-makers to integrate these new forces within a flexible constitutional framework and create a new equilibrium.

These general propositions needed further testing through detailed analyses of data for a variety of countries. Of crucial importance in any such comparative analysis, were data on *voting* within different groups of the expanded electorates. Comparative analyses of data on voting had only recently begun to interest sociologists. Voting studies had so far primarily been dominated by the theoretical perspectives of social psychologists: they had been primarily concerned with voting as one among many categories of individual decisions and much less with voting as a process in the adjustment to change and in the maintenance of the equilibrium of political systems. For the political sociologist, data on voting must essentially be studied on comparative lines across different systems: only in this way would it be possible to gain some understanding of their significance.

Professor BENDIX (USA) summarized the paper he had prepared with LIPSET on the comparative study of the "entry into politics" of the working class and the capacity of political régimes to cope with the strains brought about by the process of democratization. He stressed the importance of analyzing the strategic decisions made by statesmen in different countries in meeting the problems of the rise of radical working class movements: much of the contrast between Britain and Germany could be accounted for by the difference between the decisions taken by Disraeli, who expressed trust in the workers by expanding the suffrage, and Bismarck, who tried to suppress working class organizations.

In general, BENDIX considered it essential for sociologists to concentrate their comparative analyses on strategic issues in the *processes of modernization* going on in all countries of the world. Max Weber had made this the central theme of comparative sociology. His method consisted essentially in starting out from one concrete point of comparison, whether over time or across different systems, and then proceeding to analyze the ramifications of the trend or the difference to gain deeper insight into the relationships of interdependence within the total structure: he gave examples from Weber's analyses of the decline of patrimonial régimes and the growth of bureaucratic structures. Comparisons of total societies would necessarily remain difficult, if not unmanageable. The best strategy would be to focus on similar situations and similar issues for decision in different countries and at different times and to study the processes of decision and their ramifications from such selected vantage points. There was no "grammar" to guide the sociologist in establishing such vantage points: it was a matter of historical intuition, of *knack*, of *Fingerspitzengefühl*.

Dr. JUAN LINZ (Spain) emphasized the difference between the comparisons carried out by Max Weber and the current cross-national analyses attempted by political sociologists. Weber was essentially concerned to reach an understanding of the processes underlying long-term institutional trends: the data for such analyses were essentially documentary. The current work of political sociologists focussed on forces at work in complex societies at roughly the same levels of socio-economic development: the data for such comparisons were not only documentary, but *statistical and behavioral*. A variety of new types of analysis had become possible through sophisticated uses of voting statistics and even more could be expected from the use of *sample surveys* in different political contexts.

LINZ was in general agreement with the design for comparisons suggested by LIPSET but found that a crucial set of variables were missing: these related to the strains brought about in the political structure by unresolved conflicts between various regional and ethnic interests.

Professor ARON (France) emphasized the dangers of the socio-economic determinism implied in LIPSET's analysis: any analysis of concrete developments would have to focus on the action taken by political leaders in the face of the difficulties brought about by socio-economic change. The Fourth Republic did not fall for socio-economic reasons. It fell because the Constitution made it impossible to establish effective majorities and because the new situation in Algeria made it essential for the survival of the system to ensure effective decision-making. The correlations established by LIPSET might say something about the *limits* of political effectiveness, but did not determine the outcomes: thus there were good chances that a multi-party system might be

maintained in India *in spite of* the low level of economic development.

Professor GARDNER (American University, Egypt) made a similar point in the case of *Egypt*: he did not see any necessity for the growth of democratic régimes through increased industrialization. On the contrary, in African and Asian countries, industrialization was more likely to bring about a concentration of power in the hands of a single élite.

Professor HAMON (France) first discussed SHILS' paper and expressed surprise that no distinction had been made between the ex-colonial and the other states in Asia and Africa. Professor SHILS, in reply, stated that he had not found these differences very important.

Commenting on the scheme of comparisons suggested by LIPSET, HAMON stated that it was impossible to accept the proposition of a direct relationship between economic growth and the stabilization of democratic régimes. LIPSET had himself found it necessary to introduce the *legitimacy of the régime* as a crucial variable. This was not a socio-economic but a *political* variable; it concerned the ability of political leaders to maintain continuity in the institutions in the face of radical changes in the conditions of their operation.

Dr. TALMON-GARBER (Israel) questioned an assumption in SHILS' prognosis of changes in the political role of intellectuals in the new states: he seemed to assume that increased scientific creativity would reduce the political involvement of the intellectuals. She cited the cases of de Tocqueville, Marx and Weber in counter-evidence. Professor SHILS, in reply, stated that he did not assume that greater scholarly and scientific creativity would reduce political participation as such, but he was certain that it would give a less emotional tone to the politics of intellectuals.

Dr. WALLERSTEIN (USA) criticized SHILS' paper on a number of points:

- (1) he had used the term "intellectual" in different senses for under-developed and developed countries;
- (2) the *range of units* compared was not made sufficiently explicit;
- (3) his generalizations held for ex-British states, but not for other ex-colonial states;
- (4) there was evidence of a change in some territories in the direction of greater interest in science and engineering and less concentration on law and politics.

Professor SHILS, in reply, restated the definition he had given of "intellectuals" and made it clear that this definition was only meant

to apply to his analyses of development in the new states of Africa and Asia. It was true that he had done most of his work on ex-British states but he found no evidence of any marked difference between these and the others in roles taken by intellectuals. He was glad to hear that there was evidence of some change, but this did not affect his general conclusions about the development during the last decade.

THE CHAIRMAN introduced the afternoon session and stated that the first half of the session would be devoted to comparisons of *individual* characteristics and behaviors within different political systems, and the second half to problems in *macro-comparisons*, in the comparison of total state-societies.

Professor INKELES (USA) presented a general review of methodological and theoretical problems in the comparative study of *national character* and focused on the problem of discovering major *personality requisites* for the maintenance of democratic political systems.

INKELES distinguished a number of usages of the term "national character": the *sociological* focussing on institutional patterns, the *anthropological* emphasizing the unity of cultural themes, the *psychological* oriented toward the characteristics of the "modal personality structures among the adult members of the given national society." He proposed to concentrate his discussion on the problems of assessing national character in this psychological sense of a distribution of personality characteristics within a population. The principal procedure in such studies would be the administration of standardized tests to representative and stratified samples of the different national populations or of equivalent groups within each population. The basic problem for cross-national research of this type concerned the *comparability of the personality dimensions measured by the tests*. There was a great deal of evidence that item-for-item translations of tests could not yield comparable measures across different national populations. What was required was equivalence in the *concepts*, not in the actual measurement procedures. So far only scattered studies of haphazardly picked samples had been completed. What was needed was a concerted effort to make use of the facilities now available for mass testing in a variety of countries.

A major goal in any such comparative research would be to gain insight into the importance of the distribution of personality types for the maintenance and functioning of given political institutions. A variety of studies in different countries had related personality characteristics to political orientations and party preferences, but most of these had been limited to small samples and could hardly provide the basis for any conclusions about the personality requisites of stable democracies. Following in the wake of the pioneering study of *The Authoritarian Personality*, a number of attempts had been made to

develop models of a "democratic character structure": basic elements in such a model would be the belief in the inalienable rights of the individual, recognition of the dignity of others, absence of a need to dominate or to submit to authority, tolerance of differences and of ambiguities in relationships. Perhaps the most thorough-going study so far undertaken in this field was Herbert McClosky's study of the personality characteristics of "conservatives" vs. "liberals": it had been found in a number of samples of United States subjects that the conservatively oriented were significantly more likely to be pessimistic, ego-defensive, passive, guilt-conscious, anomie. The problem was whether similar relationships would be found if equivalent tests could be administered in several different countries. There was some scattered evidence that similar relationships would hold for some other Western populations, but hardly anything had been done to organize systematic data gathering for purposes of comparing groups at different political levels in different systems. This represented a major challenge to internationally oriented social scientists.

THE RAPPORTEUR added a couple of illustrative examples of findings from comparisons of individual behavior patterns in different political systems:

- (1) In the OCSR seven-country study (cf. Rokkan, *Int. Soc. Sci. Bull.* 7 (4) 1955: 575-576) a series of items related to the California "F-scale" were administered to samples of about 400 teachers in each country. It was found possible to construct from the responses a scale for "attitude to authority" and it was found that the teachers scoring high in authority-orientation were in all countries more likely to vote with Right or Centre parties, to manifest strongly nationalist and pro-military attitudes and to be intolerant of differences of opinion on politics. Clearly, this testing procedure could not provide the basis for *direct* comparisons of the extent of "authoritarianism" in the different countries: there was no way of establishing equivalent measures of the degree of "authoritarianism" for individuals responding in such markedly different cultural and political settings. What could be undertaken were "*micro-micro*" comparisons designed to establish similarities across the countries in the *syndromes of response consistency*.
- (2) Of more immediate relevance in the study of the personality requisites of different political systems, would be various types of "*macro-micro*" comparisons: analyses of differences in individual behavior patterns between systems differing in some way or other in their *total structure*. As an example of this type of analysis was cited a comparison of *factors making for higher or lower political participation* in two systems differing markedly from each other in their party structure: Norway and the United

States (article forthcoming in *Int. Soc. Sci. J.* 1960). The hypothesis was that formal education would be a little important avenue for the recruitment of active participants in a clearly class divided party system such as the Norwegian and of major importance in the less class divided system of the United States. This was a hypothesis about a relationship between an overall characteristic of a system and the reactions of individual citizens to the alternatives facing them within their system. It was found that in the most class divided party system, education made very little difference to the level of political participation while in the less class divided system, it made an essential difference. Cross-tabulation by party preference in the two countries clarified this finding: education made least difference within the Norwegian Labour party, some difference within the Democratic party in the United States, but most marked differences to participation within Norwegian non-socialist parties and within the Republican party. These findings needed further analysis but they indicated the importance of complex "macro-micro" designs in the study of the personality requisites of democratic political systems.

Dr. ELIAS (UK) examined some of the problems with which one is confronted if one attempts a systematic comparative study of highly complex and differentiated societies not simply with regard to one or the other of their specific aspects or institutions, but with regard to each *seen as a whole*. He argued (1) that the difficulties which often seem to arise if sociologists use such expressions as "total societies" or "societies as a whole" are to a large extent due to a certain lack of precision in the use of the term "society" on the one hand, and of others, such as "state," "nation," "country," etc., on the other hand; (2) that what we call "state" is one specific type of social organization which can be investigated in the same way as industrial or other types of large-scale organizations; but (3) that detached investigations of the "state," as one type of social organization among others, are somewhat hampered by the dangers threatening most contemporary societies organized as "states" and by the corresponding aura of sanctity surrounding it ("Patriotism," "Nationalism," "Treason," etc.).

To avoid confusion ELIAS introduced the term "*state-societies*" to refer to societies organized in this manner. He further argued (4) that comparative studies of highly differentiated state-societies in the round require, as a general frame of reference, not only a *static* theoretical model of the state, such as that of Max Weber, but a *dynamic or developmental and genetic model or gauge* indicating the general mode, or at least one of the possible modes, in which earlier types of social systems transform themselves into state-systems of an earlier pre-national type and into nation-states.

A brief outline of three of the many stations along a line of develop-

ment which is fairly representative of many, though perhaps not of all the older state-societies may be enough to indicate the kind of model suggested. These are stations on a line which is continuous, and it is the direction of the line rather than the particular stations which matter. Changes are possible in the direction of lesser as well as of greater complexity, differentiation or efficiency of organizational techniques.

Station A: The future state-society as a loosely knit system of more or less freely competing territorial units.

Initially competing units are land-, horse- and/or cattle-owning kinship-groups, often including followers, clients, servants or slaves (e.g. "houses," "dynasties," "clans," etc.). The main axis of tensions in such a system is that between centrifugal and centripetal social groupings. Competition between them may have the form of a *ladder-competition*, i.e. changes in the position of competing units on the power and status ladder can occur without producing changes in the system and its ladder-competition as such; or it may have the form of a *knock-out competition*, i.e. a series of elimination-struggles which leaves in the field fewer and fewer competitors until two and finally one of them emerges with military, economic, and political power resources which defy competition and establish the victorious social unit as the effective central authority.

Station B: The state-society as a relatively differentiated and cohesive system centered on an organized monopolization of tax- and troop-levies by representatives of one group which controls the twin-monopolies at the center unilaterally, namely without institutional counter-controls by other groups. "Autocratic state-societies," "Personal rule."

This type of organization represents, in the case of not too highly urbanized and industrialized societies, by far the simplest mode of terminating or keeping in check knock-out rivalries. Once established, the key to whatever stability such a régime may have is the ability of the ruling unit to maintain control over a body of armed forces strong enough to squash any resistance, and to levy with the help of these forces dues of one kind or the other which in turn are indispensable for the maintenance and control of these forces. The struggle between centralizing and centrifugal social formations, as the main axis of tensions, is replaced by struggles between competing social strata, cadres or fractions for the control of the central monopolies themselves.

But at this stage techniques for regulating such struggles are non-existent or rudimentary. If the struggles come into the open at all, it is usually in connection with frictions and conflicts within the inner circle of the ruling set itself; in that case, if they are not suppressed by the use or the threat of force, the probability is great that they will develop into a knock-out rivalry.

The development of this type of state-organization, compared with that of Station A, is bound up with an expansion of commerce and some forms of industry, usually by the growth of urban settlements and their characteristic social strata. How far state-organizations of this type can adjust themselves to changes in social stratification and in the internal balance of power which go hand in hand with a higher degree of urbanization and the more advanced forms of industrialization and bureaucratization is, at present, an open question.

Station C: The state-society as a more highly differentiated and cohesive system where groups in control of the central monopolies are themselves subject to control by other social units according to firmly instituted and enforceable regulations and where all those subject to the government's control have a chance of participating, to a higher or lesser extent, in the control of the governing group itself. Nation-states with multilateral and reciprocal controls.

The organizational problem has been solved at this stage by means of organizational and psychological arrangements and techniques which ensure that several powerful social formations keep each other in check in a manner which prevents each of them from establishing its absolute supremacy over the others.

A similar equilibrium of forces can sometimes be found in state-societies of an earlier type, but in such cases an unstable equilibrium between several foci of power which keep each other in check is rarely more than a phase of transition between series of knock-out rivalries.

Specific forms of organization and techniques of control which make it possible to stabilize over long periods such an essentially unstable balance of power between several interdependent social strata and cadres develop rather late in the history of mankind. One can find them first in connection with increasing commercialization and urbanization, in some relatively small territorial units, in a city-state or a small kingdom, from which they spread with the necessary adjustments to larger state-societies.

In all these cases, the stabilization of this unstable balance of forces is made possible by the development of a *firm institutional and psychological shell* which helps to contain the potentially explosive forces of internal power rivalries. It bars the leaders of all social sections, and above all the government of the day itself, from gaining and even from seeking absolute, permanent, unilateral control over all other sections. It is, at the same time, elastic enough to allow for gradual adjustments to changes in the unstable balance of power. Altogether, such a shell is a rather complicated affair.

Among the functions of this shell, one stands out quite clearly; in

Station C type societies rivalries between different sections of society are allowed to come into the open. But their disruptive propensities are curbed. They are kept within bounds by deeply implanted emotional disciplines and beliefs. They are moderated by specific standards of behavior and confined to well established institutional channels which determine the rules of the struggle, limit it, more or less, to the use of verbal weapons and exclude the threat or use of physical force as a means of deciding controversial issues.

One of the most characteristic features of state-societies of this type is, in other words, the fact that competitive tensions and rivalries are public and contained. The main impetus which ensures that no single social formation can control others without being controlled, or is controlled without setting a watch upon its controllers, comes from the contained rivalry of party organizations which, in turn, is connected with less highly organized tensions and rivalries between different sections in society at large. But, again, although there is some evidence which suggests the grades of tension and pressure at which organizations of this type can adequately function have a maximum as well as a minimum, it would require many more comparative studies of specific societies before one can hope to come to grips with this kind of problem. Moreover, one does not know very much about the way in which organizational properties of a state-society's shell itself help to increase or decrease tensions and antagonisms; or about the reasons for rigidities in the shell; or about its influence on contained private and inexpressible tensions and conflicts of individuals. Comparative system-analysis, in fact, opens up a good many problems which are still largely unexplored.

There followed a *discussion* of the papers presented by INKELES and ELIAS.

Professor A. FIAMENGO (Yugoslavia) made a brief statement about the importance of comparative research in the development of a general theory of social development.

Professor ARNOLD ROSE (US) stressed the importance of comparing the *legal traditions and the legal frameworks* of different societies: such comparisons would be of greater importance for an understanding of the requisites of democracy than a study of "national character." The distribution of personality characteristics in a national population was a secondary phenomenon and could not provide a basis for explanation of differences in political structure. There was evidence that German national character had changed markedly since the 18th century: this reflected, and did not cause, changes in political structure. There was very little reason to believe that "democratic personalities" as defined by INKELES were essential for the maintenance of a stable democratic system: Sweden was cited as an example. ROSE also questioned the universality of the findings relating to the "authoritarianism" syn-

drome. He had himself administered a version of the "F-scale" to an Italian sample and found no relationship to political behavior.

Professor MARIA OSSOWSKA (Poland) questioned the definition used by SHILS in his analysis of the role of intellectuals. She emphasized the need for careful conceptual analysis in any attempt at drawing conclusions from comparisons. An important field for comparative research had so far been very much neglected: the study of the sociological factors making for differences in *ethical conceptions* within different populations.

Professor BENDIX (USA) took up the problems raised by LIPSET's analysis of the relationships between socio-economic conditions and political arrangements. This was essentially a *static* analysis: what was required for an understanding of the relationship was a series of studies of *historical processes* producing such correlations. Psychological data on the distributions of personality types would help very little in any such study. What was required was *an analysis of the major choice-points* in the historical development leading to the formation of the given political structures.

Dr. D. V. MCGRANAHAN (United Nations) questioned very much the utility of the model prepared by INKELES for the "democratic personality." A stable democratic régime could very well exist in a predominantly "authoritarian" population: he cited Switzerland as an example. He found the McClosky study of the personality correlates of conservatism highly biased in the labelling of the attitudes analyzed: this kind of research was clearly part of the "cold warfare" of academic leftists.

Dr. L. EPSZTEIN (France) reported briefly on his comparisons of English and French popularizers of economic reasoning in the 19th century.

Professor STANISLOW OSSOWSKI took up the problem of national character studies and said he missed in INKELES's presentation a detailed consideration of the need for rigorous distinctions between dominant and minority groups in each nation. He also considered it essential to distinguish between *cultural* factors in national character and what he called *situational* factors: how much was transmitted from generation to generation and how much reflected changes in the external circumstances of each population?

Dr. G. IACONO (Italy) had found the interpretation of cross-national differences in responses to projective tests highly problematic and referred particularly to the use of the McClenann *achievement* test in Italy. He expressed surprise at the consistency of the OCSR findings for the "F-scale": in Italy no relationship was found between "F"-responses and political orientation.

Professor INKELES, responding to the various objections raised, emphasized that what was needed was a standardization of the *concepts* for comparative study, not of the *research tools* to be used in different countries. The *labels* for the different attitude dimensions might be highly value-laden but this difficulty would be overcome by more detailed descriptions of procedures and items.

He could not see that historical analyses of the kind suggested by BENDIX would make superfluous psychological research on the distribution of personality characteristics. What was needed was more complex designs for the study of differences between personnel at different levels in the decision-making process.

THE CHAIRMAN concluded the session and pointed out three major problems in the further advancement of the use of the comparative method in sociological research:

- (1) the problem of the choice of *time units* for cross-comparisons—where could cuts be made in the developmental sequences to identify the societal unities to be compared?
- (2) the necessity to find ways of differentiating systematically between conditions favoring the *establishment* of given institutions or states of affairs and conditions ensuring their *maintenance*;
- (3) the need for a systematic analysis of the *crucial intervening variables* in the cross-societal correlations established in recent studies.

S. ROKKAN

SECTION III

SEMINAR ON SELECTED PROBLEMS OF STATISTICAL METHOD

Chairman: Professor V. CASTELLANO (Italy)

Prepared Discussants: R. McGINNIS (U.S.A.), LAZZARI (Italy), MANESCU (Rumania) FIGA TALAMANCA (Italy) LEHMANN (U.S.A.).

Rapporteur: M. MAROTTA (Italy)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

The Chairman had prepared a brief agenda, circulated in advance, to guide the discussion. The first part dealt with some objections that have been raised to the application of statistical methods to Sociology; in the specific study of Man the methodical and compelling guide of experiment is missing and the research worker, lost in the sea of the contingent and the variable, sometimes seeks prematurely in mathematical formulae for an impossible objectivity and consistency.

Against hasty quantifications of this kind, and the consequent recourse to mathematical elaborations of doubtful significance, and against the misuse of statistics by bad statisticians and sociologists and by mathematicians inexpert in handling empirical material, the objections raised by the critics of the use of quantitative methods in sociological enquiries are valid, but they should not be interpreted as a denial of the value of the models and theoretical formulae.

Among the current defects of sociological enquiries the Chairman mentioned imperfect specification of the meaning of the terms used; as a result of this the data collected by different methods and which have different meanings are classified under the same heading, and this leads to confusion.

In the second part the Chairman justified the tendency to the quantification of attributes, by pointing to the finer inner structural formation and the rigidity of the ties existing between the quantitative modalities from whose intrinsic properties proceeds the power of the formal procedures applicable to them. He presented the classification of attributes as disconnected and arrangeable, cyclically and rectilinearly, as is done by the Italian School of Statistics, a classification which arranges the characteristics according to the complexity of their structure, and he raised the question of breaking up disconnected mutables into arrangeable variables. He called the attention of psychologists to this question in view of its similarity to the enquiry into the "psychological" dimensions of attributes not clearly classified. He called attention in general to the marked tendency in recent psychological development to elaborate, on quite independent lines, even matters which might be the application of more general ideas and methods, a

tendency which seemed to him to be advantageous neither to psychology nor to the other sciences.

In the third part he noted some deficiencies in the sampling theory which should make one look with diffidence on all the applications of the theory of estimates, based on the confidence intervals to all small samples, when the hypothesis of the normalcy of the population has not been adequately tested.

He drew a distinction between the problems presented by size estimates when the population for which the estimate is made is a single one, and when it is one of many, all of which contribute to form the "universe" of samples. In this last case it is essential to consider the importance of the contribution made by each population to the formation of the universe of proofs, and this importance is measured by the so-called "a priori probability", as set forth in the well-known formula of Bayes which, when several possible populations are considered, only expresses one of the characteristics of the "universe" of samples.

In the discussion the following subjects were taken up:

1. application of statistical methods to sociology and analysis of the possibilities and limitations imposed by methods of data collection;
2. quantification of data;
3. theory of hypotheses and verification;
4. criteria of the statistical delimitation of towns;
5. statistical methods for the study of family budgets.

On the first subject A. ROSE (U.S.A.) observed that many sociologists made mistakes in the use of statistical methods, because they borrowed them rather uncritically from biology. The first error concerns the use of partial correlations, used in order to examine the influence of one factor on another, when other factors are held constant. This is possible in the physical and biological sciences because each factor is relatively independent of the other, but it is not possible in Sociology where there is often an intricate relationship between the many variables, so that it is impossible to hold constant one factor without influencing all the others. So for example, when we consider constant factors as education or "social class" we consider automatically constant many other variables associated with them. Another example of error can be drawn from sampling theory. By the measure of the "standard error" it is possible to determine the importance of a difference or a correlation on condition that we have cases enough and the difference is so great that it cannot be thought accidental. But if there is no difference between the variables, this does not prove that there is really no difference. A third example occurs when there is a series of differences or correlations between related groups of important and unimportant variables. Now if in a matrix of correlations or in a series of measures of differences there are a few correlations or significant differences, can we

say that they are statistically significant? In some cases perhaps we can, but in other cases we cannot; it is necessary to look at the nature of the data and at the meaning of the relationship between the variables. Another question concerns the enthusiasm of American sociologists for non-parametric statistics which it is believed can resolve all the problems of sociological statistics. Really they are different from traditional statistics only because they use a different approach, a mathematical one. Traditional statistics are perhaps stronger, and any hypothesis proved by them, will be proved by the non-parametric statistics too. The opposite is not necessarily so.

V. CASTELLANO: The preferences of sociologists for non-parametric statistics are justified because the hypothesis of the normality of the initial population is often not deepened. It is better to use, in the common language, the term of "population", following Prof. Livi "collectivity", instead of "universe" used by Anglo-Saxon writers which must be reserved for the notion of the totality of the samples.

Professor ROSE (U.S.A.) repeated his opinion that between the two methods there is no important difference, but agreed with Professor Castellano that non-parametric statistics are better in case it is not possible to test the hypothesis of the normality of the initial population.

Professor CASTELLANO: We have now to examine the question suggested by Professor Hill, about the limitation imposed on the analysis of the data by the methods of collection.

REUBEN HILL (U.S.A.): He does not want to speak about sampling methods but about the nature of the data, either primary or secondary ones, and about the direct method in collecting them, by highly structured interviews, or systematic direct observation, or the *indirect* method by questionnaires.

Professor McGINNIS (U.S.A.) gave a brief account of his methods.

Professor FIGA TALAMANCA (Italy): was perplexed about the problem posed by Professor Hill: there are not primary or secondary data, there are only statistical data which always contain the conditions posed at the drawing of the data, conditions which may become more difficult when we put the data in the tables. There is always an "a priori" to the research, not coming from reality: we must decide what we want to verify. Statistics reduce the problem of identification to essentiality, but do not abolish it. Work assumptions, methodological assumptions, formalisation assumptions and at last assumptions implicit in the mathematical contents of the data, are necessary components of the cognitive process.

Professor HILL (U.S.A.): He distinguishes methods of data collection and methods of data analysis; for many years in U.S.A. nobody made this distinction clearly. To-day they are attempting to train their students in making sharp relative judgements at several points in the research process; and they are seeking to make them competent in

building theoretical models. Of course the tighter the model is, the more the data analysis methods are constricted and limited. Relatively few of the problems the sociologists undertake have available secondary data, collected by someone in whom we can have any confidence. To exercise judgement about methods of data collection and description of reality, is not simple, because the range of methods of data collection now available, are quite great. Professor McGinnis used semistructured interviews which permit him to gather data which can be coded into categories, and which lend themselves to statistical treatment, but, certainly, it is not easy to resolve the problem of the compilation of statistically analysable questionnaires. We must, in any case, consider the limitations implicit in every method of data collection.

Professor CASTELLANO considers the difference between primary data and secondary data as the former being those we gather for the purpose we will use them in, the latter, those we gather for another purpose.

Professor HILL agrees with this distinction, but says that secondary data are not only those collected for another purpose, but also by other organisations over which the researcher has no control, and so these data may be sometimes wrong.

Professor EVRARD (Belgium): In his researches in industrial sociology, made for the Institute of Sociology of Liège, he observed two kinds of problems about the use of mathematics. The first concerns the meaning of each of the collected observations and the measure of that meaning. So, when we wish to use "scaling", it raises a series of problems about the meaning of the data in terms of measure. The second problem, much more difficult than the first one, is about theoretical models. We often work bearing in mind unconsciously some models; but their use is insufficient and the models are inadequate in relation to reality.

Professor HILL: Most of the problems in sociology are too imprecise and unclear and so we cannot use theoretical models. We must set up a theoretical scheme of categories of data and indicate the connections from one category to another, and follow the directions of the reciprocal relationships which are in the stage of analysis.

Professor McGINNIS agrees with Professor Hill in the main. But Sociology is not an approximate science without mathematically precise models: many tests of mathematical models of human behaviour have been published. He referred to a collection of works by Professor Lazarsfeld and among these the first volume by Professor Andersen, in which a series of secondary data are analyzed according to the Markov scheme. He also mentioned H. Zetterberg's *On theory and verification in Sociology*, the book *An introduction to finite mathematics*, and especially the work by G. Karlsson, *Social mechanism*, which contains an extensive although incomplete summary of mathematical models in several areas of social research.

The discussion on the second subject was opened by Professor LAZZARI (Italy) who said that usually the researcher fixes in advance the dimensions or variables that he considers relevant for his study. In relatively unexplored research fields such as Social Psychology and Sociology, this is difficult and often not even advisable: the variables selected intuitively and on "a priori" grounds by the researcher can be too many or too few or irrelevant for the description and measurement of the particular phenomenon under study. This is particularly true for various perceptive aspects of behaviour and in the field of attitude research. The multi-dimensional scaling methods aim at the analysis of the dimensionality of stimuli (whatever they are) from the response pattern of the subjects. The typical problem is as follows: given a series of stimuli that vary according to an unknown number of dimensions, determine the minimum dimensionality of the series of the stimuli and their projections (scale values) on each dimension. This procedure is typical also of factor analysis: the two methods differ in that, in the multi-dimensional scaling, it is not the dimensions or attributes previously specified by the researcher and imposed by him on the subjects through the experimental instructions which are identified, but those dimensions determined by the naive pattern of responses of the subjects. Indeed the subjects are requested to make judgements or comparisons among the stimuli without imposing on them a particular criterion. In this way can be reached a general framework of the complex phenomenon under study, determined not on "a priori" grounds, but from the behaviour of the subjects.

The Chairman then asked Professor McGinnis to open the discussion on the third subject.

Professor McGINNIS (U.S.A.): argued that in the non metric case it is not very clear what is meant by association and especially by degree of association. In the case of double dichotomies, with which his paper is concerned, four suggestions are offered as criteria of reasonable measures of association. These are:

- (1) For any measure of association, δ , let $0 \leq \delta \leq 1$
- (2) Let $\delta = 0$ imply and be implied by statistical independence between the variables.
- (3) Let $\delta = 1$ represent the logical canon of necessity but not necessarily of sufficiency.
- (4) Let $k\delta$ imply k times as much "association" as obtains in δ

The first condition requires simply that association between two nominal variables either exists or fails to exist and that to impute an algebraic direction to such association violates the properties of the variables. The second condition requires only that the lower bound of a measure of association be well defined; that it means one thing only. This seems to be simple enough, but many popular measures (including

the correlation coefficient) do not meet it. The third condition can be restated to say that, for maximum association to obtain in a two-by-two contingency table, one cell at a minimum must equal zero. Condition four requires that a measure of association have the properties of a ratio scale so that measures can be compared across contingency tables even though marginal distributions are unequal. This property is satisfied by almost no known measure. A measure is suggested here which appears to satisfy all four conditions. Moreover, it has a reasonably satisfactory sampling variance.

Suppose that a distribution consists of two dichotomies without any underlying metrics. In this case the arrangement of the defining contingency table for the distribution is quite arbitrary. Suppose also that any association which obtains between the measures is logically symmetric, that neither variable has a strict logical precedence over the other. Let such a bivariate distribution be given by:

		A		$\delta_{1.}$
		a_1	a_2	
B	b_1	δ_{11}	δ_{12}	$\delta_{1.}$
	b_2	δ_{21}	δ_{22}	
		$\delta_{.1}$	$\delta_{.2}$	1.0

(1)

$$\text{subject to: } (A) \delta_{11} \geq \delta_{1.} \delta_{.1} \quad (C) \delta_{1.} \leq \delta_{.2}$$

$$(B) \delta_{1.} \leq \delta_{.1} \quad (D) \delta_{ij} \geq 0, \sum_i \delta_{i.} = \sum_j \delta_{.j} = 1$$

The four conditions require no loss of generality since any bivariate distribution with nominal properties can be arranged so as to satisfy them. In the resulting measure the notion of "direction of association" is given by matching the pairs of outcomes along the major diagonal. In the illustration, a_1 will be said to be associated with b_1 and a_2 with b_2 .

It is clear from condition (IA) that δ_{11} must be at least as large as the value which would occur if the two dichotomies were independent. Moreover, from condition (1) it follows that

$$\delta_{1.} \delta_{.1} \leq \delta_{11} \leq \delta_{1.} \quad (2)$$

It is well known that the departure from statistical independence of the matrix (1) is some function of

$$\delta_{11} - \delta_{1.} \delta_{.1} \quad (3)$$

The measure suggested here transforms this random variable into a proportion of its maximum and thereby satisfies all four of the suggested criteria for a satisfactory measure of association. To make this transformation, note that the maximum value of (3) occurs when $\delta_{11} = \delta_{1.}$ which implies that $(\delta_{11} - \delta_{1.} \delta_{.1})_{\max} = \delta_{1.} \delta_{.2}$ (4)

So that the proportion of maximum deviation which is actually observed is given by

$$\hat{\delta} = \frac{\delta_{11} - \delta_{1.} \delta_{.1}}{\delta_{1.} \delta_{.2}} \quad (5)$$

In general, this measure of association has the following properties:

1. $\hat{\delta}$ is determinate in all cases except that in which all values fall in a single row or column.
2. $0 \leq \hat{\delta} \leq 1$ in every case in which $\hat{\delta}$ is determinate.
3. $\hat{\delta} = 0$ if and only if statistical independence obtains in the distribution.
4. $\hat{\delta}$ is directly interpretable as a proportion.
5. A sampling distribution can be constructed.

Suppose that a random sample of size n is drawn from the distribution of (1). Let the outcome be given by

f_{11}	f_{12}	$f_{1.}$	Subject to:	$\frac{f_{1.}}{n} = \delta_{1.}$	(6)
f_{21}	f_{22}	$f_{2.}$		$\frac{f_{2.}}{n} = \delta_{2.}$	
$f_{.1}$	$f_{.2}$	n		$\frac{f_{.1}}{n} = \delta_{.1}$	

With the conditions of (6) the order of rows of the sample matrix is fixed, but the column order is not. In fact, it is not known whether assumption (IA) is true or false. Suppose that an hypothesis suggests that this assumption is correct. It follows that f_{11} is a random variable with values ranging from 0 to $f_{1.}$ in consequence of conditions (IB) and (IC). Since $f_{.2}$ is fixed, f_{11} is a random variable under the condition that event b_1 has occurred. Hence, the governing probability of the random variable is $\frac{\delta_{11}}{\delta_{1.}}$. Finally the probability that f_{11} takes on any value, say k , between 0 and $f_{1.}$ is just

$$\Pr(f_{11} = k) = b(k; f_{1.}, \frac{\delta_{11}}{\delta_{1.}}) \quad (7)$$

from which it follows that

$$E(f_{11}) = n \delta_{11} \quad (8)$$

and

$$\text{Var}(f_{11}) = \frac{n \delta_{11} \delta_{12}}{\delta_{1.}} \quad (9)$$

In order to construct an unbiased estimator of ∂ , under the assumption that condition (IA) is in fact true, let

$$D = \frac{f_{11} - n \cdot \delta_{1.} \cdot \delta_{.1}}{n \cdot \delta_{1.} \cdot \delta_{.2}} \quad (10)$$

Then D is an unbiased estimator of ∂ since, from (6) and (8)

$$\begin{aligned} E(D) &= \frac{1}{\delta_{1.} \cdot \delta_{.2}} E\left(\frac{f_{11}}{n}\right) - \frac{\delta_{.1}}{\delta_{.2}} \\ &= \partial \end{aligned} \quad (11)$$

The variance of D is just a scalar transformation of $\text{Var}(f_{11})$ and is given by

$$\text{Var}(D) = \frac{\delta_{11} \cdot \delta_{12}}{n \cdot \delta_{1.}^3 \cdot \delta_{.2}^2} \quad (12)$$

By the denominator of (12) it is clear that variance increases rapidly as $\delta_{1.}$, the marginal frequency, is allowed to become small. Even with reasonable marginal distributions a relatively large sample is needed if precise inferences about ∂ are to be made.

Briefly, the measure of association has been described which has certain properties that appear to make it potentially useful as a tool of analysis in social science research. It has fairly clear interpretational properties and does not contain pathologies characteristic of certain other similar measures. Finally, an unbiased sampling estimator was constructed and was found to have characteristics which make it reasonable, at least when large samples are being investigated.

The Chairman thought that the measure of the association must always submit to this condition: the association shall follow the marginal distributions formation. If it is contemporary, that is if the marginal distributions have been taken from contingency tables, then the existence of a tendency to unite between two modalities modifies marginal distributions, and so independence table results are altered. The Italian statistical school discussed this point a long time ago.

Professor McGINNIS (U.S.A.): It is assumed that marginal distributions are fixed in any sampling situation, and that the number of marginal frequencies equals zero. The difference about which he spoke in the last section of his communication, is equal to zero independently of marginal distribution, if, and only if, variables A and B are statistically independent.

The Chairman: This is right as to the independence, but not as to the dependence measure.

Professor McGINNIS (U.S.A.): This is right. There is no other measure of association which, regardless of marginal distribution, gives a linear relation between that value and its maximum in a 2-by-2 table. This measure has the advantage that association may be compared directly between two or more tables with different margins. It means that Delta has what is called "A scalar property".

The Chairman: The question is not settled; no index is satisfactory. However it does not concern this measure in particular but measures in general.

Professor McGINNIS (U.S.A.) agrees that this measure does not resolve the question, but it tends more towards a resolution than the other common measures.

Professor LEHMANN (U.S.A.) spoke again about comparison of parametric and non-parametric methods; the latter have for the most part taken the place of traditional statistical methods. It is his purpose to discuss some recent results in mathematical statistics, which have some bearing on the question of which type of test is practical, not only abstractly, but in relation to a specific problem. If two populations must be compared with respect to some particular trait, on the assumption that it is equally distributed in both of them, we take a sample, from both of them, and the hypothesis may be confirmed by Student's tests or by a rank test such as "the Wilcoxon test". The advantages of the latter are: (1) a complete independence from the character distribution; (2) it is simple to compute; (3) it is not sensitive to errors. Then we can apply it when the observations may only be ordered without having actual values. Its most important disadvantage consists in its lack of power. Some work on the comparison of the power of the two tests was done for the first time by Pitman (1949). He called the relative efficiency of one of these tests in comparison to the other the proportion of the number of the observations asked from the two tests to increase the same power for the same alternative. He computed that the strongest efficiency is when the sample is infinity and we have two normal distributions with the same variance: $e = 3/\pi \approx .95$. This surprisingly high efficiency had been confirmed on small samples by Van der Vaart (1950) and on larger samples by Witting (1959). In every case it assumed that the difference between the population is very small. It is logical that the efficiency increases when the differences between the two populations increase. When the alternatives are not normal, the efficiency of the Wilcoxon test, in comparison with t. test, had been shown by Hodges and Lehmann; it is always larger or equal to 0.864. There are besides some cases where this efficiency is infinite. Finally, while in most of the cases the Wilcoxon test is as efficient as t. test, in some cases it is more efficient, and if we consider all its other advantages, we may ask why is it not universally used. It is better not to use it if one is interested in making only a simple test of significance, but the t. test is more

appropriate to measure the size of the differences, if there are some differences, or when one has complex experiments such as a composing for a procedure for multiple decisions. This and other "rank" tests are more appropriate in many cases, and on large samples, than the "Wilcoxon test" but they are more complicated to carry out and more complicated to explain, and they have not yet been investigated as fully.

Professor COLOMBO (Italy) asked (1) if it is possible to treat in sequential procedures the Wilcoxon test as the t. test had been treated; (2) the most recent positions on tables for use of the Wilcoxon test; (3) whether, and in what respects this efficiency depends on any difference between means; (4) whether it can be shown that this efficiency is, or is not, a constant, varying the size, given a true difference between the means. He thinks that efficiency does not vary on changing the size, but it must be some regular change in efficiency, given a true difference.

Professor LEHMANN (U.S.A.) answered the first question by saying he did not know if there is any sequential version of the Wilcoxon test. To (2) that the most recent tables he knows are by Fix and Hodges, which appeared in 1955 in *Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, (26) pp. 301-12 to (3) that it is difficult to resolve; the efficiency would depend to some extent on this alternative and would decrease as the difference gets larger; to (4) he answered that he believes there are small variations and the efficiency is not a constant but it varies very slightly with sample size.

The Chairman called the attention of the members to a point in his introductory note, saying again he does not like the use of the expression "significance of a deviation" because, in fact, the significance a deviation from the mean may have in order to verify an hypothesis, does not depend only upon the size of a deviation. If the possible hypothesis is only one, it is certainly true; if also other hypotheses are possible, the rational selection of one of them requires the consideration of that probability called "a priori" of several hypotheses. The size of the deviation, then, is not significant by itself, and it would be more right to say it is more or less "conformable" to a certain hypothesis.

Professor TALAMANCA (Italy): The topic "Criteria of the statistical delimitation of towns" is important for urban sociology because it is necessary to know the criteria of delimitation for data comparison. At present available statistics are useless for comparison of the data. The question concerning the typical case of the delimitation of a territory in general, is also important in statistical methodology, for the problems concerning the forming of the series in space. Statistical delimitation is the determination of a territorial border which decides which phenomena have to be attributed to the town. This problem is still unsolved but it has been taken up again by the Urban Statisticians Association. Till now it was thought to be concerned with coefficients such as population density. But the people living in a town is not its whole population; statistical units have many locations, residence, work, etc. The phe-

nomenon of daily migrations to work is well known. The areas where this movement is greatest have been regarded as urban. But abstract territorial coefficients cannot be computed before the area has been determined; thus there is a vicious circle. It has been suggested recently (Chevry), that the urban area has to be divided into: central leadership area, suburban area, gravitation area. In these three areas the coefficients we have mentioned have much value, but the question we raised is still open. The town is a place which unites many homogeneous collectivities which together are heterogeneous, but which become homogeneous, giving to the territory the significance of common character. It is necessary also to take into account what is appropriate to improve urban equipment, streets, water supply, telephones, street lighting. The urban territory may be called "that territory where there is localized with continuity one at least of these systems of equipment of territorial connection". The criterion enables us to determine all the connected zones, and to compute some coefficients to divide them into the three great groups shown by Chevry. Thus we have the connected town, the urban district, and the connected town constellation. Some studies made in Rome in 1951, 1956 and 1958 demonstrated the validity of this method.

DOTT. A. PAGANI (Italy): By the proposed method we can resolve the problem of the spatial delimitation of the towns, but not the (perhaps more important) delimitation of the town as an area of influence. We must for example, recognise the complexity of urban society in comparison with statistical criteria. The simplification may be accepted in statistical comparison, but not in the study of the general problem of urbanisation understood as cultural and economic influence. It will be necessary for statisticians to work out a system of criteria which, verified by large studies of communities, may be able to measure the phenomenon of urbanisation.

Professor M. MAROTTA (Italy) agreed that the system proposed by Professor Talamanca, may be satisfactory for Statistics, but not for Sociology, because in the Pattern case it would be necessary to have other indexes besides those for the diffusion of public services. There is an urban-rural "continuum" and the proposed solution, therefore has only a classificatory value. The diffusion of public or private means of conveyance has recently produced some processes of disurbanization, that is a movement of the population out of central areas; and with the persons go also the cultural characteristics of the town. To the question put by Professor Talamanca, whether the territory is a character besides an observation area, it is possible to reply positively, territorial characters, from time to time, are transformed in the psycho-physical characters of the men who live in that territory. The unity of the physical structure of the individuals living in a certain "habitat" is common knowledge. Professor Talamanca asked whether service

connections make easy human relations. The opinions are discordant. According to the classic distinction between primary and secondary groups, urban communities would be included in the second group. We cannot say that the service connections make easy human relations, but rather, they favour secondary and not primary social contacts.

Professor M. MANESCU (Rumania): In Rumania the urban area includes also the villages which are in the economic and social area of the town; in the planned economy this area is larger because the industrialisation process extends to the villages too.

Professor FIGA TALAMANCA (Italy) said that he spoke about three urban zones; the third, the one of gravitation, may have a very large amplitude and it is just the one of influence. The economic and suburban zones comprehend the zones where industries are; there is the true urban zone. Statistics has never been able to help geography and sociology in studying influence zones, because it has never been able to determine them. The variations will never be known without first seeing what happens in the true urban area. It is not a question of data comparability, but essentially of settling the basis to give a statistical collaboration to the studies defined by sociology.

Professor ANDERSON (U.S.A.): Urbanization as the demographers define it, is a movement of people from rural places to urban places, and from rural work to urban work. Urbanisation may be considered as a way of living and cannot be measured by a statistician. It is not possible to measure the movement of urbanism to rural areas; a man can be just as urban if he lives in a farm, and does farm work, or if he lives in a city.

The Chairman observed that the social sciences introduce concepts such as urbanism, more and more difficult, but which are intuitive. When we require a measure, it is necessary to analyse the concept and single out a certain number of variables. This is a general problem and it is sociology's duty to single out the most important variables. Statistics will be able to verify if they are important or if they produce some conclusion.

Professor M. MANESCU (Rumania): The subject of statistical method applied to the study of family budgets is of the widest interest to-day. Family budgets in Rumania are useful to characterize some direct aspects of the level of living, income, expenditure and consumption (according to the different categories of the people), to compute the indexes of the level of living (real wages, cost of living, etc.) and some other indexes. The unit of observation is the family in the case of workers and pensioners, or the agricultural unit in the case of farmers. The families of workers in industry, transport, building trades, agriculture, and also of engineers, technicians, etc. are studied. The selection of places for research is made according to the importance and the

territorial dispersion of the enterprises. The number of employees in each branch of activity, is used to determine the number of budgets to be studied. The selection of the centres for research is followed by the choice of the families or agricultural units. The research is conducted by specialised statisticians of the Central Statistical Directorate. The data collection is by means of forms which the individuals in the sample complete themselves, supplemented by regular interviews 3 or 4 times a month.

The Chairman asked whether the sample was stratified.

Professor MANESCU replied that 3,000 budgets of workers, and other groups were obtained, and the same number of farmers' budgets.

Professor M. MAROTTA (Italy) asked if there were any rationing; if so, the individual who consumed more than the permitted amount could not of course show it in the questionnaire.

Professor M. MANESCU replied that everyone can buy according to his income.

Doctor PAGANI (Italy) asked if a sociologically important phenomenon, that is, who decides about the expenses in the family had been taken into account. Expenditure is an indication of a way of life; therefore it would be interesting to see in connection with the problem of urbanization, if all the members of the family can spend money while in the traditional structures the power to spend belongs only to the head of the family

Professor MANESCU replied that such research had not yet been done.

M. MAROTTA.

SECTION III
SEMINAR ON THE
MATHEMATICS OF SOCIAL THEORY

Chairman: Professor LOUIS GUTTMAN (Israel)

Prepared Discussants: Professor JAMES S. COLEMAN (USA)
Professor SANFORD M. DORNBUSCH (USA)
Dr. JEAN MARIE FAVERGE (France)
Professor LANGERHANS
(German Federal Republic)
Professor PAUL LAZARSFELD (USA)
Dr. H. V. MUHSAM (Israel)
Professor PATRICK SUPPES (USA)

(Rapporteur: Dr. URIEL G. FOA (Israel)

INTRODUCTION OF THE THEME:
THE STRUCTURING OF SOCIOLOGICAL SPACES¹
(LOUIS GUTTMAN)

ONE often discussed aspect of social theory is the concept of level. Some theories are said to be broader and more general than others. Ordering theories implies the existence of a common space in which they may be ordered. It seems questionable whether, at the present stage of our knowledge, such a common space is available. Perhaps there exist different kinds of theories which are not necessarily amenable to a simple order. In any case, the problem of space construction seems to be fundamental in the formulation of a theory of sociological theories. It is also important for relating social theories to empirical data. In the examples to follow, various strategies of approach to the latter problem will be presented.

Example 1: Information, Orientation, and Decision among New Immigrants to Israel. This example is taken from the work of Dr. Judith T. Shuval (1959) on the adjustment of immigrants to life in Israel. The following three variables are considered, each measured by a scale:

- x = Information about Israel in the past
- y = Decision about what to do in Israel in the future
- z = Orientation to Israel in the past

When the immigrants are separated into two groups (Zionists and non-Zionist), by dichotomizing variable z (Orientation), the following partial correlations are found between information and decision:

¹ The research reported here has been sponsored by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research of the Air Research and Development Command, United States Air Force, through its European Office, under Contract No. AF 61(052)-121 with the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research.

For immigrants with Zionist orientation: $r_{xy} > 0$

For immigrants with non-Zionist orientation: $r_{xy} < 0$

This reversal of the sign of the correlation coefficient was exactly predicted by Dr. SHUVAL. In fact her hypothesis was more general and this simple example is merely used as an illustration in order to raise a number of questions pertinent to this type of theory construction. First: how did Dr. SHUVAL arrive at her hypothesis? There is nothing in the formal definition of the variables which suggests the interesting relation she found. The second question dwells with generalization of the hypothesis. The findings relate decision and information of *immigrants* about *Israel* under given conditions of orientation to Israel. The facet *Israel* and the facet *immigrants* are constant in this study. Would the hypothesis hold when instead of immigrants we investigate another population or when, we substitute for Israel another topic or any other topic? If this is the case, the hypothesis would be generalized from the particular Israel situation to others. It is of interest to note that generalization is formally obtained by changing, in the variables precisely these facets which have been held constant in a particular study; in our case *Israel* and *immigrants*.

Example 2: The Definition of Ideologies of Political Parties in Israel. This example is taken from a paper of Goodland (1957). The author defined the political parties of Israel by a Cartesian product of the following five dichotomous facets:

- (A) a_1 Capitalist— a_2 Socialist
- (B) b_1 Activist— b_2 non-Activist (in foreign policy)
- (C) c_1 Pro-Western— c_2 Pro-Russia
- (D) d_1 Zionist— d_2 non-Zionist
- (E) e_1 Religious— e_2 non-Religious

There exist $2^5 = 32$ combinations of these five facets, each defining a hypothetical ideology. However not all the combinations are socially possible. This is because of semantic relations existing between the five facets. For example, a party will not be capitalist and pro-Russia or activist and non-Zionist. GOODLAND hypothesized, correctly, that each of the existing Israel parties correspond to one, and only one, of the remaining possible combinations. Thus all the existing parties are distinguishable points in a subset of the space defined by the Cartesian product of the five facets. GUTTMAN now suggests a further analysis which shows that, when the religious facet is held constant, the existing parties can be ranked from right to left. The four facets other than religion, yield a nearly perfect scale, for the existing ideologies. The sole party which deviates from a perfect scale type, among the non-religious parties, is in fact a splinter party struggling to define its position.

This type of semantic analysis shows that:

1. A space of ideologies for political parties can be constructed.
2. A subspace of socially possible parties can be defined.
3. Israel parties can be located in this subspace.
4. Israel parties can be ordered when the religious facet is held constant.

If the metatheory that political parties tend toward a simple ordering is accepted, the structure found permits certain dynamic predictions. It may be forecast, for example, that, if an issue becomes dead, the two parties distinguished by this issue will tend to merge. One may also predict that a non-scale type will tend to merge with its nearest scale type.

In the above example the analysis has been conducted purely on the semantic level. A purely statistical analysis will be given in the next example.

Example 3: The Relation between Crimes in Seattle. Professor Calvin F. Schmid (1959) has analyzed data on the relation among ten types of crime in Seattle, Washington. The correlation coefficient between each possible pair of crimes has been computed; in total forty-five coefficients. GUTTMAN suggests that it is possible to arrange these coefficients in a table in such a way that a simple order appears among types of crime.

TABLE 1
INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG CRIME RATES IN SEATTLE

Crime	—	4	7	3	10	6	5	8	19	16	17	1
Common drunk	4	—	99	98	94	95	91	92	92	63	49	49
Vagrancy	7	99	—	99	96	97	94	95	95	69	56	57
Drunk	3	98	99	—	97	97	95	96	96	76	63	65
Petty larceny	10	94	96	97	—	95	94	95	95	74	63	67
Disorderly conduct	6	95	97	97	95	—	96	96	96	72	60	63
(other than fighting)												
Fighting	5	91	94	95	94	96	—	96	96	76	66	67
Lewdness	8	92	95	96	95	96	96	—	95	78	67	69
Highway and car	19	92	95	96	95	96	96	95	—	80	70	72
robbery												
Burglary, residence, day	16	63	69	76	74	72	76	78	80	—	96	89
Burglary, residence	17	49	56	63	63	60	66	67	70	96	—	89
night												
Attempted suicide	1	49	57	65	67	63	67	69	72	89	89	—

The pattern appearing in Table 1 is an approximate simplex: the largest coefficients are found along the main diagonal and the coefficients decrease in size as one moves away from the diagonal. If correlation can be taken as an indication of social-statistical distance, some crimes appear to be nearer to each other than others.

In this example the ordering of the crimes has been obtained without semantic structuring of their space. In attempting to explain the order, to give it a meaning, one must however go back to the semantic aspect

of the analysis. Perhaps the ordering is from the less active or shiftless crimes such as common drunkenness and vagrancy to the more active ones: robbery and burglary. According to the data the most active crime seems to be attempted suicide. From the point of view of social theory it would be preferable to start from a semantic analysis and to derive from it hypotheses about the statistical structure.

Example 4: Ordering of Personality Traits. In restudying the data of Rokeach and Fruchter, GUTTMAN finds an approximate simplex exists in the intercorrelation between ten personality traits among 207 college students. The statistical structure was quite similar to the one just described for the crime data of Professor SCHMID. This time the ordering seem to be from reaction to internal stimuli to reaction to environmental stimuli. At one end of the order are traits like self rejection, anxiety, paranoia. At the other end conservatism and left opinionation.

In the last two examples the semantic structure of the spaces was not spelled out but order established retrospectively by inspection of the statistical structure of the results. In the next example, an intermediate type of approach, which is partly semantic and partly statistical, will be presented.

Example 5: Interest in News in Scarperia. Scarperia is a village not far from the city of Florence in Italy. The interest in news about what occurs in several places among 375 habitants of Scarperia was observed by Malcolm McLean (1958) who also computed coefficients of correlation of the degrees of interest in news about any two different places. The following places were included in the study: Neighborhood, Scarperia, Borgo San Lorenzo, Florence, Rome, North Italy, South Italy, United States, United Nations, Russia, China. GUTTMAN suggests an alternative analysis of these data.

Can we expect the correlation coefficients to show a simple ordering similar to that in the previous two examples? One could suggest that people are, in general, more interested in what happens nearby than in what happens in remote places. The concept of remoteness has a clear enough connotation for the places within Italy which were included in the study; Scarperia, e.g. is less remote than the nearby town of Florence. Thus places within Italy could be ranked in order of remoteness. It does not seem easy to do the same for places outside Italy: is USA more or less remote than the USSR or the UNO? The correlation pattern suggests a simple order which, within Italy, corresponds to geographical distance: People who are interested in certain places are also more likely to be interested in places at a small distance from the first one than in places farther away. Thus the results regarding Italian places could be predicted using geographical distance as a criterion, i.e. by observing the map of Italy rather than the data. The finding that, for Italian places, psychological distance corresponds to

geographical distance, can then be used to establish an order of distance among the non-Italian places. This procedure of starting from a limited hypothesis derived from content-wise considerations, checking it with empirical data, then using it to interpret new data, and finally generalizing the hypothesis, is quite common and useful in building a body of knowledge.

In the next and final example a fuller integration of semantic and statistical analyses will be made; the space will be substructured first and the statistical results predicted in advance from the semantics.

Example 6: The Structure of Intergroup Beliefs and Action. In a paper by Bastide and Van Den Berghe (1957) the intercorrelations between four attitudes toward the Negro among the white population of São Paulo, Brazil were studied. These data were re-analyzed by GUTTMAN (1959) and, since the relevant paper has already been published, only some parts of it essential to the present topic will be briefly mentioned here. The four variables considered are:

1. Stereotype (Traits attributed to Negroes as compared with whites)
2. Norm (How whites ought to behave towards Negroes)
3. Hypothetical Interaction (How you would behave towards Negroes in certain hypothetical circumstances)
4. Personal Interaction (How do you behave in actual interaction with Negroes).

This attitudinal space can be substructured by using the following three facets:

- (A) Subjects behaviour, with elements: a_1 belief, and
 a_2 overt action
- (B) Reference, with elements : b_1 subject's group, and
 b_2 the subject himself
- (C) Type of behaviour, with elements : c_1 comparative, and
 c_2 interactive.

On facet A it seems that the first three attitudes are all beliefs (a_1) while the last one is overt action. With regard to facet B, the first two variables refer to the subject's group (b_1), while the last two refer to the subject himself (b_2). For facet C, the first attitude is comparative (c_1), it refers to the Negro as compared to whites, while the others are interactive (c_2). Thus the facet structure of the variables can be spelled out as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
FACET STRUCTURE OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE NEGRO

Attitude	Element of Facet		
	A	B	C
1. Stereotype	a_1	b_1	c_1
2. Norm	a_1	b_1	c_2
3. Hypothetical interaction	a_1	b_2	c_2
4. Personal interaction	a_2	b_2	c_2

The first result of the semantic analysis is to show that the four attitudinal variables of the study are only some of the $2^3 = 8$ variables that can be defined by making all the possible combinations of the elements of the three facets. They have however an important characteristic: their facet profiles show that they form a perfect scale and can therefore be ordered. The meaning of this order seems to be the degree of face-to-face contact with the negroes. This degree is strongest in personal interaction, less strong in hypothetical interaction, still less in the norm and at its weakest in stereotype. The facet pattern shows that the nearest neighbour of Stereotype is Norm: they differ only on facet C. Hypothetical Interaction differs from Norm on facets B and C. Personal Interaction differs from Norm on all three facets. Similarly, Stereotype and Hypothetical Interaction are the nearest neighbours of the norm, differing only on facet C or B respectively, and so on. Facet design shows, therefore, the semantic contiguity of the attitudes.

The problem is now how to use the semantic structure in order to make predictions about the statistical relationship among the points of the substructured semantic space. *The contiguity hypothesis* (Foa, 1958) states that points which are closer semantically will also be closer statistically. It is not suggested that the hypothesis will hold in every case. As a matter of fact it will be important to find out under which circumstances the hypothesis is sustained. In the present example the hypothesis is supported in full. The pattern of intercorrelations between the four variables follows the semantic pattern: correlation is higher between variables which are semantically closer and lower between variables which differ in facet structure. As predicted, the intercorrelation pattern forms a simplex.

The type of theory outlined in the last example is different from the theory of the first example. There the statistical hypotheses were based on no formal substructuring of the space and had no metatheory for linking semantics with the statistics. Here, the semantic structure is first spelled out and the leap to statistical prediction is made through the metatheoretical contiguity hypothesis. Nevertheless, it seems difficult to talk in terms of *level* of theory and to decide whether one theory is higher than the other. As it has been seen in the above examples, semantic ordering of points in space may be possible only when the space is defined and substructured. Even then, ordering may not be possible in many cases.

DISCUSSION OF THE INTRODUCTION

SUPPES: The examples given represent an approach which may prove useful in empirical research, but they do not seem to lead to a theory in the accepted sense of the word. Furthermore the mathematics of the Cartesian product, which have been used in the examples, are a feeble tool for purpose of analysis and prediction. Also the notion of semantic

analysis which has been introduced seems misleading: no real semantic operators are introduced, and the formal analysis rests on sociological experience. It is also difficult to see what use can be made, in the political parties example, of the simple order obtained. Would it prove useful, e.g., for the prediction of voting behaviour?

With regard to the level of theories it seems that at least a partial ordering exists. It may be possible to build one theory on another as in physics.

LAZARSFELD: The term "theory" may be too ambitious for the type of analysis presented in the introduction. On the other hand it should be recognized that this type of work is necessary at the present stage of development and may well lead to more basic and refined concepts. In a study of the reading habits of some thousands of women in the American Middle-West data were obtained similar to the ones presented in the introduction. Namely magazines could be ordered in terms of their intellectual level without need to substructure the sample space. On the other hand GUTTMAN has indicated, in the two examples on crime and personality, that additional facet analysis is required in order to account for the ordering. The difference between statistical results which can be interpreted immediately and results requiring further facet analysis is not clear.

It is also suggested that the correlation used in the Shuval's study should be called *conditional* rather than partial to stress heteroscedasticity. This may help bring the phenomenon to the attention of the sociologists who may often overlook it.

LANGERHANS: Some criteria for ordering theories may be suggested, such as the following ones:

1. Order of magnitude of the population (from small groups to large systems)
2. Range of applicability
3. Building one theory on top of another as SUPPES suggested. Game theory, statistical decision theory, linear programming seem good examples of this possibility.

It seems also that new mathematical concepts will have to be developed in order to deal with the complex problems of social research.

GUTTMAN: Since we do not have a general framework for a theory of theories, it seems useful to use examples for pointing out differences which are not necessarily orderable. What is important is to start from the notion of a set. Every sociological theory uses sets of points, at least implicitly. But this should be made explicit. It is necessary to know what belongs to a given set and what does not. Otherwise the choice of points becomes arbitrary. We need rules for this operation, not formal, as yet, but semantic or rather sociological. This may lead

to the development of more refined concepts. The Cartesian product is "feeble" because of its generality. In this sense any general theory is "feeble." In any event, there is still much scope left for work at this feeble level before we may be able to reach higher levels. Criticism of the Cartesian product reminds me of the criticism of the rank order which was heard in the past. Yet there is a tendency today to abandon more refined metrics because one gets nearly the same results anyhow in prediction work. Refinements are good after the foundations have been laid. We still are in this fundamental stage.

LAZARSFELD's example of magazine reading illustrates the importance of substructuring the space. The simple order obtained from the statistical analysis may provide some information on the type of readership reached by a certain magazine, but substructuring (on content of magazine, style of writing, etc.) would provide much more information. This would give recipes for magazines which do not exist. Substructuring also permits to generate more general theories as shown in some of the examples given.

The level criteria suggested by LANGERHANS imply a good deal of substructuring in order to obtain different levels of theory. Constant facets are also required for each specific theory. Utility, for example, may be a constant facet of game theory. In sociology we still lack concepts which can be transferred from problem to problem. At least it is not quite clear what constant facets should be used in most of our work.

THE EQUILIBRIUM SIZE DISTRIBUTION OF FREELY-FORMING GROUPS

(JAMES S. COLEMAN)

The probabilistic model presented attempts to describe how people form groups of different sizes in a situation where group formation is free. It has been observed, indeed, that the size distribution of small groups in a natural situation drop off sharply and apparently with some regularity, as the size of the group increases. John James reported in 1953 some data on the size of freely-forming groups such as the following ones, referring to the groups observed on a spring afternoon in Portland, Oregon:

Size of group	Number of groups
1	1486
2	694
3	195
4	37
5	10
6	1
Total:	2423

This regularity, relating frequency to size, suggests a simple model of acquisition and loss of group members, which might explain the form of the size distribution.

The model constructed is based on the following assumption:

1. The states of the model represent the number of persons in the group. Thus a group may be in the state 1, 2, 3, etc.
2. Each person has the same probability per unit time of dropping out of a group, independently of the size of the group. Thus the probability that a group will lose a member is proportional to the size of the group.
3. Each single person has the same probability of joining a group, independently of the size of the group. Thus the probability that a group will be joined by a single person is proportional to the number of single persons available.

These assumptions lead to a basic differential equation stating the change in the probability that at a given time a group will be of a given size (i.e. in a given state). This change is obviously the net result of the probability of losing and acquiring members. For example the change in probability for a group of size 3 is given by:

1. The probability that groups of size 4 will lose one member, plus
2. The probability that groups of size 2 will acquire one member, less
3. The probability that groups of size 3 will either lose or acquire one member.

At the present stage no attempt was made to examine the dynamic properties of the process, but only to analyze the distribution of statistical equilibrium. When such equilibrium exists, the proportion of each group size is constant. This could result from the fact that, in each size, gain compensates the loss. It can be shown, however, that such an assumption of compensating disequilibrium produces a contradiction. Thus, when statistical equilibrium exists, there must be equal flows between each pair of adjacent group sizes (e.g. sizes two and three).

The equilibrium distribution derived from the process was tested against sets of observations of natural situations in which small clusters of people occur. Out of a total of twenty-three sets the model fits quite well nineteen of them, suggesting that the assumed process is in fact operating. On the basis of estimates of the single parameter of the model, which is the acquisition-to-loss ratio, several regularities appear concerning the size of such ratio in different situations: different seasons, different age groups, different activities. It seems possible also that this model might account for size distributions among much larger groups. In particular the model could possibly explain the size regularities of cities which have been observed within a country and in different countries as well.

More severe testing of the model requires controlled experiments varying population density and kind of activity and observing groups over time. It is also possible to modify the model by introducing the contagion assumption, that is the assumption that a person is more likely to join a large group than a small one, or other assumptions as well. These future developments may permit the uncovering of the specific form of very general processes in social psychology, processes which have long ago been identified, but which have never been specified as to their precise form. Once the form of such a process is fixed, then the process can be used as a building block, whose precise mathematical form is known, in models which link together a set of interdependent processes.

DISCUSSION

SUPPES: The model seems to be a good example of the application of mathematics to sociology. This is a process model which helps in conceptual thinking. However a more powerful test of the goodness of fit of the model would require the investigation of sequential properties. It would be necessary to make repeated observations at given times. There are experimental problems in such testing: e.g. the identification of groups over time. A discrete formulation in terms of a Markov chain seems better suited to dynamic analysis than the differential equations used by COLEMAN. This would also facilitate the statistical estimation of the parameters.

It may be difficult to interpret the model in terms of behaviour theory but its similarity to the learning models of Bush and Mosteller is quite apparent. They may have little psychological content, but they are useful tools which may help reaching later a more conceptual model.

MUHSAM: The usefulness of the model seems clear, but one has to be careful with statistical testing. The χ^2 used for testing goodness of fit has low power. Further a full test of the model would require dynamic experiments and the setting up of alternative hypotheses.

LAZARSFELD: Would the Markovian chain, suggested by SUPPES, lead to the same equilibrium state as the differential equations of COLEMAN?

SUPPES: One would expect nearly the same results but statistics could be more easily computed.

COLEMAN: Both discrete and continuous formulations have advantages. Some examples in the physical sciences seem to indicate that continuous formulation is preferable. One should be also careful in distinguishing between the form of the *process* and the form of the *observation*. It is possible to have discrete observations of continuous processes.

GUTTMAN: The decision as to which formulation is best should not depend merely on mathematical convenience, but rather should be an automatic result of the more basic specifications of the sociological set over which the fundamental probability measure is defined.

SUPPES: If the model is defined, then the sample space is also defined and so is the probability measure.

TYPES OF FORMALIZATION IN SMALL GROUPS RESEARCH²

(Paper by JOSEPH BERGER, BERNARD COHEN, J. LAURIE SNELL and MORRIS ZELDICH, Jr., presented by M. DORNBUSCH)

In recent years, there has been considerable interest in the construction of mathematical models to describe small group phenomena. Because of the wide variety of different types of models which have been employed, it seems desirable to order the types of formalization that have appeared and to clarify some of their functions and characteristics. The three types of formalization considered will be called:

1. Explanational models
2. Representational models, and
3. Explanatory construct models.

Each of these types seems to be particularly appropriate to a different stage in the development of substantive knowledge. The goals of formalization may differ at different stages of the research process: hence, by indicating the link between the function of a type of formalization and the state of substantive knowledge, it is hoped to provide a basis for choosing the most fruitful approach to model construction.

The explicative model has the primary purpose of the explication of part or all of an existing, unformalized, substantive theory. It also serves to: (1) clarify ambiguities in the original conceptualization; (2) provide a mean for generalizing and refining it; and (3) for determining the implications of the original substantive notions. Heider's theory of Structural Balance, as formalized by Cartwright and Harary (1956) in terms of linear graphs theory, is an example of explicational model. The formalization starts from a definition of balance and is then able to clarify some ambiguities in the original theory such as the distinction between the complement of a relation and its opposite. Formalization also permits to generalize Heider's theory from three entities to larger systems. Further refinements were introduced later by Morrisette (1958). Finally formalization permitted to uncover

² This research was supported by the Social Science Research Council and the National Science Foundation.

implications of the theory of balance which were not evident in the original formulation. The example of Cartwright and Harary suggests that in building an explicatory model, one should make use of concepts which are already embodied in a substantive theory. Otherwise his concepts will be useful only if and when such a theory is developed later.

The primary function of a *representational model* is to provide precise description of a given social phenomenon, on which a body of data exists. Thus the model permits a formal statement of relationships about the phenomenon. Such a model should be more parsimonious than the original formulation and should also suggest how to vary systematically the experimental situation created for the study of the phenomenon. An example of this type of model is represented by Cohen's model (1958) for the study of conformity behaviour along the lines of Asch's experiments. Cohen's model retains the essential features of the original work of Asch. Essentially the model is based on the view that the conformity experiment imposes a conflict on the subject between a tendency to respond to internal pressure and a tendency to yield to social pressure. The model attempts to describe the resolution of the conflict and to predict the responses of the subject. The model is characterized by a four-states Markov chain with constant transitional probabilities. These probabilities are the underived quantities of the model, from which other quantities are derived. The relationship between the derived quantities is analyzed in the model. The transitional probabilities need not to be the same for every subject and they may well change for different personalities and for other features of the situation. In this way the model suggests how to design experimental testings. It should be noted that the construction of models of this type need not to be based on the formalization of a theoretical rationale, even if the builder may be guided by considerations of a theoretical nature in his formulation.

On the other hand the third type, the *explanatory construct model*, has the purpose of describing formally an explanatory theory for a given process. This incorporation and formalization of an explanatory theory and the possibility it gives to equate and differentiate a variety of experimental situations, are precisely the features which distinguish the third type of model from the second one. An example of explanatory construct model is the learning model of Estes and Burke (1953). This model assumes that:

1. The subject response is determined probabilistically by a set of stimulus elements.
2. Before responding the subject samples a certain subset of the set of stimulus elements.
3. When the outcome becomes known to the subject all of the elements in the set sample become connected to the reinforced response.

The transitional probabilities of the model are functions of the probability of sampling an element and of the probability of reinforcement. When the number of initial connections is known the process becomes completely specified. The type of formalization of Estes and Burke can be used in a great variety of situations. Another feature of this formalization is that the basic quantities of the model can be identified with concepts of the substantive theory. This is not the case in Cohen's model which belongs to the representative type. The explanatory construct model imposes severe restrictions on the builder, but it serves as a mean for developing a more refined and more general theory.

In summary, it is important to recognize that formalization must be guided by the state of knowledge or research with respect to a given substantive problem.

DISCUSSION

SUPPES: The stimulus sampling theory can be applied to the study of Asch's experiments. Two parameters are required: the parameter of perceptual reinforcement, and the parameter of social reinforcement. When the initial probability distribution of the responses and the probability that the experiment will or will not reinforce a given response are known, the two parameters completely determine the process, i.e. the prediction of the behaviour of the subject becomes possible.

LANGERHANS: What is the difference between the first and second type of models?

DORNBUSCH: The first model is concerned with the refinement and simplification of a theory in early stage of development. The second type may help to understand a body of research findings which cannot be accounted for by one simple theory.

ON UNIDIMENSIONAL SCALES

(J. M. FAVERGE)

The great importance of elaborating unidimensional scales has been recognized by sociologists since the work done by Dr. GUTTMAN; therefore it is by no means necessary here to advocate these scales; but it is timely to return to the very concept of unidimensionality or of homogeneity, as these terms are very often used with various meanings which require clarifications.

Galois Lattices in Scale Analysis. It may be mentioned that attempts have been made recently—Guilbaud, Flamen—to apply modern algebra in order to do scale analysis. Thus Guildbaud suggested that the empirical manipulation on the scalogram-board may possibly be re-

placed by automatic operations on machines which could set up Galois lattices. Of course, Guilbaud's remarks should be investigated more thoroughly to be applied; in particular one should consider both the lattice of the crosses and the lattice of the empty cells, and be able to extract orders minimizing the sum of errors of both kinds.

Methods of Correlation. Methods for the internal study of tests have been used for many years and it seemed natural to apply them to the field of scales. They are, as one knows, based on computation of item-test or inter-item correlations. However, it can be objected that the conditions of validity imply assumptions on the existence of metrics and the nature of distributions; such an objection appears to be serious from many points of view. When it comes to evaluating the inter-item correlations, the tetrachoric coefficient has been accused of assuming a normal distribution; in consequence J. Loevinger suggested instead the coefficient:

$$H_{hk} = \frac{p_{hk} - p_h p_k}{\min(p_h, p_k) - p_h p_k}$$

In fact, we must consider that each question operates a dichotomy on a variable, and we must expect the value of an inter-item coefficient to be independent of the level of dichotomies in the underlying bivariate distribution. The tetrachoric coefficient meets this requirement if the distribution is supposed to be normal. In the case of H_{hk} , it can be shown that the required property is met if and only if the underlying distribution has another specific form. So the H_{hk} coefficient—as well as the tetrachoric—requires a precise form for the underlying distribution and, if compelled to choose, one would find it more reasonable to decide in favour of normality, rather than another somewhat unrealistic distribution.

A Probability Model. The difficulties of evaluating deviations from a scale pattern are well known. They may be avoided by a probabilistic model which covers the non-scaling responses instead of ignoring them. We shall define a set of parameters p_{ij} , where p_{ij} denotes the probability that subject i will give a positive response to question j : as well as the responses, these parameters can be represented in a two-way- subjects and questions- table. We shall assume that the parameters thoroughly characterize the model, and that, in particular, no further parameters have to be brought in as conditional probabilities, i.e. the probability that subject i gives a positive response both to questions j and j' will be $p_{ij} p_{ij'}$ and the probability of a positive response to j' does not depend on the response to j .

The model requires a sufficiently precise estimation of the parameters p_{ij} . Now, if a category i of n_i subjects have the same parameters p_{ij} , it will be possible to estimate p_{ij} by the relative frequency f_{ij} of the positive responses given by the n_i subjects to ques j ; thus grouping

subjects into classes appears to be basic for the problem of estimation. The grouping of subjects into classes can be tested by analysing whether responses to a pair of questions are independent within the group. Independence, as one knows, is the basic assumption of LAZARSFELD's latent class analysis, so we may speak of a grouping in the sense of LAZARSFELD.

Ordering subject categories. In a second stage, we must study the structure of subject classes or categories, *we shall speak of unidimensionality if in the matrix an order structure can be found, inducing a total order among subject categories.* Clearly GUTTMAN's case is but a particular case of this structure. The correlation method leads to another particular case: for, if the factor analysis of the questions is as in Speraman's case, categories are determined by the different values of the common factor g , the p_{ij} increase with g and the correlations between questions vanish when g is held constant. The two previous situations are particular cases of a general one, in which the rows of the p_{ij} matrix can be arranged so that within each column, the p_{ij} grow less from the first to the last row; such an order, partial for the matrix as a whole, but total in each column, induces a corresponding order among the categories.

DISCUSSION

SUPPES: Criteria are necessary for judging whether empirical data do or do not scale.

GUTTMAN: We may be more interested in a distance function, rather than in tetrachoric and other bivariate coefficients, such as Loevinger's. When there are more than two variables the matrix of such coefficients need not to be Gramian and this leads to difficulties: for example the computation of partial and multiple correlation coefficients may produce in such case absurd results.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

(PAUL LAZARSFELD)

The very short time which is left does not permit to summarize certain studies made at Columbia University which seem to be relevant to the topics which have been discussed here. The problem of these studies can be indicated by an example. Suppose an election is approaching. Some people have intention of voting D (democratic) and some other of voting R (republican). Also some people approve issues which can be labelled as democratic, while others approve of republican issues. This gives rise to the following four groups of people:

Voting	Issue
D	D
D	R
R	D
R	R

The observations are then repeated at a later time and the four groups of respondents are again obtained. Now the responses at time 1 can be plotted against the responses at time 2 in a 4×4 table. The simple inspection of this table is instructive in itself: On the main diagonal are found people who have not changed in the interval from time 1 to time 2. On the minor diagonal are found those who have changed both on voting intentions and issues. On other cells are found those who have harmonized the voting intentions with the issue. Harmonization may occur either by changing the voting intention or by changing the issue. What happens here may indicate whether the issues are chosen according to party loyalty or whether the intention to vote for a certain party is determined by the issues supported by this party.

It seems possible that the process of change may be described by a model similar to COLEMAN'S. But these may be changed back and forth, and, if the times of observation are not properly spaced, this may result in a misleading picture in which compensatory moves are missed. It seems that the system tends toward a terminal state with stable marginals. It is of interest to devise mathematical model for describing the change, but it seems likely that simultaneous equation will not do. Repeating observations over time may solve a great deal of talk about dialectics. It also helps clarifying the relationship between the factors involved in the process.

U. G. FOA

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SECTION III
SEMINAR ON THE APPROACHES OF SOCIAL
ANTHROPOLOGY

Chairmen: Professor G. BALANDIER (France) and
Professor MAX GLUCKMAN (UK)

Prepared Discussants: Professor R. BASTIDE (France)
Professor GERMAINE DIETERLEN (France)
Professor F. EGGAN (USA)
Professor W. F. WERTHEIM (Netherlands)
Dr. P. M. WORSLEY (UK)

INTRODUCTORY PAPERS (ABSTRACTS)

MAX GLUCKMAN (University of Manchester)

*THE DEVELOPMENT OF "THE CASE METHOD" IN BRITISH
SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY*

I here discuss changes in the use of ethnographic data in Britain; and I must make clear at once that I am not suggesting this is the only fruitful line of advance in the subject. Other methods—notably the comparative method—must be used.

A science has two sides to it; its data and its theory. I consider that modern British anthropology owes its most notable development to a change in the type of data it analyses: and here its debt is to MALINOWSKI, who developed the detailed observation of small areas of social life, and the rule that interpreters must not be used. MALINOWSKI in the Trobriands made his observations in this way, and all his works argue that tribal social life and institutions were much more complex than they were thought to be by earlier anthropologists (who depended on other types of data), and that the theories of these anthropologists were therefore naive. MALINOWSKI's works are rich in field data, and what he called "cases", though he never developed a systematic view of society to handle these adequately. This systematic view has been developed by his successors, the generation of social anthropologists to which I belong.

We, however, continued to use our "cases" in much the way that MALINOWSKI did, by what I have elsewhere called "the method of apt illustration". Under this method we analysed a general outline of the culture, or the social system, according to our main theoretical bent; and then used the apt and appropriate case to illustrate specific customs; principles of organisation, social relationships, etc. Each case was selected for its appropriateness at a particular point in the argument; and cases coming close together in the argument might be derived from the actions of quite different groups or individuals. There was no regul-

arly established connection between the series of incidents in cases cited at different points in the analysis, though when incidents affecting the same persons were used at different points, careful anthropologists made cross-references. Another technique of presentation was to describe a "case" at the beginning of an analysis, and then to extract the general rule of custom or social relationship from it. Clearly the more complex the case, the more could be extracted from it. We called these complex events "social situations", and we used the actions of individuals and groups within these situations to exhibit the morphology of the social structure. But we were still aiming to present an analysis of the social morphology, and not an analysis of the process of social life through a series of situations within the control of social morphology, a biological frame, an environment, etc.

I believe this work to have been a most important, and probably an essential, stage in the development of social anthropology, and of our knowledge of the tribal peoples. Faced with an enormous variety of ecological relations, of grouping, and of culture, we had to provide a systematic morphology of the forms of tribal society; and in doing this, we developed the monographic analysis to a high peak of excellence. The monographs of this period are outstanding advances on anything previously written about tribal peoples, and they have illuminated in general theoretical terms a whole series of problems in the political field, economic activities, domestic relations, ritual systems, etc. Nevertheless, it is striking that many of our pupils, in their attempt to examine more closely the actual process by which persons and groups live together within a social system, under a culture, having begun to employ a series of connected "cases" within the same area of social life. I believe that they have thus already greatly altered our view of the working of some institutions, and deepened our outstanding of the significance of all custom. They have even coped with what MALINOWSKI dismissed as accidental quarrels and individual differences of temperament, and are bringing to the monographic analysis some of the penetration which Freud brought to the study of the human personality. In doing this, they still present general systematic analysis of social structure, but they complicate the analysis by feeding in more and more of the discrepant, and indeed conflicting, principles which we now know exist within even the repetitiveness of a stationary social system. A series of interconnected cases, thus used, shows the development and change of social relations among the persons and groups concerned, acting within their social system and culture. In the end, under this method, quite a different picture of a social system emerges—a more complex, less rigid, less highly interconnected picture.

The fruitfulness of the new method has already been demonstrated in several fields—e.g. Freedman's study of Chinese lineages, Stenning's of the relation between domestic groups and herds of cattle among the

Fulani. I cite summarily developments in our understanding of systems of witchcraft, oracles and magic, since Evans-Pritchard in 1936 first illuminated them by his study of the Azande. He demonstrated that behind accusations of witchcraft lay a philosophy of causation and a philosophy of morality, and that the types of persons accused depended on the particular social structure. This last analysis was made in fairly general terms. The Krige's study of the Lovedu drew attention more strongly to the importance of those relationships from which accusations are excluded. The most significant development was in Mitchell's study of the Yao: after he had discussed types of accusation, his argument reaches its climax in an eight-page record of the manner in which accusations of witchcraft operated through six years in the personal and sectional relations of a single Yao village. We learn that individuals act on their own, or combine with different allies according to changing pressures and shifting values, in making accusations, to further their ambitions and satisfy their sense of rightness. Marwick followed this up with an important article on the Chewa, while MONICA WILSON was independently arriving at a similar analysis among the Nyakyusa. The method was pushed further by TURNER among the Ndembu, where he shows how a great variety of custom and belief, including patterns of accusations of witchcraft and divinations of ancestral wrath, etc., operate in the repetitiveness of pattern and the changes occurring within villages and neighbourhoods.

In conclusion, I note that corresponding developments in quantitative analysis give some control on typicality; but that major problems bearing on the reliability of historical data from informants remain to be solved.

FRED EGGAN (University of Chicago)

THE USE OF ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES

In certain respects the situation in America with regard to the development of social anthropology is a mirror image of that in Britain. Whereas modern British social anthropology started with RADCLIFFE-BROWN and MALINOWSKI in the 1920's, with a major emphasis on structural and functional theory, the American development under FRANZ BOAS was in terms of culture and with a strong historical interest. While we received an injection of social anthropology in the 1930's, primarily from RADCLIFFE-BROWN, only since the war has there been any considerable shift in the United States in the direction of social anthropology.

In this same period in Britain there have been major advances in social anthropological theory, primarily based on the formulations of RADCLIFFE-BROWN. It is of interest, therefore, to find that Professor GLUCKMAN regards MALINOWSKI as "the real father of modern British

anthropology," mainly because of the revolution he wrought in the collection of ethnographic data.

In the United States a similar revolution was brought about much earlier by FRANZ BOAS, who also worked through the native language and whose documentation of Kwakiutl life is at least as detailed as MALINOWSKI's on the Trobriands, though largely in the form of native texts. Boas was repelled by the excesses of evolutionary thought in the 19th century, and by the reformatory programs of the sociology of his era; the program of research on the American Indian which he began was primarily historical in character and emphasized the collection of ethnographic data as a basis for the testing of current theories with regard to processes of cultural development.

The first generation of Boas' students devoted much of their efforts to the task of ordering the growing data on the American Indian in tribal and regional contexts. They showed relatively little interest in social structure and put their major emphasis on an analytical treatment of culture and an interpretation in terms of history and process. When more general explanations were sought they were in terms of psychology rather than in sociology; SAPIR, and later BENEDICT and MEAD, began the emphasis on personality studies which still characterizes much of American anthropology. When social anthropology was injected into the American scene in the 1930's there was a violent reaction. As a result of the arguments over "functionalism" much of social anthropological theory became familiar to anthropologists in the United States, but was grafted onto a wider base.

Professor GLUCKMAN finds the key to the Malinowskian revolution in what he calls "cases"—collections of behavior around particular events—which Malinowski used to illustrate or elucidate general statements. He characterizes the work of Malinowski and his students as the "method of apt illustration." and finds this method adequate if we are interested in outlining the culture—or even the social morphology of the society; but clearly inadequate if we are trying to analyze the total process of social life. His suggested remedy is not so much *more* case material but rather a *different kind* of case material. Essentially what he is asking for is case material seen over time—the series of specific incidents affecting the same set of persons over a long period and how these incidents relate to changing social relationships within the framework of their society and culture.

American anthropologists will welcome this new interest in time perspective on the part of their British colleagues, as well as their renewed interest in ethnographic detail. But there are some complications to Professor GLUCKMAN's proposal to concentrate all our attention on case materials seen over time. If we are to concentrate our attention on fewer people in a more limited social setting, but over a longer period of time, the problem of sampling becomes of much greater importance. A

related problem concerns the scope of the "case" which is the center of analysis. Like its counterpart, the "culture complex," it is not easy to define. As used by Malinowski this is not a serious problem. But if changing social systems are being analyzed over time some determination of boundaries is essential; this is particularly important in bilateral societies where the social network may not have clearcut boundaries or easily demarcated units.

In the United States, since the war, there has been a gradual acceptance of the concepts and methods of social anthropology without an abandonment of traditional interest. In my own work I have been particularly concerned with combining the social anthropological concepts of structure and function with the ethnological concepts of process and history. My research program at Chicago is concerned with the study of social systems in different societies over time, and attempts to study the processes of social and cultural change by what might be called the method of controlled comparison. In our research on the Hopi Indians, for example, we have the advantage of a long archeological and historical record, and the possibility of studying comparatively a dozen small Hopi villages in different stages of social and cultural change. With them are the linguistically separate Tewa who came to First Mesa in 1700 A.D. and are not yet assimilated. More recently, in the Philippines we have been studying bilateral social systems in the Mountain province and in the Christian lowlands which have produced some unexpected forms of social structure.

A wide range of other studies may only be mentioned. Kluckhohn's Ramah Project is designed to furnish a detailed record on a series of Navaho from childhood to maturity and already has furnished an impressive series of reports. Murdock's *Social Structure* demonstrates that similar social systems are frequently found in various parts of the world. And Redfield's studies of the social and cultural changes involved in the transition from folk to peasant to urban life are being carried on by a large number of students and colleagues.

These few examples suggest that in the field of social anthropology we are still experimenting with both method and subject matter. We admire our British colleagues but we think they may have crystallized their methods and procedures too soon. There is no question but that British and American points of view are growing closer, but there is still a considerable way to go.

W. F. WERTHEIM (University of Amsterdam)

SOCIETY AS A COMPOSITE OF CONFLICTING VALUE SYSTEMS

The view of non-literate society generally held by the classical social anthropologists was one of a well-integrated structure. Though the

existence of conflicts was, of course, never denied, society was looked upon as an essentially organic whole, in which each element has its special function, in harmony with a value system commonly accepted as a basis of social hierarchy. Accordingly, the functioning of a society is being described in synchronic terms, whereas diachronic elements are only taken account of in so far as they produce a change in the overall structure of society.

Gradually, social anthropologists are becoming aware of the existence of elements within each society which are contrary to the notion of complete harmony. Social anthropologists are at present much less convinced than the leading scholars of the past generation, that non-literate societies should be looked upon as models of a harmonious well-integrated structure.

The author would suggest that no human society is a completely integrated entity. In any community there are hidden or overt forms of protest against the prevalent hierarchical structure. In general a more or less dominant set of common values can be discerned—else the society would not have sufficient cohesive power to subsist. But beneath the dominant theme there always exist different sets of values, which are, to a certain degree, adhered to among certain social groups, and which function as a kind of counterpoint to the leading melody.

In general those counterpoints only manifest themselves in some veiled form—for example, in tales, jokes and myths, which give expression to the deviant sets of values. From the fact that the contrary set of values expresses itself in an institutionalised form it can be deduced that it is not merely an individual expression of protest against an over-rigid cultural pattern, but a group protest which has a certain sociological meaning. On the other hand, in diverting the contrary elements into an institutionalised form, the society at the same time canalises those forces and prevents them from becoming disruptive factors for the overall social structure. In so far the institutionalising process may be called an integrative function of society. But the basic protest elements remain dormant and may resume, under circumstances favourable to them, their tendency to produce a basic change within the dominant structure. Therefore, any description of a given society has to take account of the deviant value systems as basic elements in the total fabric of social life.

The author illustrates this argument with a few peculiarities from Balinese society.

For a further illustration of the "counterpoint" concept he takes at random a few examples from other societies. The special attraction of the Uylenspiegel type of tales for the common people springs from the fact that all the official values are turned upside down and that the

popular hero ridicules and denies the formal hierarchy of his society and still gets away with it.

Another popular kind of expression of elements of social protest is to be found in religious movements all over the world. While the dominant system of hierarchy finds expression in religious forms as well, the underground protest against the dominant system equally seeks an outlet in religious forms. Recent analysis of Messianic cults all over the world has revealed a wealth of materials on the protest element inherent in many of those movements. Under conditions of colonial rule these religious movements assume the role of rallying forces in opposition to the official hierarchy, in a situation where overt opposition would be severely suppressed.

Some of the foregoing illustrations, as for example the Messianic cults mentioned earlier, could also serve to reveal the role which the dormant protest elements may play in promoting social change. The institutionalisation of the protest is used as a temporary expedient for those in power to restrict its disruptive force. But under favourable circumstances the protest may gather force and break through the culturally accepted patterns which kept it within its institutional bounds. In fact, the disguised protest element may contain the germ of future rebellion or revolution. The dynamic processes of change can never be understood, if the opposing value systems within the society are not taken into full account.

If the counterpoint concept could help us to a better comprehension of dynamic change in the non-Western world, it seems probable that it might equally contribute to our insight into dynamic change within modern Western society.

Lloyd Warner's view of social stratification as an objective reality to be established by a strict methodology, has been much criticised lately. The author would suggest that value systems have to be interpreted as psychical realities, accepted in different shades of intensity among definite segments of society. There may be something like an all-pervading dominant value-system, to be interpreted in more or less hierarchical terms. But these subjective realities are balanced by the existence of equally important sets of subjective value-systems opposed to the dominant one and upheld by different sections of society. In many marginal individuals or sections the competitive sets of values are operative as a source of inner conflict or insecurity.

It would appear, then, that a structural model of this type could help us to a better insight into dynamic social change than the concept of an objectively existing, universally accepted stratification system within a "national society". In order to be able to cope with the dynamic elements of society, we have to develop a conceptual framework which does justice to these fluid elements—in fact a dynamic type of analysis.

Finally the author would suggest that the foregoing observations imply the necessity of a new approach to field research. We should not primarily look for the inherent structure of a given society, but for the value systems adopted in different layers of society. We have, in the first place, to learn how members of different segments of society look upon society as a whole. The division of society might even be based upon a distinction as to the value systems accepted. Instead of searching exclusively for integrative expedients, we should with equal intellectual force try to detect strains and conflicts in society, as possible agents in future change. Therefore, a description of the structure of society in purely synchronic terms, seems basically inadequate, as conflicting value systems can only be understood in a diachronic perspective.

According to William H. Whyte, for the Lloyd Warner school "conflict, change, fluidity—these are the evils from which man should be insulated". The modern social anthropologist—and sociologist, for that matter!—should ask himself, whether these very "evils" should not be viewed as the deepest sources of human progress.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

Le groupe de travail consacré aux problèmes de méthodes dans l'anthropologie sociale a pris pour thème central de discussion les relations entre anthropologie sociale et sociologie. Deux orientations principales avaient été retenues. D'une part le groupe se proposait d'évaluer les progrès réalisés dans la collecte, l'utilisation et le "traitement" des matériaux d'enquête anthropologique; ce qui conduisait à une discussion générale sur l'évolution des méthodes et des théories spécifiques de l'anthropologie sociale. Trois rapports ont constitué le point de départ d'une telle discussion: ceux du Professeur Georges Balandier, "Note sur le traitement des données ethnographiques dans les travaux de langue française", du Professeur F. EGGAN, "The Use of Ethnographic Data in Social Anthropology in the United States", et du Professeur MAX GLUCKMAN, "The Use of Ethnographic Data in Anthropological Analyses in Britain". D'autre part, le groupe de travail se proposait d'examiner les résultats obtenus par les tentatives de saisie de la réalité sociale sous l'angle des conflits et des dynamismes qu'elle recèle; la discussion sur la notion de conflit a été ouverte par le rapport du Professeur W. F. WERTHEIM, "Society as a Composite of Conflicting Value Systems". Les échanges de vues concernant les deux thèmes se sont trouvés étroitement mêlés. Les séances de travail ont été présidées par les Professeurs G. BALANDIER et M. GLUCKMAN. Sont intervenus dans la discussion, outre les rapporteurs, dont les noms ont déjà été mentionnés: Mme Dieterlen, MM. Little, Mercier, Teuscher, Worsley.

Cette discussion a conduit à un large examen des "révolutions" qui ont marqué l'histoire de l'ethnologie ou de l'anthropologie sociale. "Révolutions" dont l'orientation générale peut être commune mais qui

ont revêtu des aspects différents dans les diverses traditions nationales (américaine, britannique, française). G. BALANDIER signale l'obligation où il se trouve de présenter la "situation particulière" de la discipline anthropologique en France. Longtemps étouffée par une sociologie vigoureuse, elle n'a cessé que tardivement d'être une "discipline marginale". Ses problèmes méthodologiques propres ne seraient pas compréhensibles si l'on ne tenait compte de ce fait. De même, F. EGGAN indique comment la nature et la situation même des sociétés étudiées par les anthropologues américains les ont conduit à mettre l'accent sur l'histoire culturelle et sur les rapports entre personnalité et culture. La tradition de Boas débouche comme celle de Malinowski sur des recherches intensives et détaillées, mais elles sont délimitées et distribuées de façon différente. Cette idée d'une diversité des méthodes induite par la diversité des champs de recherche auxquels on s'est d'abord consacré sera constamment présente au cours des discussions qui se sont engagées; en même temps que cette autre: "la théorie n'est que l'un des aspects de la science; un autre aspect d'importance égale est le type de données qui sont soumises à l'analyse théorique" (M. GLUCKMAN).

Dans cette perspective, la première "révolution" de l'anthropologie a été apportée par la présence, plus ou moins prolongée, de l'anthropologue sur le terrain. Le rapport de G. BALANDIER souligne à ce propos l'importance des changements qui, à partir de 1930 environ, ont marqué l'anthropologie française. Changements dus essentiellement à l'influence de la pensée de Marcel Mauss. Ce sont ses élèves qui, en organisant les premières grandes enquêtes sur le terrain (la mission Dakar-Djibouti dirigée par Marcel Griaule, date de 1931-1933), vont tenter de résoudre les problèmes propres à la recherche ethnographique, et à la démarche anthropologique enfin établie de façon autonome. Jusque là, l'anthropologie n'apparaissait en France que science annexe (avec la préhistoire, l'archéologie) dans une entreprise d'élucidation des origines de la société et de culture dont les sociologues étaient les responsables majeurs. Ceux-ci utilisaient les données ethnographiques; mais ils le faisaient, comme le remarque G. BALANDIER, "à distance". Ils n'envisaient pas les problèmes que posait leur collecte; les collecteurs n'étaient que des auxiliaires, et les anthropologues "n'ont guère contribué à une création théorique dont ils restaient les "serviteurs" (G. BALANDIER). C'est seulement à partir des années 30 que l'anthropologie atteint ce que l'on peut appeler sa majorité; le contact direct avec le terrain lui permet de soulever ses propres questions. En Grande-Bretagne et aux Etats-Unis, la révolution avait commencé plus tôt. Une anthropologie plus autonome dès le départ (en Grande-Bretagne, à l'inverse de la France, c'est d'elle que l'on peut dire qu'elle a étouffé la sociologie) n'avait pas eu à écarter les mêmes obstacles. Mais c'est seulement avec Malinowski qu'apparaît l'importance du long séjour sur le terrain au milieu d'une seule population. M. GLUCKMAN et F. EGGAN insistent de façon concordante dans leurs rapports sur sa résidence

forcée parmi les Trobriandais, et sur le fait qu'il put conduire son enquête dans leur langue. Aussi ses observations furent-elles d'une "nature tout à fait différente" (M. GLUCKMAN) de celles qui les avaient précédées (qu'elles aient été fournies par des voyageurs, ou par des personnes que leurs fonctions obligeaient à de longs séjours, mais qui n'étaient pas préparées à les recueillir).

Ce premier changement dans les conditions du travail anthropologique va avoir de multiples conséquences. Il n'a pas résolu tous les problèmes méthodologiques, il a contribué, au contraire, à en poser, de proche en proche et jusqu'à la période présente, de nouveaux. La réflexion sur le type de données qu'il convient de recueillir pour être conduit à des analyses pleinement significatives va aboutir à la seconde "révolution" que G. BALANDIER dans le domaine français, M. GLUCKMAN dans le domaine britannique, décèlent au cours de la période qui suit immédiatement la dernière guerre. En fait, la discussion montrera qu'il y a eu plusieurs "révolutions", orientant les recherches dans une certaine diversité de voies. L'intervention de Mme Dieterlen, en particulier, soulignera ce point, qui déjà apparaissait plus ou moins explicitement dans le rapport de M. GLUCKMAN.

Les limites de la méthode de Malinowski vont se révéler à ceux de ses élèves et de ses successeurs qui l'expérimenteront. Cette méthode, c'est celle de l'"illustration adéquate", selon l'expression de M. GLUCKMAN, qui la définit de la façon suivante. A partir d'une masse considérable d'informations, d'observations et de documents, on trace un tableau général de la culture ou du système social. Puis chaque coutume, chaque relation sociale, etc., qui ont été dégagées, sont illustrées par un "cas" approprié. "Chaque cas est choisi pour son adéquation à un point particulier de l'argumentation; et les cas qui sont rapprochés dans l'argumentation peuvent provenir des comportements ou des paroles de groupes ou d'individus différents. "Là est la faiblesse essentielle, contre laquelle les anthropologues britanniques (et, parallèlement, les anthropologues français) vont tenter de réagir: les données recueillies sont sélectionnées et utilisées en ordre dispersé, des rapports essentiels entre les faits peuvent ne pas apparaître, le fonctionnement total et concret d'un groupe clairement délimité peut n'être pas saisi. Pour y réussir, on tentera de définir de façon nouvelle la notion de "cas" à étudier; ce faisant, on posera de nouveaux problèmes, et la nécessité se fera sentir de mettre au point de nouvelles techniques de travail sur le terrain. Sur le premier point, les rapports de M. GLUCKMAN et F. EGGAN ont fourni un excellent historique des tentatives; sur le second, la discussion a permis de souligner l'urgence d'un effort de réflexion et d'élaboration.

On a d'abord employé la notion de "cas" dans un sens plus riche, plus étendu. Plus le cas retenu est complexe, plus il comporte d'éléments, plus il est centré sur un groupe ou une série de groupes qui peuvent

entrer dans l'horizon d'observation d'un même chercheur,—plus aisément en peut-on extraire les principes directeurs d'une coutume ou d'une relation sociale donnée. En même temps, on obtient une vue moins rigide, plus marquée de vivante complexité, de la culture et de la société. M. GLUCKMAN suggère que "l'emploi le plus fructueux des cas consiste à prendre une série d'incidents spécifiques, affectant les mêmes personnes ou les mêmes groupes, pendant une longue période de temps, et à montrer comment ces incidents, ces cas, sont liés au développement et au changement des relations sociales entre ces personnes et ces groupes, agissant dans le cadre de leur système social et de leur culture." Dans son intervention, M. WORSLEY appuie cette position, en rappelant son propre travail critique sur le système de parenté des Tallensi, réalisé à partir des données présentées dans l'étude de M. FORTES, mais qui lui-même a mises en relations de façon différente: en utilisant des séries de faits concernant les mêmes personnes ou les mêmes lignages cités. Ainsi les efforts récents de l'anthropologie britannique ont-ils conduit, par des approches d'ailleurs assez diverses, à ce que M. GLUCKMAN appelle "l'emploi d'une série de cas reliés les uns aux autres et survenant dans le même champ de vie sociale". Le concept de champ social remplace, explicitement ou implicitement, dans plusieurs travaux marquants, le concept même de société. C'est dans une même perspective qu'intervient la notion de "situation sociale". Les discussions sur le caractère conflictuel de la vie sociale devaient, comme on le verra plus loin, soulever ces questions par un autre biais.

Sur des voies qui lui sont propres, l'anthropologie française a posé des problèmes semblables, comme l'ont souligné le rapport de G. BALANDIER et l'intervention de Mme DIETERLEN. Un aspect seulement en sera évoqué ici. Dès avant la dernière guerre, les travaux de Marcel Griaule aussi bien que ceux de Maurice Leenhardt révèlent le souci d'atteindre "à la connaissance approfondie d'un cas par la longue fréquentation du peuple étudié" (les Dogon du Soudan pour le premier, les Canaques de Nouvelle-Calédonie pour le second). Il faut remarquer que le mot "cas" est ici pris dans le sens le plus étendu possible; il couvre pratiquement une population entière, parce que la "longue fréquentation" correspond en fait à tout une vie de recherche. Exemple extrême, qui ne peut toujours être aisément imité; il a l'avantage d'effacer, en grande partie, les obstacles méthodologiques qui seront évoqués plus loin. A cette préoccupation de "saisie totale" répond très vite, et pour des raisons évidentes dans les cas qui viennent d'être mentionnés, celle d'une saisie "par le dedans" des phénomènes sociaux et culturels. Ces deux tendances se manifesteront, plus récemment, dans l'œuvre de Jacques Berque s'efforçant de rendre compte de la complexité mouvante des sociétés berbères de l'Atlas marocain, ou dans celle de Georges Condominas transcrivant minutieusement les aspects de la vie quotidienne d'une communauté montagnarde du Viet-Nam, dont tous les membres étaient connus de lui. Mais surtout elles ont conduit à la constitution, autour de

Marcel Griaule, d'une véritable école à l'intérieur de l'anthropologie française, qui aujourd'hui poursuit et élargit ses enquêtes. Ceci a impliqué une spécialisation méthodologique dont Mme DIETERLEN a évoqué, pour le groupe de travail, les orientations majeures. Toute étude est conçue comme devant se développer progressivement à la fois en profondeur et en étendue: par la reprise fréquente des enquêtes concernant une population, et par l'élargissement de ces enquêtes aux populations qui lui sont apparentées. Il ne s'agit pas d'apparentement culturel au sens classique du terme: les populations considérées sont celles qui participent à un même système mythique et symbolique, s'appuyant sur une même philosophie du monde et de la société. C'est là en effet le niveau privilégié de telles recherches; et il ne peut être atteint qu'au terme de longues et patientes enquêtes. C'est seulement à ce plan que l'on peut comprendre la société comme un ensemble vivant, ayant sa logique interne, proposant la *théorie* de son propre fonctionnement. C'est à partir celle-ci que peuvent être interprétés les faits sociaux et culturels directement observables par l'enquêteur. L'étude de "cas" se confond donc ici avec l'étude "de l'intérieur"; il s'agit de faire une recension complète de ce qui constitue en définitive les "archives" d'une société. Mme DIETERLEN montre comment de nombreux phénomènes actuels, de nombreuses relations entre groupes, entre ethnies, sont incompréhensibles si l'on ne se réfère à la connaissance des systèmes mythiques. Cette méthode, quelles que soient les critiques que l'on puisse diriger contre elle, a conduit à rassembler sur quelques "cas" soudanais une documentation d'une cohérence et d'une abondance exceptionnelles.

La discussion, cependant, a été centrée sur les problèmes posés par la méthode des "cas" dans le sens plus restreint envisagé précédemment. MM. Teuscher et Worsley sont intervenus de façon concordante pour souligner les difficultés que rencontre la sélection des sous-groupes, ou la délimitation des "champs sociaux" sur lesquels se concentre l'étude. Le "village moyen" qui a servi de base à tant de monographies n'existe pas. Les problèmes ne sont pas les mêmes selon que l'on a affaire à des sociétés fortement ou faiblement différenciées. Dans le premier cas, la définition des niveaux d'observation et d'analyse doit faire l'objet d'une attention minutieuse. Dans tous les cas, le chercheur doit expliciter les critères de sélection qu'il a retenus. Les aspects que l'on peut dire classiques de l'enquête anthropologique ne doivent pas être abandonnés. F. EGGAN souligne l'importance que conservent le travail préliminaire d'enquête extensive et la réalisation du "contact" avec le groupe étudié. Un accord général se fait sur la nécessité où se trouvent les anthropologues actuels d'envisager avec une précision accrue les problèmes d'échantillonnage et l'utilisation éventuelle de techniques statistiques pour les résoudre. Tous les participants conviennent de la remarquable amélioration qui s'est manifestée dans la qualité et la précision des matériaux

d'enquête utilisés par les anthropologues: il est donc d'autant plus essentiel de s'assurer qu'ils sont pleinement significatifs.

Les développements méthodologiques qui viennent d'être évoqués ont explicité un changement de point de vue qui était déjà apparent dans l'œuvre de Malinowski: les sociétés dites "primitives" étaient beaucoup plus complexes que les premiers anthropologues ne l'avaient supposé. Si ce "mythe" de la simplicité des sociétés relevant de la discipline anthropologique a été assez rapidement abandonné, un autre "mythe" a survécu jusqu'à une période toute récente: celui du caractère harmonieux, équilibré, parfaitement intégré, de ces sociétés. Le rapport de W. F. WERTHEIM et la discussion qui l'a suivi ont souligné à la fois la persistance d'une telle conception et la nécessité de s'en écarter. K. Little a insisté sur le fait que la notion d'équilibre était dépassée, et qu'il convenait d'étudier moins des institutions que des processus sociaux. Il se plaçait surtout dans la perspective des ébranlements profonds qu'ont subi depuis un demi-siècle ou plus les sociétés dites "primitives": on est conduit de plus en plus à envisager un *problème* particulier dans une région donnée. Mais ses remises en question avaient une portée beaucoup plus générale, et s'accordaient avec celles du rapporteur. Celui-ci rappelait que ce n'est que progressivement que les anthropologues "deviennent conscients de l'existence, dans chaque société, d'éléments qui sont contraires à la notion d'harmonie complète." Tout en reconnaissant d'ailleurs que ce sont les recherches relatives aux contacts culturels, aux effets de la colonisation, plus que les spéculations théoriques, qui ont conduit à une telle prise de conscience. G. BALANDIER, développant des suggestions présentées dans son propre rapport, a rappelé à ce propos l'attitude commune des anciens anthropologues: la recherche des sociétés "primitives" "à l'état pur"; les transformations récentes que l'on ne pouvait pas ne pas constater n'apparaissaient guère que comme des obstacles à la démarche anthropologique. Ainsi c'est seulement après la dernière guerre que l'anthropologie française s'est engagée sur une nouvelle voie: en donnant une place à la dimension historique qui seule permettait de comprendre la diversité interne et les contradictions dont toute société est marquée,—en reconnaissant aussi que, soumises à une même action extérieure, les sociétés dites "primitives" se révélaient plus ou moins fragiles (et que, à l'intérieur d'une même société, les divers éléments de son organisation sociale et de sa culture étaient inégalement vulnérables).

Les appréciations présentées par le rapport de W. F. WERTHEIM ont reçu l'assentiment de tous les participants. Présentant un essai de synthèse des vues de A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN aussi bien que de celles de M. GLUCKMAN et de E. R. LEACH, il conclut qu'aucune société ne peut être envisagée comme une entité complètement intégrée. Plusieurs ensembles de valeurs y coexistent, qui peuvent être en contradiction les uns avec les autres. L'un d'entre eux est plus ou moins dominant, et c'est

ce qui assure à la société un minimum de cohésion. Les autres n'en subsistent pas moins, quitte à ne se manifester que sous une forme "voilée" (par exemple dans des plaisanteries, des contes, des mythes) ou à n'avoir de sens que pour certains sous-groupes à l'intérieur de la société; W. F. WERTHEIM les compare à "une sorte de contre-point à la mélodie principale". En s'attachant à l'exemple de la société balinaise, il montre comment l'étude des conflits de valeurs permet de révéler, par l'intermédiaire des contradictions manifestes ou latentes d'une société déterminée, le dynamisme interne des phénomènes sociaux. Il montre aussi, en se référant aux travaux de Lloyd Warner, comment l'adoption de telles perspectives assure un rapprochement, marqué entre anthropologie et sociologie. Et il rejoint, dans une certaine mesure, la tendance de toute une part de l'anthropologie française à privilégier la saisie "de l'intérieur" des faits sociaux et culturels. Mais avec une coloration un peu différente: ici, c'est une invitation à accorder plus d'importance à l'interaction "des différents systèmes de valeurs subjectives" et à la manière dont ils conservent un "équilibre précaire", qu'aux "structures sociales considérées comme des réalités rigides".

La discussion a permis de rappeler le rôle des perspectives dynamiques dans l'anthropologie présente. P. MERCIER a présenté plusieurs remarques à propos d'enquêtes effectuées par lui dans divers groupes ethniques du Dahomey. Dans l'une d'entre elles, deux ensembles de valeurs non concordants se reflètent dans deux séries d'institutions qui coexistent: ainsi une forme de mariage s'inscrit dans un contexte d'harmonie entre les lignages et les clans intéressés, une autre dans un contexte d'hostilité entre ceux-ci. Dans toutes, la domination coloniale a eu pour premier effet de rendre impossibles certaines manifestations extérieures des conflits internes, ou de supprimer les cadres institutionnels qui permettaient leur solution. Ceci dans des sociétés où les conflits autant que les solidarités définissaient l'équilibre—toujours précaire—de l'ensemble. Les interventions de K. LITTLE et M. GLUCKMAN ont insisté aussi sur la nécessité d'éviter l'utilisation de modèles statiques qui ne peuvent permettre de dégager qu'une représentation illusoire de la réalité sociale, qui d'ailleurs apparaît différente selon que l'étude est centrée sur tel ou tel des sous-groupes qui composent une société donnée. On revenait donc par un autre biais au problème central qui avait fait l'objet des échanges de vue précédents: ce fut de la sélection et de la délimitation des "cas" en tant qu'unités d'enquête.

P. MERCIER.

SECTION III
SEMINAR ON
INTERRELATIONS DE LA PSYCHOLOGIE ET DE LA
PSYCHANALYSE AVEC LA SOCIOLOGIE

Présidents: MM. OTTO KLINEBERG et TALCOTT PARSONS

Discutants prévus: M. ROGER GIROD (Suisse)

M. ULF HIMMELSTRAND (Suède)

M. A. T. M. WILSON (Royaume Uni)

Rapporteur: M. ROBERT PAGES

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

LA discussion a été partagée entre les deux thèmes: sociologie et psychanalyse (discuté principalement le matin), sociologie et psychologie expérimentale et sociale (discuté l'après-midi).

I. SOCIOLOGIE ET PSYCHANALYSE

Président: M. KLINEBERG

La discussion a été introduite par un exposé de M. PARSONS dont voici le texte d'après ses notes intitulées: "*Psychoanalytic Theory and Sociology.*"

1. My personal view is that sociology needs a psychological underpinning—cannot "go it alone." Motivation, cognitive process are important in this regard. Critical consideration of the problem is more secure than implicit assumptions.
2. The theory of personality is in a strategic position. Only fragments of it are needed for most "social psychology," but these fragments need at some point to be placed in their psychological context. To me personality theory is the core of psychology.
3. Psychoanalytic theory has a special preeminence in the personality theory. In spite of many complications about its status, there is no other scheme which really competes in main lines. Freud is overwhelmingly the central figure. Personality theory is by no means yet a fully crystallized conceptual scheme. It has already been very importantly affected by nonpsychoanalytic influences, including sociological and there is much more to come. Its own internal development has been impeded by predominance of clinical over research interests in the professional group, and, now, by some isolationism, which however is breaking down.
4. Psychoanalytic theory has a complex developmental history and

complex current structure, by no means fully integrated. Sociological concern with it must be selective. Most essential part centers on the later work of Freud. But the part which has been most prominent ideologically outside psychoanalytical group has been much more the early Freud, the *original theory of instincts* which were often set over against the culture and society. Cathexis, identification, internalization should rather be among the important concepts.

5. Central relation between a theory of personality development and the structure and functional mechanisms of the adult personality, fortunately, made a major theme of WILSON's paper. Former aspect links directly with the sociological theory of socialization, i.e. the adaptation of the personality of the individual to the functional requirements of role-performance in the social system. Latter aspect concerns the main structure of motivational subsystems of the personality of the adult. The late Freudian classification can also be given sociological reference, though there is no one-to-one correspondence.

6. I see this as the central theorem of the relationship under consideration: the main structure of the human personality *consists in* (not has been "influenced by . . .") the internalization of the *social object* systems and cultural patterns which have constituted the structure of the socio-cultural environment of the individual during the process of socialization. In Freud's terms these are "lost objects" when fully internalized. This is true not only of the superego, but of all three of Freud's systems and most particularly of the ego.

7. The socialization process is the set of mechanisms by which the central sociological theorem of institutional integration operates initially—by which the individual comes to *want* to do what, socially, he is *expected* to do, i.e. to fulfil role-expectations. This is supplemented by the social mechanisms of social control (illustrated in a very subtle way by WILSON).

8. Freud was not fully aware that not only "objects" are internalized, but *object-systems*, i.e., socially speaking, collectivities. Type case is the "family of orientation" at the oedipal period. This is the basic reason, for instance, why the normal individual has a profound need for parenthood.

9. The early socialization phases are carried out in the family, but the same fundamental *principles* of development in and through social interaction and the internalization of object-systems applies also to the later phases, what Freud called latency and adolescence, indeed even later. Much work on these phases is needed.

10. After the earlier phases, the primary differentiated roles of persons are prepared in the sense of predisposition by the socialization process. In some ways prototypical, in other special is the case of

sex-role. This is clearly a social at least as much as a biological phenomenon.

11. Sex-role is determined primarily in the oedipal period. The level of what is sometimes called achievement motivation on the other hand is determined in the course of the latency period. Similar considerations apply to predisposition to qualitative types of orientations as to different orders of occupational function and role.

12. More complex problems are involved in capacities for symbolic manipulation and behavior which need much investigation. Thus early language learning seems to be fundamentally dependent on successful completion of oral identification. There seems to be a similar relation between the school period and oedipal identification.

13. It is precisely the capacities of *generalized flexibility* of behavior, for sensitivity to expectations and sanctions institutionalized in the social system and the like, that can be best accounted for in these terms and systematized.

14. There has been much worry about the capacity of psychoanalytic theory to account for cross-cultural variabilities. This certainly applies to some of the cruder formulations, including some of Freud's own. But in basic principle it is not the case. No other basic personality scheme can achieve, properly developed, such a good balance between the universals and the particularities of the linkage between personality and social system.

15. The *use* of psychoanalytic theory must be selectively varied for different problems. Above all there is and should be no such thing as a "psychoanalytic sociology," but the basic outlines of analysis of social systems are independent. Personality and social system are independent, interdependent and interpenetrating subsystems of action generally. Of course other psychological theory is by no means excluded by such emphasis on psychoanalysis.

Après l'exposé de M. WILSON, M. PARSONS ajoute une "note": il approuve particulièrement l'indication de M. WILSON selon laquelle des mécanismes d'intégration du moi comme l'identification ne sont pas passifs de la part de l'enfant et constituent une adaptation active. Il ajoute que ces mécanismes jouent, du point de vue de la régulation sociale (*social control*), un rôle qui est fondamentalement distinct d'une simple réciprocité de satisfactions individuelles comme objectif et critère de l'équilibre de la personnalité. Cet équilibre doit être considéré comme ayant ou comme étant une fonction sociale.

M. GULIAN (Roumanie) ne voit pas comment la psychanalyse peut expliquer les institutions sociales, ce qui équivaut à ses yeux à se demander comment l'inconscient influencerait la société. L'ethnographie fournit à cet égard une contre épreuve. En effet, chez l'homme

naïf ou primitif on s'attendrait à une grande influence de la vie sexuelle sur les institutions centrales et c'est le contraire que l'on voit. Des institutions comme le totem et le tabou, loin de s'expliquer par l'inconscient, sont affaire d'autres influences, celles de l'organisation du clan et de la magie sur la vie sexuelle qui est dotée d'une puissance mystérieuse, dangereuse, en un mot magique. Comme le montre MALINOWSKY, même si ce type de société présente des écarts individuels, fait général, la vie sexuelle y est dirigée par la société, subordonnée à la solidarité du clan et non pas libérée ou déréglée. On ne peut expliquer les phénomènes sociaux par la vie inconsciente alors que les plus importants (relations de travail, faits juridiques, culture, etc.) relèvent d'un effort conscient. FREUD et ADLER ont un intérêt essentiellement limité à l'explication de l'individu.

M. E. GRÖNSETH (Norvège) reproche à M. PARSONS d'avoir choisi entre les deux théories de FREUD en disant que la seconde est la seule importante. Mais la première l'est aussi, c'est-à-dire la théorie des instincts. Significativement M. PARSONS ne mentionne pas dans son exposé des faits comme les névroses. Cette position relève d'une position étrangère à la pratique, issue d'un scientisme à la façon de MAX WEBER qui préconise l'étude pure des faits et dans lequel on ne s'intéresse pas au conflit, à l'anxiété, à la dépression. Or les instincts existent et agissent à travers les refoulements liés à telle ou telle forme de socialisation. Le fait de les négliger supprime la base de la critique sociale et de l'application pratique.

M. ADORNO (Allemagne occidentale) reprend certaines des critiques déjà émises mais d'un point de vue étranger à l'ethnographie. WEBER, notamment dans son étude du capitalisme, oriente la théorie sociologique essentiellement vers une conception rationnelle du comportement et de ses mobiles. Au contraire, la psychanalyse porterait sur le comportement irrationnel de l'individu. Mais cet individu est aujourd'hui quasi impuissant en face des institutions. FREUD a sous-estimé la réification des institutions quand il a dit, sur le tard, que la sociologie est de la psychologie appliquée. Il y a peu de chances de construire immédiatement un système de coordonnées commun à la sociologie et à la psychanalyse. Il ne faut pas psychologiser, (ni d'ailleurs sociologiser) abusivement. Les archaïsmes des motivations sont en fait canalisés par les institutions à intérêt très conscient. On pourrait le montrer en ce qui concerne l'attitude à l'égard des nègres américains. De même les masses qui suivaient Hitler étaient moins irrationnelles qu'il n'y paraissait. L'instinct était mobilisé pour des intérêts concrets. Naturellement la rationalité elle-même est possible d'un examen psychanalytique mais à un autre niveau. L'abus sociologique de la psychanalyse a même un effet déformant sur elle en ce qu'il tend dans certaines théories à ramener trop au moi aux dépens du ça. (HORNEY) Ainsi se constituent certaines théories de l'ajustement—Sur un point

particulier, toutefois, les amendements sociologiques de M. PARSONS sont inutiles: FREUD a été conscient de l'existence d'identifications extra-familiales à contenu d'entités collectives—Il y a intérêt à poursuivre indépendamment le développement des deux disciplines. Ainsi parviendra-t-on sans doute à révéler des forces sociales au cœur de l'individu et réciproquement.

Après que M. G. BRAGA (Italie) ait assuré qu'à son avis les sociologues comme tels ne s'étaient pas encore exprimés, M. WILSON éclaire en quelques mots ses intentions. Il a voulu montrer l'articulation entre les théories psychanalytique et sociologique, à travers l'articulation de la famille, comme ensemble de relations interpersonnelles, avec les autres institutions. Vu le grand nombre de psychanalystes qui s'intéressent aux sciences sociales il serait profitable que ceux-ci se rendent compte du peu de pénétration de leur théorie dans ces sciences.

M. BRAGA souligne alors les difficultés qui résultent de la disproportion entre les moyens psychanalytiques et les problèmes de dimensions des échantillons qui se posent en sociologie: ou bien il faudrait psychanalyser tout le monde ou bien disposer d'une symptomatologie du caractère claire et maniable. Sinon une typologie plus simple peut être plus utile. Par exemple on peut observer le mode de réaction à la "répression" (cf. PARETO et plus précisément HORNEY). Selon le degré de répression, on peut avoir trois types de réaction: soummissive, agressive ou évasive dont on peut étudier la combinaison avec la typologie de GURVITCH (masse, communauté, communion). Ainsi peut-on opposer de ce point de vue le prolétariat (prédominance agressivité-communion) au sous-prolétariat (prédominance masse-évasion). Le problème est celui du mécanisme de répartition des types de réaction.

M. PARSONS considère que le problème central de la discussion a été celui de la place de la théorie des instincts et du rôle de l'inconscient. Il n'a jamais été question de sous-estimer cette théorie. Mais il ne peut accepter la position générale de M. GRÖNSETH qui absolutise l'instinct et son mécanisme motivationnel, ce qui conduit à exagérer le rôle des données biologiques. Il rappelle le mot de FREUD "là où était le ça viendra le moi." Ceci est en rapport également avec la question de l'inconscient et de la rationalité posée par MM. GULIAN et ADORNO. La hiérarchie des composantes de la personnalité joue un rôle croissant. Le ça est à la base et combine des éléments héréditaires avec un précipité des phases initiales de la socialisation. Quand les organisations supérieures de la personnalité sont renversées émergent les fondements, par exemple dans la névrose ou la psychose. Mais ce serait une source d'erreur systématique de penser prévoir la conduite sociale à partir du ça. Quant à l'inconscient, au moins quant à la formulation, c'est une notion en déclin chez FREUD—Il existe un accord fondamental avec M. ADORNO sur l'irréductibilité des deux disciplines en cause: il n'y a

pas de correspondance biunivoque entre la personnalité et la structure sociale; mais les différentes positions sociales produisent ou sélectionnent des types de personnalité qui se trouvent ainsi statistiquement répartis de façon inégale.

La discussion se poursuit au début de l'après-midi.

M. ANCONA (Italie) se présente comme un psychologue de tendance psychanalytique. Il reprocherait à M. PARSONS une surestimation de la pression sociale sur la personnalité. Le ça est trop loin du réel pour pouvoir être atteint par les influences du milieu si ce n'est dans les circonstances tout à fait bouleversantes (comme en psychanalyse)—Peut-être pourrait-on élargir les fonctions du ça dans le cadre d'une conception fonctionnelle comme celle d'ERIKSON. On admettrait que les composantes instinctuelles ne sont affectées que fonctionnellement. A quoi M. PARSONS objecte que la classique inaccessibilité du moi (sauf en crise, cure, etc.) n'est pas vraie du développement précoce de l'enfant.

M. R. WILLIAMS (Etats-Unis) conteste l'analogie établie par M. WILSON entre l'isolement social (explorateurs, bergers) et l'isolation ou privation sensorielle pratiquée expérimentalement par HEBB. Il y a là des différences majeures touchant l'ouverture de systèmes comparés. M. WILSON souligne qu'il n'a pas donné cette analogie comme prouvée.

II. SOCIOLOGIE ET PSYCHOLOGIE EXPERIMENTALE OU SOCIALE

Président: M. PARSONS

La discussion comporte une introduction par M. KLINEBERG, un résumé de sa communication par M. GIROD, un résumé par M. PARSONS de la communication de M. HIMMELSTRAND, un exposé par M. PAGÈS et une série d'interventions.

M. KLINEBERG, traitant des "rapports de la sociologie et de la psychologie," mentionne qu'il existe actuellement chez ses étudiants une sorte de refus de distinguer les deux disciplines car "on ne doit pas séparer ce que Dieu a uni"! C'est un fait que les deux premiers ouvrages de psychologie sociales publiés aux Etats-Unis en 1908 l'ont été respectivement par le sociologue ROSS et le psychologue McDougall. De même, une enquête auprès des membres de l'American Sociological Association sur leur domaine de compétence a montré que le plus fréquent était . . . la psychologie sociale. Il est cependant possible, quels que soient les chevauchements, d'établir quatre distinctions principales.

1. Du point de vue du *contenu*, la psychologie est l'étude de l'individu et la psychologie sociale celle de l'individu en situation sociale. On peut écrire sur la délinquance comme "culture délinquante" sans référence à l'individu (COHEN, inspiré de PARSONS) comme aussi en se référant de façon centrale à la vie individuelle (HEALY, les GLUECK). En matière

d'attitudes, quel que soit le chevauchement, une étude comme celle de BRUNER, SMITH *et al.* sur l'opinion de la personnalité est nettement une étude de psychologues sur les attitudes chez les individus. Il n'est pas jusqu'à l'ouvrage d'ADORNO *et al.* sur la personnalité autoritaire qui ne se voie reprocher d'être exclusivement psychologique en ce qu'il traite au niveau de l'individu un fait social et culturel. L'examen de l'ouvrage de SROETZEL sur le Japon ("Jeunesse sans chrysanthème ni sabre") montre au contraire un point de vue sociologique. Il arrive souvent que la définition formelle des disciplines ne coïncide pas avec le fond des choses: quand un anthropologue explique la formation d'un chef religieux individuel, il devient par là psychologue de fait. Enfin les psychologues ont la quasi-exclusivité de certains centres d'intérêt, comme l'hérédité.

2. En ce qui concerne la *méthodologie*, l'accent sur l'expérimentation est le caractère principal de la psychologie. BLONDEL et MAUSS par exemple ont étudié des effets sociaux sur les processus psychologiques mais par des méthodes d'observation. Les psychologues ont traité ces mêmes questions et tenté de délimiter et de contrôler par l'expérimentation l'invasion de la psychologie générale (mémoire, perception) par des facteurs sociaux. Les expériences sur les petits groupes, lancées par les psychologues ont été reprises par les sociologues et peut-être en plus grande abondance. On a tenté de réaliser sur le terrain une approximation des méthodes de laboratoire.

3. La *théorie* psychologique qui sert à la sociologie provient surtout de l'expérimentation sauf la psychanalyse. C'est ainsi que la théorie de l'apprentissage a été empruntée surtout à la psychologie animale. On peut voir MURDOCK (de Yale) se référer à propos de structure sociale et, notamment, sur le tabou de l'inceste à HULL (de Yale) tandis que HOMANS de Harvard, fait également des emprunts à une autre théorie de l'apprentissage (celle de Harvard). D'autres emprunts proviennent il est vrai d'autres branches de la psychologie pathologique ou psychiatrique par exemple ceux de LOWIE à propos de la religion primitive.

La *terminologie* est révélatrice d'une double formation conceptuelle qui persiste en bien des domaines. Ainsi de la notion d'attitude dont une des sources se trouve dans la psycho-physique expérimentale (*Einstellung*) et l'autre dans la sociologie. On distingue l'attitude comme précurseur de l'action chez G. ALLPORT d'un sens plus sociologique chez un auteur comme W. J. THOMAS orienté vers les valeurs et pour qui l'attitude est surtout "à l'égard de." Même chose pour la notion de rôle: de MEAD ou COOLEY à LINTON c'est avant tout la conduite à attendre de gens d'une certaine position (*status*); tandis que, psychologiquement, l'aspect empathique et individuel est souligné. Il y a là une source d'équivoques dangereuses autant que d'interpénétration utile.

4. *L'image de soi* chez les sociologues comporte abondance d'examens de conscience tandis que les psychologues sont moins soucieux de commenter leur science que d'exposer des résultats, plus identifiés qu'ils sont aux sciences naturelles et plus sûrs d'eux-mêmes et de leur position.

En conclusion M. KLINEBERG croit à la réalité des différences entre les deux disciplines mais ne pense pas que leur collaboration doive en être empêchée. Le cas idéal est évidemment celui de "deux cerveaux sous le même chapeau" (pour traduire à peu près "two skills in one skull") et ce cas est de plus en plus fréquent. En tout cas la recherche doit avoir affaire, en général, aux deux aspects: phénomène individuel et processus social. Si elle y manque, elle pèche par unilatéralité. Les travaux tendront de plus en plus à se définir par des problèmes plutôt que par des disciplines.

Après le résumé par M. GIROD de sa communication et par M. PARSONS de celle de M. HIMMELSTRAND, M. PAGÈS résume son exposé sur le "*rôle de la psychologie dans la construction de variables sociologiques purifiées*." Beaucoup de sciences naturelles se sont développées jusqu'à un certain niveau sans référence à l'expérience. A tort ou à raison, ce n'est pas le cas de la sociologie qui, dès le 19ème siècle s'est montrée obsédée d'expérimentation en dégageant dès le début deux tendances. L'une est expérimentale directe: c'est celle de FOURIER qui aboutira, par exemple, aux expériences de sociologie industrielle de GODIN (1867-72) et convergera avec l'expérimentation des psychologues sur les processus interpersonnels (TRIPPLETT) ou les petits groupes (BINET) autour de 1900. L'orientation expérimentale "indirecte" (DURKHEIM) est une adaptation à l'impossibilité supposée de l'expérimentation proprement dite, notamment à cause de son caractère total et historique (COMTE et MILL). La première orientation aboutit à des expériences qui se prêtent sans trop de difficultés à l'application de plans d'expérience réguliers (petits groupes en laboratoire). La deuxième, avec des études systématiques, corrélationnelles et comparatistes, aboutit rapidement à des *conflits internes* en essayant de corriger une démarche *naturaliste* (descriptive) par une démarche *probabiliste*, de plus en plus inspirée des plans d'expérience.

Cependant la psychologie a des moyens d'accéder à l'historicité de la vie individuelle sans l'impossible tâche de la suivre (anamnèse psychanalytique) et même de créer l'*historicité* (apprentissage).

Or une difficulté majeure de l'enquête (et de ce qu'il reste de naturalisme dans l'expérimentation psycho-sociologique) est le fait que les combinaisons de propriétés des sujets étudiés sont reçues toutes faites de la nature et de l'histoire sociales. Il est impossible, quand on préleve ainsi des échantillons naturels classés selon l'âge, le sexe, la résidence, etc. de garantir qu'une modalité de l'un quelconque de ces facteurs n'est pas liée à des modalités diverses de facteurs inconnus et incontrôlés.

Un effet *apparent* du sexe n'est-il pas dû, en fait, à un trouble nerveux inconnu lié statistiquement au sexe?... On n'a pas la ressource de la neutralisation des facteurs incontrôlés et confusionnels, notamment par le tirage au sort ("randomization") principale invention de FISHER. Ainsi le travail théorique de conceptualisation est-il, sans doute durablement, vicié dans ses matériaux. Les concepts sont des compromis hasardeux entre l'apriorisme arbitraire et un empirisme monographique et changeant. L'expérimentation, empruntée au laboratoire des psychologues, offre peut-être un des moyens actuels de lutter contre ces difficultés. C'est ainsi que la "représentativité," si recherchée par rapport aux populations naturelles exclut dans bien des cas l'étude méthodique des cas purs les plus significatifs et ne représente que des propriétés éphémères des populations historiques. Par exemple, on trouve difficilement dans la nature sociale des groupes véritablement sans direction centralisée, et la formation d'un commandement est alors couramment présentée comme un "effet de groupe"; la création d'un groupe de communication circulaire à la façon de BAVELAS fait apparaître à la fois le cas exceptionnel et, par là même, un facteur très général masqué en situation "représentative" (la distribution des ressources par rapport à la tâche).

L'utilisation de l'apprentissage contrôlé apparaît comme une méthode de choix pour dissiper les obscurités dues aux données naturelles. Dans le même cadre expérimental, l'introduction de critères naturels comme le degré d'ascendant (testé) aux différents postes des réseaux de communication n'exclut pas les facteurs éventuellement masqués par le trait spontané. Or il est possible de créer, par apprentissage dans les réseaux mêmes, des différences d'ascendant qui ne doivent rien qu'à une intervention connue. Cette méthode peut être appliquée dans beaucoup d'autres cas où l'interprétation usuelle se rapproche du tautologique "effet de groupe." Ainsi du cas de la normalisation des jugements dans le processus d'influence expérimental (SHERIF 1935). Cette expérience conserve un élément naturaliste: le groupe est composé sur des populations "ordinaires" d'où dérive la variabilité de la "tendance à la convergence." On peut au contraire construire expérimentalement la variable en isolant hypothétiquement une composante d'*attente de similitude* que l'on peut faire acquérir par apprentissage à sujets tirés au sort (on soumet certains sujets à des situations qui renforcent ou inversent cette attente). On pense alors pouvoir annuler, ou même renverser un effet de "dissimilation," l'effet ordinaire de convergence. Une expérience amorcée à partir de ces vues (PAGÈS 1955) par H. JAMOUS (1958) a été encourageante. On entend ici souligner essentiellement la méthode de *préparation des attributs ou modalités des facteurs expérimentaux par apprentissage*, sur populations *tirées au sort*.

Ceci ne tend pas à contester à la nature sociale les variables que l'on n'a pas encore pu construire mais seulement à constituer à partir des suggestions de l'observation ou de l'enquête, et aussi en vue de spéci-

cations par enquête, un noyau de variables construites, à la fois bien définies conceptuellement et opérationnellement, et expérimentalement liées entre elles.

M. ADORNO relève la remarque de M. KLINEBERG concernant la personnalité autocratique. En fait, la recherche à ce sujet, dans le même esprit que la psychanalyse freudienne à ses débuts n'a pas prétendu faire autre chose que d'apporter des compléments relatifs à l'action de facteurs négligés, sans jamais contester pour autant la valeur explicative du contexte social et culturel et même sa valeur prédominante. A propos du préjugé on a tenté de prendre au sérieux la notion de rationalisation en montrant que beaucoup d'éléments apparemment liés au principe de réalité sont en fait fonction de la personnalité. Ainsi a-t-on pu voir que les données fournies par les échelles de préjugé manifeste corrélaient plus avec l'échelle F (indice psychanalytique) qu'avec une échelle de caractéristiques socio-économiques des individus. Les indices caractériels sont plus liés à l'ethnocentrisme que ne l'est le conservatisme. Certaines idéologies sont donc plus complexes qu'on ne pense. Ce qui ne veut pas dire que ces échelles "profondes" ne sont pas sociales mais seulement qu'elles le sont au niveau des mobiles cachés dans un inconscient en quelque sorte intemporel et non pas au niveau direct et manifeste du moi.

M. VISSCHER (Congo Belge) regrette que l'on fasse en fait de la psychologie sociale une branche de la psychologie. Et pourtant il arrive souvent que le psycho-sociologue soit un sociologue de formation. On se serait attendu à ce que M. KLINEBERG en fasse plus grand état car le relevé des références montre que c'est un des plus informés des sciences sociales, parmi les auteurs de traités. La psychologie sociale devrait plutôt être considérée par définition comme un pont, analogue dans son rôle à la biochimie ailleurs, entre la psychologie et la sociologie.

M. NEULOH (Allemagne occidentale) a une expérience de douze ans en matière d'orientation professionnelle. Il y a vu longtemps dominer sans conteste la psychologie individuelle et pas toujours avec de bons effets: car si l'aptitude est individuelle, les attitudes ont leurs facteurs sociaux. L'évolution actuelle tend à combiner psychologie et sociologie dans la formation des spécialistes. Une association pour le travail d'équipe dans les deux domaines vient de se constituer. Le contact avec la sociologie industrielle introduira plus de réalisme dans l'orientation professionnelle.

Le Dr. CLAUSEN (Etats-Unis) commente l'entreprise connue menée à Havard sur le maîtrise du "stress." Une équipe formée de psychologues, sociologues et psychiatres étudie l'autorité et l'affection dans la famille dans leurs rapports avec les variables psychométriques d'une part et les réactions sociales, notamment en situation expérimentale de "stress," d'autre part. Le rôle des différents spécialistes en l'occurrence est assez

clair dans le cadre de l'interaction entre ces trois aspects. Il faut toutefois souligner le rôle spécifique du psychologue en ce qui concerne la psychométrie (tests) y compris dans l'expérimentation tandis que le psychiatre s'occupe plutôt de la conception de la personnalité à un niveau plus total.

Pour comprendre l'interaction il faut pouvoir suivre les variations des facteurs (et non pas seulement les fixer) et les suivre notamment à travers la stratification sociale. Ainsi la famille ouvrière montre plus de séparation des rôles conjugaux. Si la mère y domine, le fils s'identifiera plutôt avec elle tandis que ce sera l'inverse dans la classe moyenne. On voit les prolongements de ces considérations en matière psychosomatique et la nécessité d'y combiner les différentes spécialités.

En manière de conclusion, MM. GIROD et KLINEBERG répondent aux interventions.

M. GIROD répond à MM. ADORNO et CLAUSEN que si les variables sociales n'apparaissent pas directement décisives dans leur domaine (personnalité autoritaire, autorité dans la famille), c'est que les catégories usuelles de stratification ne sont pas pertinentes mais il reste qu'il faut constater et expliquer la croissance de la personnalité en milieu social, ce qui appelle l'usage d'autres catégories.

M. KLINEBERG ne conteste pas à M. NEULOH ni à M. VISSCHER l'intérêt de la combinaison entre disciplines et mentionne que le Ph.D. en psychologie sociale à Columbia requiert des études tant sociologiques qu'anthropologiques. À M. CLAUSEN il répond que la mesure est aussi bien sociologique que psychologique et à M. VISSCHER qu'il maintient sa définition de la psychologie sociale encore qu'il ait dû rendre justice dans son rapport à la fois à la psychologie expérimentale et sociale. Quant à la "Personnalité autoritaire" c'est un travail admirable du point de vue psychologique mais un tableau complet relatif aux préjugés doit tenir compte des variables sociologiques. C'est ainsi que l'échelle F de personnalité profonde ne montre pas de différence entre le Sud et le Nord des Etats-Unis, tandis que l'échelle E d'ethnocentrisme manifeste fait apparaître un niveau plus élevé au sud. L'effet propre de la communauté environnante semble s'y manifester. Cet exemple illustre bien les conclusions de M. KLINEBERG.

R. PAGES

ADDITIONAL MEETINGS

ADDITIONAL MEETINGS

1. JOINT MEETING OF THE SEMINARS ON COMPARATIVE METHOD, HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY, AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

INTRODUCTORY PAPER: P. WORSLEY, *The Analysis of Rebellion and Revolution in Modern British Social Anthropology* (Abstract)

In the nineteenth century, despite their evolutionist proclivities, ethnological writers were deeply impressed with the fixity of primitive societies. Despite their undoubted contribution towards the analysis of society in developmental terms, and despite the stress they laid upon distinguishing the cultural basis of human society from lower bases of social organization, evolutionary thinkers tended to regard primitive societies as fossils, or else dominated by "custom". Structural change, it was believed, was extremely slow, and—sometimes—inhibited by biological factors. Some writers undoubtedly believed that societies necessarily had to pass through an ineluctable series of evolutionary stages. There was consequently little theoretical interest in process, or in internal sources of conflict.

Malinowski broke through this thought-barrier in a decisive way: stimulated by Freud, his work constantly stresses the phenomenon of ambivalence in social life and the contradictory processes at work therein. Yet both he and Radcliffe-Brown, the founders of modern British social anthropology, received their principal sociological theoretical stimulus from Durkheim, in whose work the normative and integrative elements were emphasized. The problem of order was considered to be logically prior to the problem of change. The "statics-dynamics" dichotomy, in various forms, has persisted in British anthropology right into the present.

This theoretical trend was probably fostered by the situation in which the inter-war anthropologist worked. Policies of "indirect rule" meant that governments were interested in discovering how indigenous political systems operated, and how smooth continuity could be ensured.

The first real challenge to this approach from within social anthropology itself came with GLUCKMAN's critique of Malinowski's attempt to apply his mode of analysis to Southern Africa. GLUCKMAN emphasized, not common values, but conflicting values; not reciprocity, but sanctions of power; not separate social entities of "White" and "Black" cultures, but a single social field.

World War II enormously intensified colonial social change, and thrust anthropologists directly into areas of high tension. Out of such experience emerged Evans-Pritchard's study of *The Sanusi of*

Cyrenaica. Here, he showed how an outsider had been able, by modelling the structure of the Sanusiya religious Order in the segmentary tribal pattern, to integrate the separate and often hostile tribes without involving himself or the Order in the divisive particularisms.

Since the war, the major field in which movements of rebellion and revolution amongst "stateless" peoples have been studied has been Melanesia. Many early students of the "cargo-cult" movements regarded them as mere manifestations of irrational thought. More recently, however, stress has been laid on the logical consistency of thinking on the part of Melanesians confronted with a highly unpredictable social environment, for whose full understanding they lacked the necessary data. Anthropologists were ill-disposed to accept Weber's celebrated analysis in terms of "charisma", which implied classifying the movements as "non-rational", since they had long been demonstrating the logic that lay within apparently "mystical" thought, e.g. in the study of witchcraft.

Analysis of rebellions and revolutions in "State" societies has also developed mainly since the War. Evans-Pritchard's *Anuak* and *Shilluk* opened the discussion with their consideration of the struggle for possession of the sacred symbols of kingship during the succession-wars in these societies. In 1952 GLUCKMAN generalized this argument in his study of *Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa*. Here he pointed to the rituals at the installation of the Swazi King, where the King is both abused and celebrated in the same ceremony. He suggests that institutionalized rebellion in the form of succession wars engendered by uncertain rules of succession in fact a source of strength rather than weakness in such ill-integrated State systems. Comparative evidence from other regions of the world, e.g. India and China, appears to me to amply bear out this thesis.

The ideologies appropriate to this condition of unquestioned kingship have been discussed, in one of their aspects, by Evans-Pritchard and Fortes when they observe that rituals of public solidarity frequently centre round crops and food, in which all have common interests. Yet rivalries also develop around precisely these resources. The elevation of the Kingship above particular rivalries is also found, as in the various functions of the Ankole sacred drum Bagyendanwa, which symbolizes the Kingship, and constitutes a sanctuary and shrine, distributing aid and succour.

Some recent historiography shows the influence of this social anthropological work. At the same time, anthropologists are becoming firstly, more historically-oriented, and secondly, much more concerned with conflict-theory.

Little research into rebellion and revolution in advanced industrial societies has been carried out by anthropologists, but recent work in

Central Africa has analysed the sources of tension which often gives rise to periodic outbreaks.

Finally, the shift in theory from an emphasis on normative consensus to an examination of conflict has forced a reappraisal of the validity of orthodox functionalism even when applied to the simple segmentary society. Turner's *Schism and Continuity in an African Society* shows that conflict of interest, contradictions of moral principles, and ambiguities of choice are part of the everyday life of the Ndembu villager as much as they are in the arena of high politics. Their "resolution" is ritually effected, but can only be temporary, and results in a cyclical process of conflict, resolution and fresh conflict. Such pressures are met either by structural change or cathartic relief.

Here he emphasizes a theme touched upon in other works cited: the achievement of temporary political unity on the part of social groups sharing a common cultural idiom, but highly divided against one another, by associating round some external, universalistic symbol.

All these studies indicate an important shift away from the earlier solidarist Durkheimian theory towards a dynamic social theory more capable of handling social process.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION:

The session on Rebellions and Revolutions was organised as a joint enterprise of the Seminars on Comparative Method, Historical Sociology, and Social Anthropology and its main purpose was to examine to what extent there could be discerned a common approach to a topic of central interest for both historians and social scientists, and what are the main differences between their respective approaches.

Dr. P. WORSLEY (UK) presented the social anthropologists' point of view. He indicated how the interest in social change and rebellion, which was not very great in the first stages of (British) Social Anthropology has gradually become of great importance in anthropological work. Some types of rebellion and change have been recognized in social anthropological thought as having mostly integrative functions, and as being devices through which the continuity of a society is assured, while others have emphasized more the processes through which structural change is effected.

Professor A. BRIGGS (Leeds) gave the historian's approach to the possibility of a comparative study of revolution, and indicated some common patterns and stages which seem to recur in all revolutions. While the exact configuration, length, importance and contents of each of these stages differed from place to place and period to period, the pattern as such can be perceived in all revolutions and may provide the basis for a comparative historical study of revolutions.

Professor R. ARON (Sorbonne) who wound up the presentation gave the sociologist's point of view. He stressed that while the sociologist is mostly interested in the analytical-comparative approach to revolution the unique patterns of each revolution cannot be always fully understood in these terms, especially as a revolutionary situation is much easier recognized as such post-hoc than beforehand. He also stressed the great need for a clear differentiation and specification of the term "revolution" in different institutional spheres—political, economic, religious, etc., and indicated that the meaning and interest of this term may greatly differ in each of these spheres and the development of a "revolutionary" situation need not necessarily coincide in all of them. He also observed that, as was indicated by Aristotle, the best way of appraising the phenomenon of revolution is through the analysis of the de-composition of the body politic.

The general tenor of the papers and the discussion was that despite many divergences of approach between sociologists, historians and anthropologists there exist by now some bases for a common approach to the problem of rebellion and revolutions which can be analysed from both the points of view of the historian and the social scientists, and these may easily complement one another.

S. N. EISENSTADT.

2. SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION:

Those interested in the sociology of religion did not, at the Fourth World Congress of Sociology, have at their disposal a full place on the programme. Thanks to the courtesy of the I.S.A. Executive Committee and Secretariat, they were able to secure the morning of 12 September for a meeting. The conveners of the meeting (the *Groupe de Sociologie des Religions* of the C.N.R.S., Paris, and colleagues in a number of other countries) decided not to plan a substantive scientific discussion but instead to invite opinions and proposals on the problem of international scientific collaboration in the sociology of religion.

Some ninety colleagues from some twenty countries attended the meeting. This writer, in the chair, described the circumstances that had preceded it. At the *Third World Congress of Sociology*, 1956 in Amsterdam, an equally informal and brief meeting had taken place; many valuable contacts were established amongst the scholars working in the field, but three years later we were still without means of continuing international collaboration. The twin problems of secularisation in western society, and religious change under the impact of general social transformation elsewhere in the world, presented us with unique contemporary opportunities to extend knowledge in our field. But if it is to meet this challenge, the sociology of religion must: (1) move from sociographic emphases to theoretical analysis; (2) break out of the

western framework which has for too long limited its generalisations. These ends, in turn could only be attained through the joint effort of colleagues in many countries.

In the lively discussion that followed, a good many colleagues expressed their willingness to participate in some kind of international organisation. It was generally felt that an approach to the Executive Committee of the International Sociological Association was appropriate, and a resolution to this effect was presented (*inter alia* by the late Professor Howard Becker, President of the *American Sociological Society* 1959) and agreed by the participants. Meanwhile, M. Henri Desroche (on behalf of the *Groupe de Sociologie des Religions*) made a number of concrete proposals. These, which pre-supposed the formation of a scientific sub-committee of the I.S.A. in the field of the sociology of religion, envisaged the development of national groups and the transformation of *Archives de Sociologie des Religions* into a multi-lingual organ. Desroche insisted on the fact that, unlike other scholars within the I.S.A. with specialised scientific interests, we lacked funds for conferences or for international research projects and a continuing channel of communication and secretariat. M. Desroche's formulation of our difficulties won general assent; his proposal for the formation of national groups evoked pledges, in many quarters, to explore the matter further on home grounds.

Before adjourning, the participants elected a provisional co-ordinating committee to establish contact with the I.S.A. Executive Committee and to follow out the suggestions made at the meeting. Its members are: Burgalassi (Italy); Fiamengo (Yugoslavia); Fichter (U.S.A.); Falardeau (Canada); Frantzev (U.S.S.R.); Goldschmidt (Germany, F.R.); Kruijt (Netherlands); Taplamacioğlu (Turkey); Vogt (Norway-Italy). Birnbaum (United Kingdom) and Desroche (France) serve as secretaries.

The participants' resolution, presented to the I.S.A. that every week-end has not been without effect. The I.S.A. Executive Committee has since decided to form a scientific sub-committee of the sociology of religion, and has asked Professor Le Bras to assume its chairmanship; for the time being it has requested Messrs. Birnbaum and Desroche to serve as secretaries. Under the I.S.A. Constitution, nominations to the sub-committee are made by the Executive Committee, with a view to a broad geographical distribution. It is hoped, shortly, to develop proposals for international research in our field.

NORMAN BIRNBAUM.

3. SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION:

The two prepared discussions by R. GIROD (Switzerland) and J. GOUDSBLOM (Netherlands) addressed themselves, respectively, to the

papers by L. GOLDMANN, which was criticized as metaphysical from a positivistic standpoint, and T. PARSONS. They were followed by nine discussions from the floor, representing as many different countries. H.-J. CHU (Taiwan) gave a sketch of prerequisites for the study of the sociology of knowledge. T. W. ADORNO (Federal Republic of Germany) stressed the central position of the concept of ideology. A. V. SCHELTING (Switzerland) commented on the controversy between GOLDMANN and GIROD, defending the former against the latter and urged the addition of "civilization" to the Parsonian dichotomy of "culture" and "society." P. HONIGSHEIM (U.S.A.) called attention to the sociology of sociology and to that of religion as concerns to the sociologist of knowledge, with illustrations from the sociology of types of religious leaders and religious knowledge. A. JOJA (Rumania) commented on GOLDMANN's paper. I. DUBSKA (Czechoslovakia) took exception to ADORNO's remark on ideology, particularly in respect to Marx's and Lukáč's conceptions. V. AUBERT (Norway) discussed certain aspects of GARFINKEL's paper and stressed particular formal-sociological features of the modern professions (e.g., medicine and law) which present the sociologist of knowledge with near-perfect laboratory conditions for his studies. M. SHIMMEI (Japan) evinced interest in the central position STARK had given to Toennies' dichotomy of *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* even though it is hardly applicable to many non-literate societies. C. LUPORINI (Italy) concluded the discussion with some general observations concerning the field.

KURT H. WOLFF.

4. PSYCHIATRIC SOCIOLOGY

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION:

(The Group held two sessions during the Fourth World Congress of Sociology. A summary of the first session will be found in the report of the Medical Sociology section meeting of September 10th. The second session of the Group is reported below.)

Dr. SHIRLEY A. STAR (U.S.A.), presented a summary of her paper entitled: "The Place of Psychiatry in Popular Thinking," based on a survey by the National Opinion Research Centre. Dr. STAR distinguished between a psychiatric orientation, which characterised about three per cent of the population, and a normative rational orientation which characterised the attitude of the vast majority of the public. The study revealed that psychiatry was not well accepted in America due to the fact that it involved a way of thinking about human behaviour that was alien to popular thought. Dr. STAR went on to discuss some of the prerequisites to an individual arriving at a psychiatric orientation, and a consequent willingness to use psychiatric services. An important point brought out by the study was that the public needed to possess more information about psychiatry, before it could benefit from its

services, than it customarily needed in order to benefit from other forms of medical care.

In the discussion which followed Dr. STAR's paper, Dr. LOUDON (U.K.), suggested that the actual use of psychiatric services in a community may depend more on the attitudes of the agents who pass patients on to a psychiatrist, such as the general practitioner, than on the public themselves.

The session continued with a brief account of researches being carried out in psychiatric sociology in various countries.

M. et Mme. CHOMBART DE LAUWE (France), described an interdisciplinary research project which they had been conducting concerned with the ecology of mental diseases with particular attention to behaviour disturbances in children. Different types of illness were investigated in relation to an individual's residence and occupation. Abnormal behaviour in children was being studied in relation to the social environment in which they lived.

K. RUDFELD (Denmark), reported on a study of suicides in Denmark that she has been conducting in cooperation with Mr. Eric Hoegh of the Institute of Sociology in Copenhagen. The study included an estimate of the probability of suicide for persons awaiting admission to a mental hospital, as well as persons in mental hospitals and those who have been released from them. Miss RUDFELD suggested that among many suicidal persons a change takes place in their value system. This point was now receiving further study.

V. PORTA (Piero Varennna Foundation, Milan, Italy), reported on the work of this foundation in providing medico-social assistance to persons who have attempted suicide. He indicated that the foundation was anxious to cooperate with others who were interested in this field, and he called the Group's attention to a book on this subject which the foundation had published.

E. GROENSETH (Norway), reported on his research on the psychological adjustment of sailor's wives. He had considered the basic needs of the wives and through a control study, had examined how they reacted to the prolonged absence of their husbands.

Z. WIERZBICKI (Poland), described the efforts which were being made in Poland to prevent alcoholism, and the studies which were less being made of it. Since the last war alcoholism had become worse and is today considered a main social problem. The growth in alcoholism he ascribed to three causes: habits instilled in the population during the war, the movement to urban centres, and the political attitude which had been manifested just after the war when the anti-alcohol movement had been disbanded.

I. BERGER (France), described a study of the mental disturbances and work conditions of French teachers. The study revealed that the male teachers tended to fall ill when they were young, while the women teachers most often fell ill during middle age. The study has included consideration of the values and inspirations of the teachers and their home backgrounds.

M. GUILBERT (France), described a study of mental health and industrial work. The study involved a comparison of the incidence of mental illness among men and among women doing different types of work involving different levels of skill. It was suggested that improvements in working conditions will come slower for women workers than for men.

The meeting of the Group was concluded with a discussion of these various reports.

H. D. FRANK.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

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SOCIETY AND SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE
LA SOCIÉTÉ ET LA CONNAISSANCE SOCIOLOGIQUE

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Résumés des communications et débats

INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
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Editorial Note

The present volume contains abstracts of the mimeographed papers which were contributed in the various Congress sections, and reports on the discussions. A small number of contributors did not provide abstracts of their papers, and are therefore not represented in the volume.

The volume also contains the Presidential Address by Professor Georges Friedmann, a general report on the Congress and on the administrative meetings of the International Sociological Association, and a number of introductory papers which should have appeared in Volumes I and II but which were not available in time. These papers are: Professor R. K. Merton's essay on the social context of sociology, which discusses some of the issues raised by the national studies published in Volume I; Mrs. Ruth Glass' introductory paper on the application of sociological knowledge to regional and town planning; and Professor Morris Janowitz' introductory paper on the sociological study of mass communications.

Several additional meetings were held during the Congress, and brief reports on some of them are included in this volume. The discussion in the meeting devoted to the sociology of knowledge was based upon a number of papers which had been circulated in advance, and these papers will be published separately in a fourth volume of *Transactions*, to be edited by Professor Kurt H. Wolff.

INTRODUCTION

Allocution du President *

le Professeur GEORGES FRIEDMANN

Grâce au magnifique travail du Comité d'Organisation où le rôle du Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale, et de la jeune Associazione Italiana di Scienze Sociali a été considérable, grâce au patronage toujours actif et efficace de l'U.N.E.S.C.O., représentée ici par son Directeur Général, le Dr. Véronése et par le Professeur MARSHALL, directeur du Département des Sciences Sociales, grâce, enfin, à la généreuse hospitalité du Gouvernement italien, de la Municipalité de Stresa, et de la province de Milan, hospitalité dont cette Aula Magna, inaugurée pour notre réunion plénière, est plus qu'un symbole, les travaux du IVe Congrès Mondial de Sociologie se présentent sous les meilleures auspices.

Il convient d'abord que je vous informe en quelques mots du développement de notre Association Internationale de Sociologie dont ce Congrès marque une nouvelle étape. Rappelons que l'Association comprend trois sortes de membres : réguliers, associés et, exceptionnellement, individuels, les deux premières catégories étant des collectivités : sociétés, instituts et centres de recherches. En 1950, lors du premier congrès mondial, on comptait 35 collectivités adhérentes représentant 39 pays ; aujourd'hui, en septembre 1959, notre association représente 66 collectivités scientifiques qui appartiennent à 57 pays. Parallèlement, le nombre de participants à nos congrès n'a cessé de croître : en 1950, à Zurich, il était de 124. Ce chiffre avait déjà plus que doublé à Liège, en 1953, plus que quadruplé à Amsterdam en 1956. Aujourd'hui, le IVème Congrès mondial réunit près de 1,000 participants représentant 50 pays. Notre Association a donc connu un développement rapide et a véritablement le droit de se proclamer internationale.

Bien que la préparation de ce Congrès ait été une tâche absorbante pour le Comité Exécutif et surtout pour le Secrétariat, l'activité de notre Association ne s'y est pas limitée. Je vous ferai grâce des nombreux séminaires et conférences restreintes qu'elle a suscitées et

* *Editorial Note.* Professor Friedmann was prevented by illness from attending the Opening Session of the Congress and was thus unable to deliver his Presidential Address. However, he had sent a copy of the Address to the Secretariat shortly before the Congress opened and we publish it here as a general introduction to the Congress discussions.

mentionnerai seulement, pour ces dernières années, la sous-commission de stratification et de mobilité sociales, de sociologie industrielle et de sociologie urbaine-rurale. Chacun de ces groupes s'est réuni depuis notre IIIème Congrès, en partie grâce à l'appui de la Fondation Ford. En outre, sous le patronage de l'U.N.E.S.C.O., l'Association a organisé diverses conférences, en particulier celle de Zagreb (août 1956) sur le rôle des classes moyennes dans les pays du pourtour méditerranéen et celle de Moscou (Janvier 1958) sur les aspects sociologiques de la coopération pacifique. C'est à la conférence de Moscou qu'a été décidée la réalisation d'une recherche internationale de sociologie du cinéma pour laquelle une sous-commission se réunira, à l'issue du Congrès, à Pérouse, en même temps que d'autres groupes de travail de l'Association.

Je ne détaillerai pas le chapitre des publications, rappelant seulement les Actes des Congrès depuis 1953 (et à ce propos, le Secrétariat n'est en rien responsable du retard apporté à la parution du volume II des Actes du présent Congrès, retard dû à une grève prolongée de l'imprimerie en Angleterre), la parution régulière des fascicules de *Current Sociology*, la collaboration à la Bibliographie annuelle de la Sociologie.

Ecourtant la liste des activités de l'Association, j'en viens, sans tarder davantage, à celle qui nous réunit ici, c'est-à-dire à ce Congrès dont le thème général est : "La Société et la connaissance sociologique".

Pourquoi cette réflexion sur la connaissance sociologique dans ses rapports avec la société a-t-elle été choisie? Comment, dans l'esprit de l'équipe qui a peu à peu mis au point le programme de vos réunions, ses différentes parties sont-elles liées? Peut-être n'est-il pas inutile de le rappeler au seuil de ce Congrès, en vous indiquant ainsi le fond de décor sur lequel vont se détacher et coopérer les différents sections et les groupes de travail.

A Amsterdam même, dans les derniers jours d'août 1956, à l'issue du IIIe Congrès mondial, le Comité exécutif de notre Association avait proposé comme sujet, pour le IVe Congrès : "La connaissance sociologique : son acquisition, son rôle et son application". Il tenait ainsi compte d'un voeu qui avait été exprimé de divers côtés : à savoir qu'une section fut consacrée à la discussion de problèmes théoriques importants et, en particulier, à des questions de méthode. Ce thème, dont la formulation tripartite était fort élégante (je puis le dire, n'en étant pas l'auteur) fut néanmoins abandonné après discussion. On lui reprochait surtout de méconnaître, dans son expression universaliste, la relativité des modes d'acquisition, du rôle, et de l'application de la connaissance sociologique selon les sociétés globales, leur contexte historique et culturel, leur développement

technique et économique.

L'accent se trouvait donc mis sur la relativité. Ainsi s'explique la période suivante de nos débats, durant l'hiver 1956-1957 : celle des thèmes axés sur le "social control", que nous avons traduit en français par "régulation consciente des sociétés".

Cette notion, à la fois vague et classique (puisque elle remonte aux travaux d'Edward Ross, publiés dès 1919) avait le mérite de pouvoir s'étendre à toutes les formes d'action du milieu social sur l'individu, y compris, et nous y avions songé, les lois, l'opinion publique et son façonnement par les "mass media", la religion, l'armée et j'en passe. Elle permettait donc l'intervention de nombreux spécialistes et la coopération interdisciplinaire, en particulier avec la psychologie sociale.

Mais le sujet demeurait flottant, difficile à structurer et nous en sommes ainsi venus, troisième étape, au thème qui vous est proposé. Il nous a paru retenir l'essentiel des deux précédentes formulations. En effet, notre section I "La sociologie dans son contexte social" inclut l'acquisition et le rôle de la connaissance sociologique tout en respectant la relativité des approches et des problèmes. Elle amorce une sociologie historique de la sociologie dans un certain nombre de pays. Les douze rapports dont les conclusions seront présentées et discutées cette après-midi témoignent de cet effort. Aux problèmes de méthodologie a été consacré, comme beaucoup d'entre vous le souhaitaient, une section entière, comprenant dix sous-sections spécialisées.

Par ailleurs, il nous a paru indispensable d'insister sur les champs et problèmes des applications. Le Congrès servirait ainsi à présenter objectivement notre discipline à l'opinion publique, souvent si peu ou si mal informée à ce sujet. En même temps cette section comprenant treize sous-sections, pourrait, nous l'espérions du moins, attirer l'attention d'un certain nombre d'institutions susceptibles de bénéficier de la recherche sociologique dans les domaines variés de ses applications. Enfin, elle couvrirait une partie du terrain survolé par la notion de "contrôle social".

Mais il restait l'aspect le plus actuel, en tout cas le plus vivement et souvent passionnément discuté de la notion de contrôle social, celui qui appelait tout particulièrement un ample débat scientifique dans un Congrès tel que le nôtre: celui de la planification sociale. Nous lui avons accordé une large place, en confiant à trois rapporteurs hautement qualifiés la direction de trois groupes de travail. Enfin, nous avons laissé toute latitude à des groupes de discussion de s'organiser autour du thème principal: sociologie de la religion, de la connaissance, de l'hygiène mentale, de la politique auront ainsi leur place, ainsi qu'une réunion sur les aspects et problèmes sociaux du

développement économique en Italie, préparée par nos collègues italiens.

L'Association internationale de Sociologie a-t-elle ainsi réussi à offrir à une clientèle aussi distinguée et nombreuse le menu varié qui convient à chacun? Un proche avenir le dira.

L'unité du thème de ce Congrès ayant été ainsi rapidement évoquée dans sa génétique, il n'est pas inutile, maintenant, d'en souligner quelques liaisons fonctionnelles, en donnant ainsi à cette allocution rituelle le sens d'une introduction (ou du moins d'une esquisse d'introduction) à votre semaine de travail.

Au cours de nos entretiens préparatoires, nous avons constaté que la sociologie suscite aujourd'hui encore, dans des pays par ailleurs fort différents, certaines réactions analogues qu'il illustre l'anecdote suivante. En France, il y a quelques années, au cours d'un colloque consacré à la recherche scientifique, un de nos collègues défendait avec ardeur la cause de notre discipline, demandait des crédits, des chercheurs mieux rétribués, des locaux, enfin tout ce qu'un sociologue, en France, et ailleurs, aussi, peut souhaiter. Parmi ceux qui l'écoutaient il y avait des hommes appartenant à toutes les branches du savoir. Un physicien connu qui ne goûta pas ce plaidoyer dit alors à ceux qui l'entouraient: "Quand la maison brûle, ce n'est pas le décorateur qu'on appelle, c'est le pompier".

Cette boutade s'inspire de jugements que l'on rencontre dans des milieux variés: savants appartenant aux sciences de la nature (comme dans ce cas), mais aussi ingénieurs, hommes d'affaires, gens de l'industrie et de la politique, grand public. Ils impliquent une opposition tranchée entre le seul "véritable" scientifique qui procède par expérimentation, calcul, déduction—et tout le reste, qui est littérature ou, comme le disait notre physicien, "décoration". Il s'agit là d'une des réactions de la société industrielle à la sociologie telle qu'elle s'est développée depuis un demi-siècle. En Grande-Bretagne, en Allemagne, en Italie, aux Etats-Unis même, on trouve dans l'opinion publique des jugements analogues. Et je me demande si en U.R.S.S. la nouvelle Association Soviétique de Sociologie, fondée en 1958, ne doit pas faire face, dans certains milieux, à d'impatientes critiques du même genre.

Ces attitudes, composées, à dose variée, d'ignorance, de dédain et aus si, il faut le dire, d'exploitation de certaines de nos lacunes et de nos faiblesses, s'appuient par ailleurs sur l'enthousiasme suscité par les applications des sciences physico-chimiques, leurs succès grandioses frappant aussi bien l'élite que les foules. La sociologie, cette tard-venue, n'a certes pas la prétention de concurrencer l'expansion fracassante des sciences de la nature et pas davantage le désir d'attiser de stériles querelles. Ce que nous disons ici est au contraire motivé

par un désir de clarification et de compréhension réciproque. Notre Congrès, par le choix de son thème, pourra contribuer à dissiper des malentendus. La sociologie, étroitement liée aux autres sciences sociales, s'affirme de plus en plus comme une nécessaire prise de conscience de la société industrielle par elle-même. Face à des "pompiers" dont le rôle est, hélas, souvent malgré eux, de préparer l'incendie, le sociologue devrait être de plus en plus celui qui peut aider à prévenir ou même à éteindre le feu. Autrement dit, face au progrès technique dont les sciences de la nature sont les infatigables promoteurs, le sociologue, s'il était mieux équipé et plus souvent consulté, pourrait en contrôler l'introduction, y mieux adapter les collectivités et les individus, aider les sociétés industrielles à trouver un équilibre qu'elles n'ont encore, quelle que soit leur structure, nulle part atteint dans le monde.

Dans ces rapports complexes entre société et sociologie, la société, influencée par sa structure (classes sociales, mouvements politiques, religion, traditions culturelles, organisation universitaire, etc....), peut développer, mais aussi retarder la connaissance sociologique, prise de conscience de ses institutions, de ses problèmes.

Il sera intéressant, à la suite de ce Congrès, d'étudier de plus près, dans divers pays, l'hostilité à cette prise de conscience et les idéologies, valeurs, préjugés, mythes à travers lesquels elle s'exprime. Disons seulement qu'aujourd'hui la sociologie se trouve parfois confrontée à des attitudes négatives qui vont du dédain à l'hostilité, à la fois du côté de certains milieux scientifiques ou techniques, centrés sur les sciences de la nature, et du côté de certains défenseurs traditionnels des humanités classiques, pour des raisons très différentes. Pour les premiers, dont notre physicien français était un spécimen, les sociologues sont des "littéraires", des gens pas sérieux, adonnés à de vaines et indémontrables spéculations;—pour les seconds, ce sont des techniciens, pédants de la statistique et de l'enquête, étrangers aux problèmes essentiels de la culture,—en somme de dangereux représentants de la barbarie moderne. Les maladies infantiles de la sociologie dont il sera question dans un instant, ont été en partie responsables de ces reproches contradictoires.

Il faut ajouter que la société gêne la connaissance sociologique non seulement en la niant, mais aussi, parfois, en la soutenant maladroitement: par exemple lorsque l'Etat prétend mettre en circulation, sous le nom de sociologues, des serviteurs conformistes d'idéologies officielles ou d'intérêts particuliers. Le même rôle nocif peut être, notons-le, joué par des institutions privées, entreprises industrielles ou commerciales, associations professionnelles ou syndicales.

Les maladies infantiles de la sociologie apparaissent clairement à travers l'exposé des ses vicissitudes dans divers pays. Elles expli-

quent en partie les réactions néfastes de la société et, par contre-coup s'en trouvent parfois prolongées. Mentionnons seulement celles qui paraissent avoir été les principales, coexistant ou prédominant selon les moments :

1°—Une systématisation philosophique trop ambitieuse, accompagnée de généralisations trop rapides, en Allemagne, par exemple, mais aussi bien, selon d'autres modalités, en France, en Italie—aujourd'hui encore dans certains pays d'Amérique latine.

2°—Un empirisme vulgaire, rassemblant des matériaux souvent utiles en soi, mais accumulés sans méthode et sans choix et au milieu desquels l'usager se noie faute d'idée directrice, de classification, d'explication et de preuves.

3°—A l'autre extrémité, un mathématisation naïf, inspiré d'un culte dévot des méthodes statistiques plus ou moins mal digérées, d'une poursuite de la quantification à tout prix, souvent d'un emploi artificiel de la méthode expérimentale appliquée comme une panacée, dans l'ignorance de toute mise en perspective historique, de tout contexte anthropologique et culturel. Trop de recherches conduites dans cet esprit font penser à la montagne qui accouche d'une souris.

C'est par une intuition juste de cette situation que beaucoup d'entre vous avaient exprimé le voeu que le IV^e Congrès mondial étudiât de près les méthodes de la sociologie, la manière dont elles sont influencées par l'appel croissant à ses applications, la possibilité ou la nécessité, et sur quels points, de les réviser. Le développement de la sociologie est inégal, selon l'état technique, économique et culturel du pays envisagé. Dans l'ensemble, les maladies infantiles ont été reconnues et leurs symptômes se font plus rares. En revanche, on voit de plus en plus les signes d'une évolution vers une science authentique, capable de retrouver sous la complexité des faits sociaux des relations intelligibles, d'expliquer leur genèse, leur évolution, leur forme présente. Sur beaucoup de grands problèmes, nos connaissances demeurent insuffisantes (l'effort d'investigation étant à peine commencé et trop peu soutenu). Mais il en est déjà d'autres où elles s'étoffent, s'ordonnent, offrant à la fois des explications théoriques et des moyens d'action. La section de ce Congrès consacrée aux applications en porte témoignage.

Si l'on compare l'état des ressources dont disposait la sociologie scientifique à l'époque de ses "Pères Fondateurs", et aujourd'hui, et même si l'on restreint cette comparaison au dernier demi-siècle, les progrès sont incontestables. Les moyens de la sociologie en chaires, crédits, chercheurs qualifiés, sa place dans les universités, les administrations, la vie des affaires et des associations professionnelles de beaucoup de pays (les Etats-Unis au premier rang) se sont accrues. Mais face aux moyens prodigieux dont disposent les sciences de la

nature et leurs applications, ces progrès, au reste fort inégaux selon les régions, paraissent infimes. Les ressources pour l'enseignement, l'équipement en personnel et en matériel des Instituts, l'organisation de recherches empiriques bien conduites demeurent limitées de manière inquiétante et même dangereuse.

Car la société a besoin de la connaissance sociologique. Plus la société se complique, plus elle crée autour de l'homme un milieu dense, opaque, exerçant sur lui une action multiforme par des stimuli incessants. C'est un lieu commun de dire que l'industrialisation rapide des sociétés (qu'elle soit désordonnée ou diversement méthodique) appelle la coopération des sciences sociales et de la sociologie. A vrai dire, l'influence pratique de la sociologie est aujourd'hui encore le plus souvent indirecte: l'appel direct à des connaissances sociologiques existantes est trop rare. Néanmoins, dans beaucoup de domaines d'application que vous étudierez, la sociologie a déjà fait les preuves de son efficacité. Parmi vous, des marxistes et des non-marxistes discuteront de la capacité du sociologue à activer et orienter la transformation du monde. Mais ils s'accorderont sans dout pour admettre que le sociologue peut aider l'adaptation réciproque des structures socio-économiques, d'une part, et des individus de l'autre. Naguère l'humanité disposait de siècles pour s'adapter à un nouveau type de traction animale ou de charrue. Aujourd'hui, chaque jour, chaque heure apportent des changements techniques. La connaissance sociologique puet être un précieux substitut du temps dans les processus d'adaptation.

Parmi les changements, il en est qui forment une catégorie particulièrement intéressante pour le sociologue: ceux qui sont introduits dans une société d'après un programme étudié à l'avance et avec une prévision coordonnée des résultats. Ces phénomènes —régulation consciente, contrôle social, planification— constituent, par leur extension et leur ambition, un des traits sociaux essentiels de notre époque. Ici encore se pose un problème d'adaptation au changement qui appelle la connaissance sociologique: en fait, les planificateurs ont jusqu'à présent rarement fait appel aux sociologues et c'est bien entendu pour nous une excellente raison d'expliquer certains de leurs échecs. La compétition théorique et pratique entre les divers types de planification est devenue un débat politique trop souvent passionné. Les économies de type capitaliste multiplient les interventions concertées de l'Etat dans la vie économique par les investissements, le crédit, les prix, l'implantation industrielle, etc.... Selon les marxistes, seule la collectivisation totale (et en fait, l'étatisation) des moyens de production permet une planification authentique et efficace. En revanche, une planification de ce type, centralisée, autoritaire, peut-elle se réaliser sans la prépondérance d'une idéologie, d'essence universaliste et totalitaire, sans la suppression du pluralisme politique,

scientifique, artistique et de ce que la démocratie occidentale appelle la liberté d'information et d'opinion. Je me contente de rappeler ici ces problèmes parmi les plus importants de notre temps, qui seront présents à vos esprits lors des discussions de la section II de ce Congrès.

Enfin, en élaborant le thème du congrès, nous avons pensé que vous seriez intéressé par l'examen des rapports actuels du sociologue et de la société qu'il étudie et dont il est membre. De l'ensemble des textes préparés pour nos réunions, se dégagent quelques tendances générales dont vous aurez à examiner la compatibilité et la valeur.

A travers la production de sociologues travaillant dans des contextes très différents, par exemple U.R.S.S., Amérique latine, Etats-Unis, Pologne, Europe occidentale, on constate que l'ambition de la connaissance scientifique se mêle à l'exigence (ou à la nostalgie) de l'action. L'action du sociologue peut être concue par lui essentiellement comme la *transformation militante* du milieu. Mais il peut aussi considérer que sa mission est avant tout d'aider l'homme dans son *adaptation* à ce nouvel environnement. Disons, en gros, que les sociologues soviétiques, invoquant la célèbre thèse de Marx sur Feuerbach, jugent que leur rôle, loin d'être celui d'une passive compréhension des faits sociaux, est de contribuer consciemment et énergiquement à la transformation du monde. Les sociologues non-marxistes d'Amérique et d'Europe, à travers leurs différences d'école et de tempérament individuel, paraissent, dans l'ensemble, mettre plutôt l'accent sur les problèmes d'adaptation. Les nombreuses recherches de la sociologie occidentale consacrées depuis vingt ans à l'introduction de changements et aux réactions qu'ils suscitent, en sont la preuve. L'environnement social est une réalité que le sociologue doit affronter et dominer par la connaissance pour permettre aux collectivités et aux individus de s'y adapter le plus harmonieusement possible, d'y trouver le plus de bien-être physique et moral—and de liberté. Dans cette perspective, le sociologue, et tout particulièrement aux Etats-Unis, se considère souvent comme un pionnier qui se bat sur cette nouvelle frontière, moins pour la déplacer que pour défricher le terrain conquis, aider l'homme à s'y construire une existence rationnelle et libre.

En fait, ces oppositions théoriques sont très nuancées par la réalité. Il y a, de part et d'autre, volonté de transformation, de part et d'autre souci de l'adaptation. Sans vouloir le proclamer explicitement (car leurs moyens et leurs résultats sont souvent limités), les sociologues occidentaux contribuent à la transformation, et en tout cas à la réforme, du milieu social par les recherches sur l'urbanisation, les grandes organisations administratives, la santé mentale, le système hospitalier, les relations raciales, etc. . . Réciproquement, la contribution des sociologues soviétiques à la création de ce qu'on appelle en U.R.S.S.

“l'homme nouveau”, n'est-ce pas en d'autres termes, la recherche d'un nouveau type de relations humaines adaptées aux nouveaux rapports de production? Quant aux sociologues polonais, j'ai pu, au cours d'un récent voyage, constater à quel point ils sont intéressés par les problèmes de l'adaptation (sous tous ses aspects, physiologiques, psychologiques et sociaux), des travailleurs d'origine rurale transplantés dans de grands centres industriels, tels que Nowa Huta.

Un autre courant, sensible par ailleurs dans la production sociologique, suscite une autre image que le sociologue veut avoir et présenter de lui-même: celle de l'*expert*. Il vous appartiendra de juger dans quelle mesure et sous quelles conditions ce rôle d'*expert* peut s'accorder avec ceux que nous venons de définir, à savoir d'un côté la participation militante à la transformation du milieu, et, de l'autre, l'adaptation des individus et collectivités qui en font partie. Il vous appartiendra aussi, si vous le désirez, de pousser plus loin l'analyse. Le rôle du sociologue est différent selon la collectivité qui fait appel à lui: une grande administration publique (c'est-à-dire l'Etat) une entreprise industrielle, commerciale, financière, une corporation économique, un syndicat, une association professionnelle—différent aussi bien entendu selon le contexte de la société globale, selon les modalités de la propriété étatisée et de la propriété privée des moyens de production. De plus, en Occident, le rôle de l'*expert* est différent selon le domaine où ses connaissances doivent être appliquées, sociologie rurale administrative, industrielle. Peut-il se considérer comme un expert non responsable de l'*utilisation* qui sera faite de ses recherches? Peut-il, dans un conflit qu'il arbitre, se désintéresser du risque que ses conclusions soient détournées au profit de la collectivité la plus puissante? S'il s'agit de recherches appliquées aux relations humaines dans une entreprise, doit-il ignorer qu'elles serviront à des manipulations du personnel contraires aux intérêts matériels ou moraux de celui-ci?

A ces questions, les sociologues, quel que soit l'horizon d'où ils viennent, répondent nettement par la négative. Marxistes ou non marxistes, s'inspirant ou non d'une doctrine de tendance universaliste, ils sont, plus ou moins consciemment, inspirés par des systèmes de valeurs. S'efforçant de donner à la société une prise de conscience valable d'elle-même, de ses difficultés, de ses problèmes, le sociologue est, du même coup, voué à dissiper les mythes, les préjugés, les passions, les images aberrantes de toutes origines. De cette vocation l'histoire nous a donné au cours du dernier quart de siècle une démonstration par l'absurde. Dans les régimes où régnait des idéologies soumises aux théories raciales contraires aux droits de l'homme, y a-t-il eu des sociologies dignes de ce nom? Il n'y a pas eu de sociologues dans le IIIe Reich et pas davantage, d'après les rapports qui vous sont soumis, dans l'Italie fasciste. Une sociologie

de la terre et du sang, nécessairement irrationnelle, est une contradiction dans les termes.

Une analyse du contenu de la production sociologique montrerait dans chaque pays l'existence d'un consensus autour de valeurs fondamentales, par exemple, aux Etats-Unis, l'effort pour réaliser plus pleinement l'égalité et la liberté individuelle. En France, malgré toutes les différences de tempérament, d'orientation intellectuelle, d'attitude politique, ce consensus autour de valeurs fondamentales est sensible dans la nouvelle génération de sociologues. Il serait facile à déceler et paraît s'être accentué depuis dix ans au choc des grands problèmes intérieurs de notre pays et des événements internationaux. Le sociologue a cessé d'être explicitement un philosophe. Toutefois, même lorsqu'il est le plus zélé protagoniste des méthodes modernes d'investigation, il joue, en fait, à l'égard de la société qu'il étudie, le rôle d'un témoin, d'un nouveau type de moraliste, le moraliste de la société industrielle. Nous retrouvons ici cette sorte de dialectique qui est, dans le fond, le thème de notre Congrès : la société industrielle appelant, promouvant la connaissance sociologique et le sociologue, réciproquement, agissant sur elle par l'observation armée, la critique, l'intervention concertée.

Il serait, au reste, vain et dangereux de nier des différences parfois profondes dans les systèmes de de valeurs des sociologues, et dans leurs relations avec la société dont ils font partie, différences qui marquent les rapports dont vous avez eu communication et qui s'exprimeront ici au cours de nombreuses discussions publiques et privées. Néanmoins, la communauté d'effort pour transformer l'univers social, y mieux adapter l'individu, y assurer son équilibre psychologique et son épanouissement personnel est un lien réel qui unit les sociologues par dessus les frontières géographiques et doctrinales. Il contribuera, nous n'en doutons pas, à la fécondité de cette manifestation, à laquelle nous vous remercions cordialement de participer, au succès de ce grand Congrès voué au progrès scientifique et à la coopération pacifique des nations.

General Report on the Congress

T. B. BOTTOMORE

(Executive Secretary, International Sociological Association, 1953-59)

The International Sociological Association held its Fourth World Congress of Sociology in Milan and Stresa from the 8th-15th September 1959. The meetings on the first day took place in Milan. The opening session, in the morning, was held in the new Assembly Hall of the Province of Milan, and the first plenary session, in the afternoon, was held in the principal lecture hall of the State University of Milan. The Congress then moved to Stresa, and the subsequent meetings took place in the Palazzo dei Congressi, Stresa.

The Congress was held under the auspices of UNESCO and of the Italian Government. Signor Gronchi, President of the Italian Republic, graciously consented to be the Honorary President of the Congress.

The Congress was sponsored by a large and representative Italian Committee, supported by the Italian member association of the ISA, the Associazione Italiana di Scienze Sociale, and by the Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale.

A Programme Committee comprising Professors Georges Friedmann (Chairman), Raymond Aron, Felice Battaglia, Pierre de Bie, D. V. Glass, A. N. J. den Hollander, René König, Radomir Lukić, R. K. Merton, Jan Szczepanski, Tullio Tentori, Renato Treves, and Dr. A. Beria di Argentine, made the arrangements for the scientific sessions.

The local arrangements for the Congress were made by an Italian Organising Committee whose members were Adrio Casati (Chairman), L. Ancona, A. Ardigò, R. Banfi Rossanda, F. Barbano, A. Beria di Argentine, C. Brambilla, S. Burgalassi, M. Castelli, L. Cavalli, F. Ceriani Sebregondi, M. Colombo, L. Diena, F. Ferrarotti, A. Garofalo, G. Glisenti, S. Lombardini, L. Mescheri, E. Minoli, F. Momigliano, A. Ozzola, A. Pagani, E. Pennati, A. Pizzorno, F. Rossi Landi, U. Scarpelli, T. Seppilli, R. Treves (members), and F. Arborio Mella, D. Gualtierotti Rondini, and M. E. Reina (secretaries).

The Italian organisers not only provided all the facilities for the Congress sessions, including the reception of participants, interpretation, and the recording of discussions; they also arranged an elaborate and enjoyable programme of entertainments, which included a concert at

La Scala, an excursion to Como, and a number of receptions and banquets.

The travel expenses of the principal contributors were met largely by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

There were 980 registered participants, of whom some 800 took an active part in the Congress proceedings. A list of the participants, compiled by the Italian Organising Committee, is given in the Appendix.

OPENING SESSION

The Opening Session of the Congress was also the occasion for the inauguration of the Provincial Assembly Hall, and it was attended by many people eminent in the public life of the City and Province of Milan. The session was presided over by Signor BORELLI, President of the Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale, who welcomed the Congress participants, and in particular the representative of the Italian Government, Signor DEL BO, Minister of Foreign Trade; the representative of the United Nations, MR. MCGRANAHAN; the Director-General of UNESCO, Dr. Vittorino VERONESE; and the representatives of the City and Province of Milan. Signor BORELLI then referred to the Italian contributions to sociology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and he expressed the hope that the present Congress would give a fresh impetus to the recent revival of sociological studies in Italy.

Dr. Adrio Casati, who spoke next, welcomed the participants on behalf of the City and Province of Milan, and emphasized the practical value which the Congress discussions might have for those engaged in public administration.

Signor DEL BO conveyed the good wishes of the Italian Government for the success of the Congress. He underlined the significance of a meeting which brought together scholars from widely differing cultures in the common enterprise of studying as objectively as possible the phenomena of human society, and he referred especially to the value of sociology in the study of the new situations and aspirations which economic and social development was bringing about everywhere in the world.

Dr. VERONESE expressed the interest and good wishes of UNESCO, observing that sociology had a central place in UNESCO's activities, and that the growth of the International Sociological Association, attested by the expansion of its activities and by its increasingly successful congresses, constituted an important element in the success of the UNESCO programme.

Mr. MCGRANAHAN conveyed the greetings and good wishes of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. He noted that many topics in the Congress programme were of direct interest to the United Nations,

particularly those related to the development of under-developed countries, and those concerned with problems of method.

The next speaker was Professor FELICE BATTAGLIA, the chairman of the Sociological Section of the Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale, who evoked the contribution to sociology, in its early stages, of Pareto and Mosca, and in more recent times of Luigi Sturzo.

Professor RENATO TREVES, President of the Associazione Italiana di Scienzi Sociale, welcomed the choice of Italy as the host country for the Congress and expressed the hope that the work of the Congress would stimulate interest in sociological studies and would aid the development of the newly founded Italian association. The publication of the Congress *Transactions* in an Italian translation was intended to diffuse knowledge of modern sociology and methods of research more widely in Italy.

Professor A. N. J. DEN HOLLANDER, Vice-President of the International Sociological Association, apologised for the absence of the President, Professor FRIEDMANN, who had been taken ill. He passed briefly in review the work of the Association and the preparations for the Congress, and paid a warm tribute to the Italian organisers for the tremendous effort which they had devoted to making the Congress a success.

Dr. CASATI announced that messages of goodwill had been received from Signor Segni, President of the Council of Ministers; Signor Pella, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Signor Medici, Minister of Public Instruction; Signor De Nicola; and Professor Einaudi. He then declared the session closed.

SCIENTIFIC MEETINGS

On this occasion there were fewer plenary sessions and more group meetings as compared with previous congresses. Three plenary sessions were held; on Sociology in its Social Context, on Sociological Aspects of Social Planning, and on Developments in Sociological Methods. Most of the time, however, was devoted to group discussion; twelve meetings, held concurrently and extending over three full sessions, were concerned with the applications of sociological knowledge in different areas of social life, and ten seminars, also held concurrently and occupying two sessions were devoted to sociological methods. In addition, three of the seminars joined forces to hold a special meeting on the historical and sociological study of rebellions and revolutions.

The arrangements for discussion were somewhat disturbed by two factors. First, the printing strike in Britain made it impossible to publish the second volume of *Transactions*, which contained many of the introductory papers, before the Congress met. However, some of the papers were distributed at the Congress in the form of offprints.

Second, some of the shorter mimeographed papers quite inexplicably failed to arrive in Stresa by the due date, or even at all, although despatched in good time. But in spite of these difficulties the group meetings were generally successful and, as will be seen from the reports published in this volume, the discussions were interesting and profitable.

A number of additional meetings were also held. Those on the sociology of knowledge, the sociology of religion, political elites, psychiatric sociology, and the sociology of film, had been announced before the Congress and discussion papers had been invited. Brief reports on some of these meetings will be found later in this volume. The papers on the sociology of knowledge, as mentioned earlier, will be published in Volume IV of the *Transactions*. The papers on political elites are also to be published in Italy.

On Saturday, September 12th, Signor MEDICI, Minister of Public Instruction visited the Congress. He attended a reception with members of the Italian Organising Committee and the Executive Committee of the International Sociological Association, and subsequently took part in one of the group meetings.

ADMINISTRATIVE MEETINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

During the Congress the ISA Council held its fourth session, and meetings of the Executive and Administrative Committees were held. The Council and Committees received reports on membership, finance, publications, and research.

A special meeting of the Executive Committee was held to consider membership applications which had been received immediately prior to the Congress, and five new members were admitted. The membership of the Association was reported to the next meeting of the Council as being:

REGULAR MEMBERS	Regional and National Associations	37
	Institutes	25
ASSOCIATE MEMBERS	4
INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS	40

This membership represented 58 countries.

The Executive Secretary presented a report on the publications of the Association. The *Transactions* of the Second World Congress were now out of print, while there was a continuing steady sale of the *Transactions* of the Third World Congress. The following issues of *Current Sociology*, which was now published for the Association by Basil Blackwell (Oxford), had appeared since the last Congress:

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| Vol. VI, No. 1. | T. Lynn Smith, "Rural Sociology" |
| No. 2. | R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, "Political Sociology" |
| No. 3. | Lyle Shannon, "Social Factors in Economic Growth" |
| Vol. VII, No. 1. | Reuben Hill, "Sociology of Marriage and Family Behaviour, 1945-56" |
| No. 2. | S. N. Eisenstadt, "Bureaucracy and Bureaucratization" |

The Council received the resignation of Mr. T. B. Bottomore as Executive Secretary and appointed Professor Pierre de Bie, of the University of Louvain, to be Executive Secretary of the Association for the period 1959-64. The offices of the Association will in future be at 118, rue des Flamands, Louvain, Belgium. The Council agreed that Mr Bottomore should continue to act, for the time being, as editorial secretary of *Current Sociology*.

The Council elected Professor T. H. Marshall as President of the Association for the term 1959-62, and also elected new Vice-Presidents and members to replace those whose terms of office had expired. The Executive Committee for the term 1959-62 is constituted as follows:

President: Professor T. H. MARSHALL (UK)

Vice-Presidents: Professor RENE KONIG (German Federal Republic)
Professor D. P. MUKERJI (India)
Professor S. OSSOWSKI (Poland)

Members: Professor HERBERT BLUMER (U.S.A.)

Professor A. N. J. DEN HOLLANDER (Netherlands)
Professor GEORGES FRIEDMANN (France)
Mr. HENNING FRIIS (Denmark)
Professor GINO GERMANI (Argentine)
Professor W. J. H. SPROTT (U.K.)
Professor RENATO TREVES (Italy)

The Council appointed an Administrative Committee to comprise the President and Vice-Presidents (*ex officio*) and two other members, Professor K. A. BUSIA (Ghana) and Professor D. V. GLASS (U.K.).

The Council also appointed a Committee on Teaching and Training with the following members:

Professor RAYMOND ARON (France)
Mr. T. B. BOTTOMORE (U.K.)
Professor S. N. EISENSTADT (Israel)
Professor A. M. ROSE (U.S.A.)
Professor JAN SZCZEPANSKI (Poland)

The Council and the Executive Committee reviewed the work of the three research sub-committees, on social stratification and social mo-

bility, on industrial sociology, and on urban-rural sociology, all of which had held working conferences since the last Congress. They also considered proposals which had been made for the formation of new research sub-committees, in the fields of political sociology, sociology of religion, sociology of the family, psychiatric sociology, and sociology of mass communications. The proposals were accepted, but the Executive Committee, having regarded to the burden of work which would result from the activities of eight research sub-committees, ruled that each sub-committee should appoint a secretary and should be responsible for its own administration.

The Council considered suggestions for the organisation of the Fifth World Congress and agreed to accept the invitation of the American Sociological Association to hold the Congress in Washington D.C. in 1962. The Executive Committee discussed the arrangements in greater detail and appointed a Programme Committee to draw up plans for the meetings.

CLOSING SESSION

The closing session of the Congress was addressed by Professor GEORGES FRIEDMANN, the retiring President of the ISA; by Professor KÖNIG, Vice-President of the ISA, who paid a tribute to the work of the Italian organisers and of the ISA officials; by Signor GONELLA, Minister of Justice, on behalf of the Italian Government; by Signor BORELLI, on behalf of the Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale; and by Professor T. H. MARSHALL, the newly elected President of the ISA. Brief assessments of the work of the Congress were given by Professor R. LUKIC, who reviewed the discussions on the social context of sociology; by Professor FRANKLIN FRAZIER, who commented on some of the group meetings concerned with the applications of sociological knowledge; and by Professor J. SZCZEPANSKI, who discussed the work of the sessions devoted to sociological methods.

The Fourth World Congress came appropriately to mark the progress of the International Sociological Association in the first decade of its life. The membership of the Association now represents 58 countries; that is to say, almost every country where sociology is taught and sociological research is conducted. The conferences and congresses of the Association, and its publications, have played a major part in creating the present widely diffused knowledge of, and interest in, the international aspects of sociology, and in establishing that close and friendly collaboration between sociologists from different countries which now exists in many fields of study. The Fourth World Congress was more successful than any of its predecessors in bringing together distinguished representatives of the discipline from very diverse fields of enquiry and schools of thought, together with large numbers of young scholars.

These achievements should make it possible for the International Sociological Association, in its next decade, to develop more intensively the cultural contacts and the fruitful exchanges of experience in social enquiry which it has already established in an extensive way, by devoting more of its resources to the organisation of research conferences and regional meetings, in the intervals between Congresses perhaps held less frequently.

SECTION I

SECTION I

PLENARY SESSION ON SOCIOLOGY IN ITS SOCIAL CONTEXT

Chairman: Professor FELICE BATTAGLIA (University of Bologna)

Main Papers: Professor RAYMOND ARON (University of Paris)

Professor R. K. MERTON (Columbia University)

Editorial Note: Professor Aron's paper was published in Volume 1. Professor Merton's paper is published here.

Social Conflict over Styles of Sociological Work

ROBERT K. MERTON

(Professor of Sociology, Columbia University)

After enjoying more than two generations of scholarly interest, the sociology of knowledge remains largely a subject for meditation rather than a field of sustained and methodical investigation. This has resulted in the curious condition that more monographs and papers are devoted to discussions of what the sociology of knowledge is and what it ought to be than to detailed inquiries into specific problems.

What is true of the sociology of knowledge at large is conspicuously true of the part concerned with the analysis of the course and character taken by sociology itself. This, at least, is the composite verdict of the jury of twelve who have reviewed for us the social contexts of sociology in countries all over the world. Almost without exception, the authors of these papers report (or intimate) that, for their own country, they could find only fragmentary evidence on which to draw for their account. They emphasize the tentative and hazardous nature of interpretations based on such slight foundations. It follows that my own paper, drawing upon the basic papers on national sociologies, must be even more tentative and conjectural.

In effect, these authors tell us that they have been forced to resort to loose generalities rather than being in a position to report firmly grounded generalizations. Generalities are vague and indeterminate statements that bring together particulars which are not really comparable; generalizations report definite though general regularities distilled from the methodical comparison of comparable data. We all know the kind of generalities found in the sociology of knowledge: that societies with sharp social cleavages, as allegedly in France, are more apt to cultivate sociology intensively than societies with a long history of a more nearly uniform value-system, as allegedly in England; that a rising social class is constrained to see the social reality more authentically than a class long in power but now on the way

out; that an upper class will focus on the static aspects of society and a lower one on its dynamic, changing aspects; that an upper class will be alert to the functions of existing social arrangements and a lower class to their dysfunctions; or, to take one last familiar generality, that socially conservative groups hold to multiple-factor doctrines of historical causation and socially radical groups to monistic doctrines. These and comparable statements may be true or not, but as the authors of the national reports remind us, we cannot say for these are not typically the result of systematic investigations. They are, at best, impressions derived from a few particulars selected to make the point.

It will be granted that we sociologists cannot afford the dubious luxury of a double standard of scholarship; one requiring the systematic collection of comparable data when dealing with complex problems, say, of social stratification and another accepting the use of piecemeal illustrations when dealing with the no less complex problems of the sociology of knowledge. It might well be, therefore, that the chief outcome of this first session of the Congress will be to arrange for a comparative investigation of sociology in its social contexts similar to the investigation of social stratification that the Association has already launched. The problems formulated in the national papers and the substantial gaps in needed data uncovered by them would be a useful prelude to such an undertaking.

The growth of a field of intellectual inquiry can be examined under three aspects: as the historical filiation of ideas considered in their own right; as affected by the structure of the society in which it is being developed; and as affected by the social processes relating the men of knowledge themselves. Other sessions of the Congress will deal with the first when the substance and methods of contemporary sociology are examined. In his overview, Professor Aron considers the second by examining the impact on sociology of the changing social structure external to it: industrialization, the organization of universities, the role of distinctive cultural traditions, and the like. He goes on to summarize the central tendencies of certain national sociologies, principally those of the United States and the Soviet Union, and assesses their strengths and weaknesses. Rather than go over much the same ground to arrive at much the same observations, I shall limit myself to the third of these aspects. I shall say little about the social structure external to sociologists and focus instead on some social processes internal to the development of sociology and in particular on the role in that development played by social conflict between sociologists.

There is reason to believe that patterns of social interaction among sociologists, as among other men of science and learning, affect the

changing contours of the discipline just as the cultural accumulation of knowledge manifestly does. Juxtaposing the national papers gives us an occasion to note the many substantial similarities if not identities in the development of sociology in each country that underlie the sometimes more conspicuous if not necessarily more thorough-going differences. These similarities are noteworthy if only because of the great variability and sometimes profound differences of social structure, cultural tradition and contemporary values among the twelve nations whose sociology has been reviewed. These societies differ among themselves in the size of the underlying population, in the character of their systems of social stratification, in the number, organization and distribution of their institutions of higher learning, in their economic organization and the state of their technology, in their current and past political structure, in their religious and national traditions, in the social composition of their intellectuals, and so on through other relevant bases of comparison. In view of these diversities of social structure, it is striking that there are any similarities in the course sociology has taken in these societies. All this suggests that a focus on the social processes internal to sociology as a partly autonomous domain can help us to understand a little better the similarities of sociological work in differing societies. It may at the least help us identify some of the problems that could be profitably taken up in those monographs on the sociological history of sociology that have yet to be written.

One last introductory word : we have been put on notice that since the papers on national sociologies could not be circulated in advance, we should keep our general remarks to a minimum. I shall therefore omit much of the concrete material on which my paper is based.

PHASES OF SOCIOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

From the national reports, we can distinguish three broad phases in the development of sociology : first, the differentiation of sociology from antecedent disciplines with its attendant claim to intellectual legitimacy ; second, the quest to establish its institutional legitimacy or academic autonomy ; and third, when this effort has been moderately successful, a movement toward the re-consolidation of sociology with selected other social sciences. These well-known phases are of interest here insofar as they derive from processes of social interaction between sociologists and between them and scholars in related fields, processes that have left their distinctive mark on the kinds of work being done by sociologists.

Differentiation from other disciplines

The beginnings of sociology are of course found in the antecedent disciplines from which it split off. The differentiation differs in detail

but has much the same general character in country after country. In England, we are told, sociology derived chiefly from political economy, social administration and philosophy. In Germany, it shared some of these antecedents as well as an important one in comparative law. In France, its roots were in philosophy and, for a time, in the psychologies that were emerging. Its varied ancestry in the United States included a concern with practical reform, economics and, in some degree, anthropology. Or, to turn to some countries which have been described by their reporters as "sociologically under-developed", in Jugoslavia, sociology became gradually differentiated from ethnology, the history of law and anthropogeography; in Spain, it was long an appendage of philosophy, especially the philosophy of history. The Latin American countries saw sociology differentiated from jurisprudence, traditionally bound up as it was with an interest in the social contexts of law and the formation of law that came with the creation, in these states, of governments of their own.

The process of differentiation had direct consequences for the early emphasis in sociology. Since the founding fathers were self-taught in sociology—the discipline was, after all, only what they declared it to be—they each found it incumbent to develop a classification of the sciences in order to locate the distinctive place of sociology in the intellectual scheme of things. Virtually every sociologist of any consequence throughout the nineteenth century and partly into the twentieth proposed his own answers to the socially induced question of the scope and nature of sociology and saw it as his task to evolve his own system of sociology.

Whether sociology is said to have truly begun with Vico (to say nothing of a more ancient lineage) or with St. Simon, Comte, Stein or Marx is of no great moment here, though it may be symptomatic of current allegiances in sociology. What is in point is that the nineteenth century—to limit our reference—was the century of sociological systems not necessarily because the pioneering sociologists happened to be system-minded men but because it was their role, at that time, to seek intellectual legitimacy for this "new science of a very ancient subject." In the situation confronting them, when the very claim to legitimacy of a new discipline had to be presented, there was little place for a basic interest in detailed and delimited investigations of specific sociological problems. It was the framework of sociological thought itself that had to be built and almost everyone of the pioneers tried to fashion one for himself.

The banal flippancy tempts us to conclude that there were as many sociological systems as there were sociologists in this early period. But of course this was not so. The very multiplicity of systems, each

with its claim to being the genuine sociology, led naturally enough to the formation of schools, each with its masters, disciples and epigoni. Sociology not only became differentiated from other disciplines but became internally differentiated. This was not in terms of specialization but in the form of rival claims to intellectual legitimacy, claims typically held to be mutually exclusive and at odds. This is one of the roots of the kinds of social conflict among sociologists today that we shall examine in a little detail.

Institutional legitimacy of sociology

If it was the founding fathers who initiated and defended the claim of sociology to intellectual legitimacy—as having a justifiable place in the culture—it was their successors, the founders of modern sociology—who pressed the claim to institutional legitimacy, by addressing themselves to those institutionalized status-judges of the intellect: the universities. Here again, the pattern in different nations differs only in detail. Whether ultimate control of the universities was lodged in the state or the church, it was their faculties that became the decisive audience for a Weber, Durkheim or Simmel. Sociology was variously regarded by the faculties as an illegitimate upstart, lacking warrant for a recognized place in the collegial family, or sometimes as an institutional competitor. And this social situation repeatedly led to a limited number of responses by sociologists of the time.

They directed themselves, time and again (as some still do), to the questions that, satisfactorily answered, would presumably make the case for sociology as an autonomous academic discipline. They continued to deal with the question: is a science of society possible? And having satisfied themselves (and hopefully, others in the university) that it is, they turned above all to the further question, whose relevance was reinforced by the social condition of being on trial: what is sociology? that is to say, what is its distinctive scope, its distinctive problems, its distinctive functions; in short, its distinctive place in the academic world.

I do not try to enumerate the many answers to these questions, which we can all readily call to mind. What I do want to suggest is that the long-lasting focus on these questions seemed peculiarly pertinent, not only because of an immediate intellectual interest in them but because these were generations of sociologists seeking but not yet finding full academic legitimization. This sort of public search for an identity becomes widespread in a group rather than being idiosyncratic to a few of its members whenever a status or a way of life has yet to win acceptance or is under attack.

The socially induced search for an institutional identity led soci-

ologists to identify a jurisdiction unshared by other disciplines. Simmel's notion of a geometry of social interaction and his enduring attention to the so-called molecular components of social relations is only one of the best-known efforts to centre on elements of social life that were not systematically treated by other disciplines. It would be too facile to 'derive' his interest in the distinctive sociology of everyday life from his experience of having been excluded, until four years before his death, from a professorship in a field that was still suspect. But this kind of individual experience may have reinforced an interest that had other sources. The early sociologists in the United States were responding to a comparable social situation in much the same way, locating such subjects of life in society as 'corrections and charities' that had not yet been 'pre-empted' for study.

A related consequence of the quest for academic legitimacy was the motivated separation of sociology from the other disciplines: the effort to achieve autonomy through self-isolation. We have only to remember, for example, Durkheim's taboo on the use of systematic psychology which, partly misunderstood, for so long left its stamp on the work stemming from this influential tradition in sociology.

The struggle for academic status may have reinforced the utilitarian emphasis found in sociology, whether in its positivistic or Marxist beginnings. However much the dominant schools disagreed in other respects, they all saw sociology as capable of being put to use for concerted objectives. The differences lay not in the repudiation or acceptance of utility as an important criterion of sociological knowledge but in the conception of what was useful.

As sociology achieved only limited recognition by the universities, it acquired peripheral status through the organizational device of research institutes. These have been of various kinds: as adjuncts to universities; as independent of universities but state-supported or aided; and, in a few cases, as private enterprises. Socially, they tended to develop where the university-system was felt to provide insufficient recognition. Just as in the seventeenth century, when no one arrived at the seemingly obvious thought of basing research laboratories for the physical sciences in the university, so we have witnessed a comparable difficulty, now overcome in many quarters, in arriving at the idea that the universities should house research organizations in the social sciences. They are now to be found in just about every country represented here. With their prevalently apprentice system of research training and, as the national papers report, with their greater readiness to try out new orientations in sociology, these institutes might well turn out to be a major force in the advancement of sociology. If so, they would represent an intellectual advance substantially responsive

to the social situation of institutional exclusion or under-recognition.

Re-consolidation with other disciplines

As the institutional legitimacy of sociology becomes substantially acknowledged—which does not mean, of course, that it is entirely free from attack—the pressure for separatism from other disciplines declines. No longer challenged seriously as having a right to exist, sociology links up again with some of its siblings. But since new conceptions and new problems have meanwhile emerged, this does not necessarily mean re-consolidation with the same disciplines from which sociology drew its origins in a particular country.

Patterns of collaboration between the social sciences differ somewhat from country to country and it would be a further task for the monographs on the sociology of sociology to try to account for these variations. Some of these patterns are found repeatedly. In France, we are told, the long-lasting connection between sociology and ethnology, which the Durkheim group had welded together, has now become more tenuous, with sociologists being increasingly associated with psychologists, political scientists, and geographers. In the United States, as another example, the major collaboration is with psychology—social psychology being the area of convergence—and with anthropology. Another cluster links sociology with political science and, to some extent, with economics. There are visible stirrings to renew the linkage, long attenuated in the United States, of sociology with history. The events long precede their widespread recognition. At the very time that American graduate students of sociology are learning to repeat the grievance that historical contexts have been lost to view by systematic sociology, the national organization of sociologists is devoting annual sessions to historical sociology and newer generations of sociologists, such as Bellah, Smelser, and Diamond are removing the occasion for the grievance through their work and their programme.

Each of the various patterns of interdisciplinary collaboration has its intellectual rationale. They are not merely the outcome of social forces. However, these rationales are apt to be more convincing, I suggest, to sociologists who find that their discipline is no longer on trial. It has become sufficiently legitimized that they no longer need maintain a defensive posture of isolation. Under these social circumstances, interdisciplinary work becomes a self-evident value and may even be exaggerated into a cultish requirement.

Summary

In concluding this sketch of three phases in the development of sociology, I should like to counter possible misunderstandings.

It is not being said that sociology in every society moves successively through these phases, with each promptly supplanted by the next. Concretely, these phases overlap and coexist. Nevertheless, it is possible to detect in the national reports a distinct tendency for each phase to be dominant for a time and to become so partly as a result of the social processes of opposition and collaboration that have been briefly examined.

It is not being said, also, that the social processes internal to sociology and related disciplines fully determine the course sociology has taken. But it is being said that together with *culturally* induced change in the contours of sociology, resulting from the interplay of ideas and cumulative knowledge there is also *socially* induced change, such that particular preoccupations, orientations, and ideas that come to 'make sense' to sociologists in one phase elicit little interest among them in another. The concrete development of sociology is of course not the product only of social processes immanent to the field. It is the resultant of social and intellectual forces internal to the discipline with both of these being influenced by the enveloping social structure, as the reports on national sociologies and the companion-piece by Professor Aron have noted. The emphasis on social processes internal to sociology is needed primarily because the sociology of knowledge has for so long centred on the relations between social structures, external to intellectual life, and the course taken by one or another branch of knowledge.

Continuing with this same restriction of focus on social processes internal to the discipline, I turn now to some of the principal occasions for conflict between various styles of sociological work. In doing so, I am again mindful of the need for monographs on the sociological history of sociology emphasized in the papers presented to this session. If the linkages between sociology and social structure are to be seriously investigated, then it is necessary to decide which aspects of sociology might be so related. These would presumably include, as Professor Aron has indicated, the questions it asks, the concepts it employs, the objects it studies and the types of explanations it adopts. One way of identifying the alternative orientations, commitments and functions ascribed to sociology is by examining, however briefly, the principal conflicts and polemics that have raged among sociologists. For these presumably exhibit the alternative paths that sociology might have taken in a particular society, but did not, as well as the paths it has taken. In reviewing some of these conflicts, I do not propose to consider the merits of one or another position. These are matters that will be examined in the other sessions of the Congress that deal with the various specialities and with the uses of sociology. I intend to consider them only as they exhibit alternative

lines of development in sociology that are influenced by the larger social structure and by social processes internal to sociology itself.

SOME UNIFORMITIES IN THE CONFLICT OF SOCIOLOGICAL STYLES

A few general observations may provide a guide through the jungle of sociological controversy.

First, the reports on national sociologies naturally centre on the dominant kinds of sociological work found in each country ; on the modes rather than on the less frequent variants. But to judge from the reports, these sociologies differ not only in their central tendencies but also in the *extent of variation* around these tendencies. Each country provides for different degrees of heterodoxy in sociological thought, and these differences are probably socially patterned. In the Soviet Union, for example, there appears to be a marked concentration in the styles of sociological work with little variability : a heavy commitment to Marxist-Leninist theory with divergence from it only in minor details ; a great concentration on the problem of the forces making for sequences of historical development of total societies ; and a consequent emphasis, with little dispersion, upon historical evidence as the major source material. It would be instructive to compare the extent of dispersion around the dominant trends of sociological work in the United States, which are periodically subjected to violent attacks from within, as in the formidable book by Sorokin, *Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology*, and in the recent little book by C. Wright Mills which, without the same comprehensive and detailed citation of seeming cases in point, follows much the same lines of arguments as those advanced by Sorokin. As we compare the national sociologies, we should consider how the social organization of intellectual life affects the extent to which the central tendencies of each country's sociology are concentrated.

Much of the controversy among sociologists involves social conflict and not only intellectual criticism. Often, it is less a matter of contradictions between sociological ideas than of competing definitions of the role considered appropriate for the sociologist. Intellectual conflict of course occurs ; an unremitting Marxist sociology and an unremitting Weberian or Parsonian sociology do make contradictory assumptions. But in considering the cleavages among a nation's sociologists, or among those of different nations, we should note whether the occasion for dispute is this kind of substantive or methodological contradiction or rather the claim that this or that sociological problem, this or that set of ideas, is not receiving the attention it allegedly deserves. I suggest that very often these polemics have more to do with the allocation of intellectual resources among different kinds of

sociological work than with a closely formulated opposition of sociological ideas.

These controversies follow the classically identified course of social conflict. Attack is followed by counter-attack, with progressive alienation of each party to the conflict. Since the conflict is public, it becomes a status-battle more nearly than a search for truth. (How many sociologists have publicly admitted to error as a result of these polemics?) The consequent polarization leads each group of sociologists to respond largely to stereotyped versions of what is being done by the other. As Professor Germani says, Latin American sociologists stereotype the North Americans as mere nose-counters or mere fact-finders or merely descriptive sociographers. Or others become stereotyped as inveterately speculative, entirely unconcerned with compelling evidence, or as committed to doctrines that are so formulated that they cannot be subjected to disproof.

Not that these stereotypes have no basis in reality at all, but only that, in the course of social conflict, they become self-confirming stereotypes as sociologists shut themselves off from the experience that might modify them. The sociologists of each camp develop selective perceptions of what is actually going on in the other. They see in the other's work primarily what the hostile stereotype has alerted them to see, and then promptly mistake the part for the whole. In this process, each group of sociologists become less and less motivated to study the work of the other, since there is manifestly little point in doing so. They scan the out-group's writings just enough to find ammunition for new fusillades.

The process of reciprocal alienation and stereotyping is probably reinforced by the great increase in the bulk of sociological publication. Like many other scholars, sociologists can no longer 'keep up' with all that is being published in their field. They must become more and more selective in their reading. And this selectivity readily leads those who are hostile to a particular line of sociological work to give up studying the very publications that might possibly have led them to abandon their stereotype.

All this tends to move towards the emergence of an all-or-none doctrine. Sociological orientations that are not substantively contradictory are regarded as if they were. Sociological inquiry, it is said, must be statistical in character or historical; only the great issues of the time must be the objects of study or these refractory issues of freedom or compulsion must be avoided because they are not amenable to scientific investigation; and so on.

The process of social conflict would more often be halted in mid-

course and instead turn into intellectual criticism if there were non-reciprocation of affect, if a stop were put to the reciprocity of contempt that typically marks these polemics. But we do not ordinarily find here the social setting that seems required for the non-reciprocation of affect to operate with regularity. This requires a differentiation of status between the parties, at least with respect to the occasion giving rise to the expression of hostility. When this status-differentiation is present, as with the lawyer and his client or the psychiatrist and his patient, the non-reciprocity of expressed feeling is governed by a technical norm attached to the more authoritative status in the relationship. But in scientific controversies, which typically take place among a company of equals for the occasion (however much the status of the parties might otherwise differ) and, moreover, which takes place in public, subject to the observation of peers, this structural basis for non-reciprocation of affect is usually absent. Instead, rhetoric is met with rhetoric, contempt with contempt, and the intellectual issues become subordinated to the battle for status.

In these polarized controversies, also, there is usually little room for the third, uncommitted party who might convert social conflict into intellectual criticism. True, some sociologists in every country will not adopt the all-or-none position that is expected in social conflict. They will not be drawn into what are essentially disputes over the definition of the role of the sociologist and over the allocation of intellectual resources though put forward as conflicts of sociological ideas. But typically, these would-be noncombatants are caught in the crossfire between the hostile camps. Depending on the partisan vocabulary of abuse that happens to prevail, they become tagged either as 'mere eclectics', with the epithet, by convention, making it unnecessary to examine the question of what it asserts or how far it holds true; or, they are renegades, who have abandoned the sociological truth; or, perhaps worst of all, they are mere middle-of-the-roaders or fence-sitters who, through timidity or expediency, will not see that they are fleeing from the fundamental conflict between unalloyed sociological good and sociological evil.

We all know the proverb that "conflict is the gadfly of truth." Now, proverbs, that abiding source of social science for the millions, often express a part-truth just as they often obscure that truth by not referring to the conditions under which it holds. This seems to be such a case. As we have noted, in social conflict cognitive issues become warped and distorted as they are pressed into the service of 'scoring off the other fellow'. Nevertheless, when the conflict is regulated by the community of peers, it has its uses for the advancement of the discipline. With some regularity, it seems to come into marked effect whenever a particular line of investigation—say, of small

groups—or a particular set of ideas—say, functional analysis—or a particular mode of inquiry—say, historical sociology or social surveys—has engrossed the attention and energies of a large and growing number of sociologists. Were it not for such conflict, the reign of orthodoxies in sociology would be even more marked than it sometimes is. Self-assertive claims that allegedly neglected problems, methods and theoretical orientation merit more concerted attention than they are receiving may serve to diversify the work that gets done. With more room for heterodoxy, there is more prospect of intellectually productive ventures, until these develop into new orthodoxies.

Even with their frequent intellectual distortions (and possibly, sometimes because of them), polemics may help redress accumulative imbalances in scientific inquiry. No one knows, I suppose, what an optimum distribution of resources in a field of inquiry would be, not least of all, because of the ultimate disagreement over the criteria of the optimum. But progressive concentrations of effort seem to evoke counter-reactions, so that less popular but intellectually and socially relevant problems, ideas, and modes of inquiry do not fade out altogether. In social science as in other fields of human effort, a line of development that has caught on—perhaps because it has proved effective for dealing with certain problems—attracts a growing proportion of newcomers to the field who perpetuate and increase that concentration. With fewer recruits of high calibre, those engaged in the currently unpopular fields will have a diminished capacity to advance their work and with diminished accomplishments, they become even less attractive. The noisy claims to under-recognition of particular kinds of inquiry, even when accompanied by extravagantly rhetorical attacks on the work that is being prevalently done, may keep needed intellectual variants from drying up and may curb a growing concentration on a narrowly limited range of problems. At least, this possibility deserves study by the sociologist of knowledge.

These few observations on social conflict, as distinct from intellectual criticism, are commonplace enough, to begin with. It would be a pity if they were banalized as asserting that peace between sociologists should be sought at any price. When there is genuine opposition of ideas—when one set of ideas plainly contradicts another—then agreement for the sake of peaceful quiet would mean abandoning the sociological enterprise. I am suggesting only that when we consider the current disagreements among sociologists, we find that many of them are not so much cognitive oppositions as contrasting evaluations of the worth of one and another kind of sociological work. They are bids for support by the social system of sociologists. For the sociologist of knowledge, these conflicts afford clues to the alternatives

from which the sociologists of each country are making their deliberate or unwitting selection.

TYPES OF POLEMICS IN SOCIOLOGY

These general remarks are intended as a guide to the several dozen foci of conflict between sociologists. Let me comfort you by saying that I shall not consider all of them here, nor is it necessary. Instead, I shall review two or three of them in a little detail and then merely identify some of the rest for possible discussion.

The trivial and the important in sociology

Perhaps the most pervasive polemic, the one which, as I have implied, underlies most of the rest, stems from the charge by some sociologists that others are busily engaged in the study of trivia, while all about them the truly significant problems of human society go unexamined. After all, so this argument goes, while war and exploitation, poverty, injustice and insecurity plague the life of men in society or threaten their very existence, many sociologists are fiddling with subjects so remote from these catastrophic troubles as to be irresponsibly trivial.

This charge typically assumes that it is the topic, the particular objects under study, that fixes the importance or triviality of the investigation. This is an old error that refuses to stay downed, as a glance at the history of thought will remind us. To some of his contemporaries, Galileo and his successors were obviously engaged in a trivial pastime, as they watched balls rolling down inclined planes rather than attending to such really important topics as means of improving ship-construction that would enlarge commerce and naval might. At about the same time, the Dutch microscopist, Swammerdam, was the butt of ridicule by those far-seeing critics who knew that sustained attention to his 'tiny animals', the micro-organisms, was an unimaginative focus on patently trivial minutiae. These critics often had authoritative social support. Charles II, for example, could join in the grand joke about the absurdity of trying to "weigh the ayre," as he learned of the fundamental work on atmospheric pressure which to his mind was nothing more than childish diversion and idle amusement when compared with the Big Topics to which natural philosophers should attend. The history of science provides a long if not endless list of instances of the easy confusion between the seemingly self-evident triviality of the object under scrutiny and the cognitive significance of the investigation.

Nevertheless, the same confusion periodically turns up anew in sociology. Consider the contributions of a Durkheim for a moment:

his choice of the division of labour in society, of its sources and consequences, would no doubt pass muster as a significant subject, but what of the subject of suicide? Pathetic as suicide may be for the immediate survivors, it can seldom be included among the major troubles of a society. Yet we know that Durkheim's analysis of suicide proved more consequential for sociology than his analysis of social differentiation; that it advanced our understanding of the major problem of how social structures generate behaviour that is at odds with the prescriptions of the culture, a problem that confronts every kind of social organization.

You can add at will, from the history of sociology and other sciences, instances which show that there is no *necessary* relation between the socially ascribed importance of the object under examination and the scope of its implications for an understanding of how society or nature works. The social and the scientific significance of a subject-matter can be poles apart.

The reason for this is, of course, that ideally that empirical object is selected for study which enables one to investigate a scientific problem to particularly good advantage. Often, these intellectually strategic objects hold little intrinsic interest, either for the investigator or anyone else.

Again, there is nothing peculiar to sociology here. Nor is one borrowing the prestige of the better-established sciences by noting that all this is taken for granted there. It is not an intrinsic interest in the fruitfly or the bacteriophage that leads the geneticist to devote so much attention to them. It is only that they have been found to provide strategic materials for working out selected problems of genetic transmission. Comparing an advanced field with a retarded one, we find much the same thing in sociology. Sociologists centring on such subjects as the immigrant, the stranger, small groups, voting-decisions or the social organization of industrial firms need not do so because of an intrinsic interest in them. They may be chosen, instead, because they strategically exhibit such problems as those of marginal men, reference group behaviour, the social process of conformity, patterned sources of nonconformity, the social determination of aggregated individual decisions, and the like.

When the charge of triviality is based on a common-sense appraisal of the outer appearance of subject-matter alone, it fails to recognize that a major part of the intellectual task is to find the materials that are strategic for getting to the heart of a problem. If we want to move toward a better understanding of the roots and kinds of social conformity and the socially induced sources of nonconformity, we must consider the types of concrete situations in which these can be

investigated to best advantage. It does not mean a commitment to a particular object. It means answering questions such as these : which aspects of conformity as a social process can be observed most effectively in small, admittedly contrived and adventitious groups temporarily brought together in the laboratory but open to detailed observations ? which aspects of conformity can be better investigated in established bureaucracies ? and which require the comparative study of organizations in different societies ? So with sociological problems of every kind : the forms of authority ; the conditions under which power is converted into authority and authority into power ; limits on the range of variability among social institutions within particular societies ; processes of self-defeating and self-fulfilling cultural mandates ; and so on.

If we ask, in turn, how we assess the significance of the sociological problem (rather than that of the object under scrutiny), then, it seems to me, sociologists have found no better answer than that advanced by Max Weber and others in the notion of *Wertbeziehung*. It is the relevance of the problem to men's values, the puzzles about the workings of social structure and its change that engage men's interests and loyalties. And the fact is that this rough-and-ready criterion is so loose that there is ample room for differing evaluations of the worth, as distinct from the validity and truth, of a sociological investigation even among those who ostensibly have the same general scheme of values. The case for the significance of problems of reference-group behaviour, for example, stems from the cumulative recognition, intimated but not followed up by sociologists from at least the time of Marx, that the behaviour, attitudes, and loyalties of men are not uniformly determined by their current social positions and affiliations. Puzzling inconsistencies in behaviour are becoming less puzzling by systematically following up the simple idea that people's patterned selection of groups other than their own provide frames of normative reference which intervene between the influence of their current social position and their behaviour.

In short, the attack on the alleged triviality of much sociological work, found apparently in all the national sociologies, is something less than the self-evident case it is made out to be. It often derives from a misconception of the connection between the selection of an object for study, the object having little intrinsic significance for people in the society, and the strategic value of that object for helping to clarify a significant sociological problem. In saying this, I assume that I will not be misunderstood. I am not saying that there is no genuinely trivial work in contemporary sociology any more than it can be said that there was no trivial work in the physical science of the seventeenth century. Quite otherwise : it may be that our soci-

ological journals during their first fifty years have as large a complement of authentic trivia as the *Transactions* of the Royal Society contained during their first fifty years (to pursue the matter no further). But these are trivia in the strict rather than the rhetorical sense : they are publications which are both intellectually and socially inconsequential. But much of the attack on alleged trivia in today's sociology is directed against entire classes of investigation solely because the objects they examine do not enjoy widespread social interest

This most pervasive of polemics sets problems for those prospective monographs on the sociological history of sociology. As I have repeatedly said, we are here not concerned with the substantive merit of the charges and rejoinders involved in any particular polemic of this kind. These can be and possibly will be discussed in the later sessions of this Congress. But for the sociological analysis of the history of sociology, there remains the task of finding out the social sources and consequences of assigning triviality or importance to particular lines of inquiry. It seems improbable that the angels of light are all on one side and the angels of darkness, all on the other. If the division is not simply between the wise and the foolish, there must be other bases, some of them presumably social, for the various distributions of evaluation. The discussions that are to follow in this session might usefully be devoted to interpretations that might account for the opposed positions taken up in the assignment of merit to particular kinds of sociological work.

The alleged cleavage between substantive sociology and methodology

Another deep-seated and long-lasting conflict, requiring the same kind of interpretation, has developed between those sociologists who are primarily or exclusively concerned with inquiry into substantive problems of society and those who are primarily or exclusively concerned with solving the methodological problems entailed by such inquiry. Unlike the kind of intellectual criticism often developed within each of these camps, designed to clarify cognitive issues, this debate has the earmarks of social conflict, designed to best the opponent.

The main lines of attack on methodology and the replies to these are familiar enough to need only short summary.

Concern with methodology, it is said, succeeds only in diverting the attention of sociologists from the major substantive problems of society. It does so by turning from the study of society to the study of how to study society.

To this, it is replied, in the words of one philosopher : "you cannot know too much of methods which you always employ." Respon-

sible inquiry requires intellectual self-awareness. Whether they know it or not, the investigators speak methodological prose and some specialists must work out its grammar. To try to discover the rates of social mobility, and some of their consequences, for example, first requires solving the methodological problems of devising suitable classifications of classes, appropriate measures of rates, and the like, as some sociologists have learned, to their discomfiture.

Again, it is charged, that a concern with the logic of method quickly deteriorates into 'mere technicism.' These wouldbe precisionists strain at a gnat and swallow a camel : they are exacting in details and careless about their basic assumptions. For an interest in substantive questions they substitute an interest in seeming precision for its own sake. They try to use a razor blade to hack their way through forests. These technical virtuosos are committed to the use of meticulous means to frivolous ends.

The rebuttal holds that it is the methodologically naive, those knowing little or nothing of the foundations of procedure, who are most apt to mis-use precise measures on materials for which they are not suited. Further, that it is the assumptions underlying the quick and ready use of verbal constructs by investigators of substantive problems which need, and receive, critical scrutiny and clarification by the methodologist.

It is argued that the methodologist turns research technician, in spite of himself, and become an aimless itinerant, moving in whatever direction his research techniques summon him. He studies changing patterns of voting because these are readily accessible to his techniques rather than the workings of political institutions and organizations for which he has not evolved satisfying techniques of investigation.

The rejoinder holds that the selection of substantive problems is not the task of specialists in methodology. Once the problem is selected, however, the question ensues of how to design an inquiry so that it can contribute to a solution of the problem. The effort to answer such questions of design is part of the business of methodology.

During at least the last half-century, ideological significance has also been ascribed to methodological work. The methodologist is said to choose a politically 'safe' focus of work rather than attending to substantive inquiries that might catch him up in criticism of the social institutions about him.

This allegation is treated by methodologists as not only untrue, but irrelevant. Practically all disciplines, even the strictly formal ones of logic and mathematics, have at one time or another been

assigned political or ideological import. As we have been told here, even certain procedures of sociological research, such as "large-scale fieldwork" and the use of attitude-scales, have been regarded as politically suspect in some nations. The irrelevance of the charge lies on its surface where the indefensible effort is made to merge intellectual and political criteria of scientific work.

The complaint is heard that the methodologist supposes knowledge to consist only of that which can be measured or at least counted. He is addicted to numbers. As a result, he retreats from historical inquiry and from all other forms of sociological inquiry where even crude measures have not been devised or where, in principle, they cannot be.

To the methodologist, this is a distorted image, fashioned by the uninformed who run as they read. He regards himself as no more committed to working out the logic of tests and measurements than the logic of historical and institutional analysis. This, he points out, has been understood by sociologists of consequence, at least from the time of Max Weber who, as Professor Adorno reminds us, "devoted a large part of his work to methodology, in the form of philosophical reflections on the nature and procedures of sociology," and who considered the methodology of historical inquiry, in particular, an important part of the sociological enterprise.

Since the opponents in this controversy show no trace of being either vanquished or converted, this raises anew the question of the grounds, other than intellectual, for maintaining their respective positions. Like the other persistent conflicts I shall now summarize far more briefly, this one sets a problem for the sociologist of knowledge.

The lone scholar and the research team

Until the last generation or so, the sociologist, like most other academic men, worked as an individual scholar (or, as the idiom has it, as a 'lone scholar'). Since then, as the national reports inform us, institutes for sociological research have multiplied all over the world. This change in the social organization of sociological work has precipitated another conflict, with its own set of polarized issues.

The new forms of research are characterized, invidiously rather than descriptively or analytically, as the bureaucratization of the sociological mind. The research organization is said to stultify independent thought, to deny autonomy to members of the research staff, to suffer a displacement of motive such that researches are conducted in order to keep the research team or organization in operation rather than have the organization provide the facilities for significant research; and so on through the familiar calendar of indictments.

In return, it is pointed out that the individual scholar has not been as much alone as the description may imply. He was (and often is) at the apex of a group of research assistants and graduate students who follow his lead. Moreover, he has had to limit his problems for serious research to those for which the evidence lay close to hand, principally in libraries. He cannot deal with the many problems that require the systematic collection of large-scale data which are not provided for him by the bureaucracies that assemble census data and other materials of social bookkeeping. The research institute is said to extend and to deepen kinds of investigation that the individual scholar is foreclosed from tackling. Finally, it is suggested that close inspection of how these institutes actually work will find that many of them consist of individual scholars with associates and assistants, each group engaged in pursuing its own research bents.

This continuing debate affords another basis for inquiry, this time into the ways in which the social organization of sociological research in fact affects the character of the research. This would require the kind of systematic comparison of the work being done by individual scholars and by research teams, a methodical comparison which, so far as I know, has yet to be made. Not that the results of this inquiry will necessarily do away with the conflict but only that it will contribute to that as yet largely unwritten sociological history of sociology whose outlines all of us here aim to sketch out.

Cognitive agreement and value disagreement

A particularly instructive type of case is provided by seeming intellectual conflict that divides sociologists of differing ideological persuasion. Upon inspection, this often (not, of course, always) turns out to involve cognitive agreements that are obscured by a basic opposition of values and interests.

To illustrate this type of conflict, we can draw upon a few observations by Marx and by so-called bourgeois sociologists. You will recall Marx's observation that in a capitalist society, social mobility "consolidates the rule of capital itself, enabling it to recruit ever new forces for itself out of the lower layers of society." This general proposition has won independent assent from all manner of non-Marxist sociologists, not least of all, from one such as Pareto. The lines of disputation are not therefore drawn about the supposed fact of these systematic consequences of social mobility. The conflict appears only in the evaluation of these consequences. For, as Marx went on to say, the "more a ruling class is able to assimilate the most prominent men of the dominated class the more stable and dangerous is its rule." A Pareto could agree with the stabilizing function of such

mobility while rejecting the judgment of it as "dangerous." What empirical investigations by "bourgeois sociologists" can do, and are doing, is to find out how far the cognitively identical assumption of a Marx and a Pareto holds true. To what extent do these mobile men identify themselves with their new-found class? Who among them retain loyalty to the old? When does it result in a consolidation of power and when, under conditions of retained values, does it modify the bases of cleavage between classes?

You can readily add other instances of agreement in sociological ideas being mistaken for disagreement, owing to an overriding conflict of values or interests between sociologists. When the functionalists examine religion as a social mechanism for reinforcing common sentiments that make for social integration, they do not differ significantly in their analytic framework from the Marxists who, if the metaphor of the opium of the masses is converted into a neutral statement of alleged consequences, assert the same sort of thing, except that they evaluate these consequences differently. Religion is then seen as a device for social exploitation.

Again, it has often been noted that Marx, in his theory, underrated the social significance of his own moral ideas. The emphasis on communist doctrine and ideology is perhaps the best pragmatic testimony that, whatever Marxist theory may say in general of the role of ideas in history, Marxists in practice ascribe great importance to ideas as movers, if not as prime movers, in history. If this were not so, the communist emphasis on a proper ideological commitment would be merely expressive rather than instrumental behaviour.

Or, to take one last instance, Marx repeatedly noted that the patterns of production—for example, in large-scale industry and among small-holding peasants—have each a distinctive social ecology. The spatial distribution of men on the job was held to affect the frequency and kind of social interaction between them and this, in turn, to affect their political outlook and the prospects of their collective organization. In these days, a large body of investigation by non-Marxists, both in industrial and in rural sociology, is centred on this same variable of the social ecology of the job, together with its systemic consequences. But again, this continuity of problem and of informing idea tends to be obscured by conflicts in political orientation. Detailed monographic study is needed to determine the extent to which lines of sociological development fail to converge and instead remain parallel because of ideological rather than theoretical conflict.

Formal (abstract) and concrete sociology

Time and again, in the papers on national sociology, reference is

made to the dangers of a 'merely' formal sociology. This signals another familiar cleavage, that between concrete and abstract sociology. The first centres on interpreting particular historical constellations and developments. Sometimes these are society-wide in character; sometimes they are more limited social formations. The problem may be to explain the rise and transformation of Christianity or of capitalism, of particular class structures, family-systems or social institutions of science. The second, the formal orientation, is directed toward formulating general propositions and models of interpretation that cut across a variety of historically concrete events. Here the focus is on such abstract matters as role-theory, social processes of legitimation, the effect of the size of a group on its characteristic patterns of social interaction, and so on.

To some, formal sociology is an invidious epithet. It is ascribed to "defenders of the established order" who expressly neglect social change and deny that there are discoverable uniformities of social change. For these critics, formal sociology is like a sieve that strains out all the awkward facts that fail to suit its theory. To others, concrete sociology is seen as having some utility but at the price of abdicating the search for those social regularities that presumably occur in cultures of most different kind.

It would serve little purpose to note the obvious at this point, for it is precisely the obvious that gets lost in this conflict between commitments to primarily concrete and primarily abstract sociologies. Little will be gained in repeating, therefore, that concrete sociological investigations of course make at least implicit use of abstract models—that, for example, in order even to depict social change, let alone account for it, one must identify the formally defined elements and patterns of social structure that are changing—and conversely, that these models often grow out of and are modified and judged by their applicability to selected aspects of concrete social events. With respect to this conflict, the sociology of knowledge confronts such problems as that of finding out whether, as is commonly said, formal sociology is linked with politically conservative orientations and concrete sociology with politically radical orientations. Furthermore, how this social cleavage affects the prospects of methodical interplay between the two types of sociology.

A short miscellany of sociological conflicts

There is time only to list and none at all to discuss a few more of the current conflicts in sociology.

The microscopic and the macroscopic. More than ever before, conflict is focussed on the social units singled out for investigation. This is

often described by the catchwords of 'microscopic' and 'macroscopic' sociology. The industrial firm is said to be studied in isolation from the larger economic and social system or, even more, particular groups within the single plant are observed apart from their relations with the rest of the organization and the community. A microscopic focus is said to lead to "sociology without society." A counter-emphasis centres on the laws of evolution of "the total society". Here, the prevailing critique asserts that the hypotheses are put so loosely that no set of observations can be taken to negate them. They are invulnerable to disproof and so, rather a matter of faith than of knowledge.

Experiment and natural history in sociology. A parallel cleavage has developed between commitment to experimental sociology, typically though not invariably dealing with contrived or 'artificial' small groups, and commitment to study of the natural history of groups or social systems. Perhaps the instructive analogue here is to be found in the well-known fact that Darwin and Wallace found certain problems forced upon their attention when they reflected on what they saw in nature "on the large, on the outdoor scale" but that they failed to see other related problems that came into focus for the laboratory naturalists. Polarization into mutually exclusive alternatives served little purpose there and it remains to be seen whether it will prove any more effective in the advancement of sociology.

Reference-groups of sociologists. Conflict is found also in the sometimes implicit selection of reference-groups and audiences by sociologists. Some direct themselves primarily to the literati or to the 'educated general public'; others, to the so-called 'men of affairs' who manage economic or political organizations; while most are oriented primarily to their fellow-academicians and professionals. The recurrent noise about jargon, cults of unintelligibility, the overly-abundant use of statistics or of mathematical models is largely generated by the sociologists who have the general public as their major reference-group. The work of these outer-oriented sociologists, in turn, is described by their academic critics as sociological journalism, useful more for arousing public interest in sociology than for advancing sociological knowledge. They are said to persuade by rhetoric rather than to instruct by responsible analysis—and so on. It would be instructive to study the actual social roles and functions of these diversely oriented sociologists, rather than to remain content with offhand descriptions such as these, even though again we cannot expect that the results of such study would modify current alignments.

Sociology vs. social psychology. One last debate requires mention, at least. It is charged that many sociologists, especially in the United

States, are converting sociology into social psychology, with the result that the study of social institutions is fading into obscurity. The trend toward social psychology is said to be bound up with an excessive emphasis on the subjective element in social action, with a focus on men's attitudes and sentiments at the expense of considering the institutional conditions for the emergence and the effective or ineffective expression of these attitudes. To this, the polarized response holds that social institutions comprise an idle construct until they are linked up empirically with the actual attitudes and values and the actual behaviour of men, whether this is conceived as purposive or as also unwitting, as decisions or as responses. These sociologists consider the division between the two disciplines an unfortunate artifact of academic organization. And again, apart from the merits of one or the other position, we have much to learn about the social bases for their being maintained by some and rejected by others.

A CONCLUDING OBSERVATION

In a final remark on these and the many other lines of cleavage among sociologists, I should like to apply a formulation about the structure of social conflict in relation to the intensity of conflict that was clearly stated by Georg Simmel and Edward Ross. This is the hypothesis, in the words of Ross, that

a society . . . which is riven by a dozen . . . (conflicts) along lines running in every direction, may actually be in less danger of being torn with violence or falling to pieces than one split along just one line. For each new cleavage contributes to narrow the cross clefts, so that one might say that society *is sewn together* by its inner conflicts.

It is an hypothesis borne out by its own history, for since it was set forth by Simmel and by Ross, it has been taken up or independently originated by some scores of sociologists, many of whom take diametrically opposed positions on some of the issues we have reviewed. (I mention only a few of these: Wiese and Becker, Hiller, Myrdal, Parsons, Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee, Robin Williams, Coser, Dahrendorf, Coleman, Lipset and Zelditch, and among the great number of recent students of 'status-discrepancy,' Lenski, Adams, Stogdill and Hemphill.)

Applied to our own society of sociologists, the Simmel-Ross hypothesis has this to say. If the sociologists of one nation take much the same position on each of these many issues while the sociologists of another nation consistently hold to the opposed position on them all, then the lines of cleavage will have become so consolidated along a single axis that any conversation between the sociologists of these

different nations will be pointless. But if, as I believe is the case, there is not this uniformity of outlook among the sociologists of each nation ; if individual sociologists have different combinations of position on these and kindred issues, then effective intellectual criticism can supplant social conflict.

That is why the extent of heterodoxies among the sociologists of each nation has an important bearing on the future development of world sociology. The heterodoxies in one nation provide intellectual linkages with orthodoxies in other nations. On the world-wide scale of sociology, this bridges lines of cleavage and makes for the advance of sociological science rather than of sociological ideologies.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

Editorial Note. The rapporteur appointed for this Section was unable, at the last moment, to attend the Congress. The Editor has therefore written the following brief report.

Professor ARON, whose introductory paper discussed some general aspects of the social context of sociology, opened the session with some reflections upon the national reports which had been presented. One element in every report was the evaluation of sociology and of the society itself. Professor Aron, after indicating a problem by speculating on how the reports would have looked if each contributor had been asked to write about sociology in some country other than his own, went on to explore its implications. The "sociology of sociology" is extremely difficult because we are not sure what sociology is; i.e. we do not agree upon the extent to which different sociological theories or interpretations depict or explain social reality. To speak frankly: Western sociologists consider that Soviet society is falsely depicted in the work of Soviet sociologists, and Soviet sociologists have a similar opinion about the work of their Western colleagues. How then is it possible to escape from a situation in which each sociologist would criticise the mythology of others and be criticised in turn? Professor ARON had long accepted the answer given by Max Weber: the involvement of the sociologist in his society appears in the questions which are formulated, the concepts which are employed—but facts are facts, and the answers to the questions are objective. But this is too simple, for in practice it is impossible to distinguish questions, concepts, and facts. Objectivity depends upon a number of factors: respect for empirical data, critical awareness of the limits of generalisation, and the endeavour to see problems in their total context. The most desirable influence of society upon sociology is that its own diversity favours the diversity of sociological theories and their mutual criticism. A single regime throughout the world, founded upon an orthodox ideology, would mean the death of sociology.

Professor MERTON presented a shortened version of his paper, which was not available before the Congress but which is now published in full above.

The ensuing discussion became concentrated upon one or two topics, and many points of interest in the contributed papers received no attention. Professor LUKIC (Yugoslavia) said that Professor Aron had outdone Marx if he seriously held that the social sciences were wholly a "false consciousness" of society. Professor Lukic claimed that theories of the middle range were verifiable and that even very general theories might be testable by reference to the actual course of events.

Professor FEDOSEEV (U.S.S.R.) thought that the importance of the Congress lay in the opportunities it provided for better mutual understanding. Soviet sociologists were not indifferent to, or ignorant of, Western sociology; but they held strongly to the view that sociology is a synthesising science, which must be concerned with society as a whole and its development.

Professor OIZERMANN (U.S.S.R.) argued that sociology as a science involved the possibility of prediction, and that Marxism was capable of predicting the future course of social development.

Professor SCHELER (German Democratic Republic) had read for him an English summary of his paper in which he urged sociologists to devote their efforts to the study of the conditions of peace and of peaceful co-existence.

Professor GRAMMATICA (Italy) suggested, in opposition to the relativistic views which had been propounded, that an objective science of society might be based upon a recognition of the objective characteristics and needs of man.

Professor SAUVY (France) argued that while it was chiefly Utopian thinkers who ventured upon predictions they were right to do so, since it was only by testing predictions that ideas and theories could be verified.

Professor OCHAVKOV (Bulgaria) criticised Professor Aron on two points. First, if it is denied that there are general laws of social development, has sociology any *raison d'être*? Secondly, against the charge of dogmatism, he claimed that the undogmatic character of Marxism has been shown by its ability to incorporate in the theory the fact of the establishment of socialism in non-industrial countries.

Mr. ANDREJEWSKI (U.K.) made a brief comment on some dangers of triviality in Western sociology.

Professor ARON in a brief reply defended himself against the charge of relativism, and pointed out that he had been at pains to specify the conditions of objectivity. He also referred to the problem of prediction.

He did not wish to exclude prediction or deny its importance—everything depended upon its character. It was one thing to predict, with qualifications, the growth of the economy over a period of 10 or 15 years, but quite another to predict the whole future course of social development; particularly when, as in Marxism, the predictions turned out to be unfalsifiable.

Professor MERTON, in his concluding remarks, observed that the discussion had largely illustrated his view that sociological controversy had to do less with the conflict of ideas than with the allocation of resources to different kinds of work.

SECTION II (1)

The Application of Sociological Knowledge

SECTION II(1)a

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO INDUSTRY

Chairman: Professor RENE CLEMENS (Université de Liège)

Rapporteur: Mr. A. LUNDQUIST (Uppsala University)

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

SOLOMON BARKIN (Director of Research, Textile Workers' Union of America)

THE PERSONALITY PROFILE OF AMERICAN SOUTHERN TEXTILE WORKERS: A STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON PERSONALITY.

Understanding the personality of the southern textile worker, both unorganized and organized, requires not only an awareness of his individual propensities, but also a comprehension of the effect exercised upon him by his textile mill job, his relatively low standard of living, the culture in which he lives and his immobility and comparative isolation from the mainstreams of American social development. His profile is distinctive for, even now, he has little awareness of the American dream to better himself, to share a constantly rising and expanding standard of living. Nor does he believe that collective power can effect this change. Fearing the outside world, he has continued to accept the social and economic pressures within his own closed community. The southern textile worker continues to accommodate himself to his low income, thankful for the intermittent progressive improvements which appear to come to him with little exertion on his own part. Restlessness is expressed primarily in out-migration rather than internal protest. Dissent has been submerged in the very decision to remain within the community. Repression, discrimination and past failures discourage renewed direct group efforts to effect change.

The organized workers have not been markedly different. They have gained a new feeling of security and protection with the mill. A sense of pride has grown in the union that they have built; they prize the symbol of independence it provides but it has not fundamentally altered this outlook. Its coverage has been too limited to exert an influence of any magnitude on the textile South.

PIERRE de BIE et MAURICE CHAUMONT (Université le Louvain)
QUELQUES CONCEPTIONS DES RAPPORTS ENTRE LA RECHERCHE ET L'ACTION EN SOCIOLOGIE INDUSTRIELLE

Les diverses possibilités d'application en sociologie présentent des avantages et des inconvénients variant d'après les rapports entre la recherche et l'action.

1. La recherche peut-elle être un mode d'action ?

En ce sens, la recherche introduite dans un milieu de travail peut, en amenant à une prise de conscience, être utilisée en vue d'une transformation du milieu.

Dans ces conditions, la recherche ne peut conserver l'objectivité indispensable.

2. La recherche peut-elle faire découvrir les moyens susceptibles de modifier une situation défectueuse ?

Il s'agit des recherches entreprises en vue de fournir les moyens d'action les plus efficaces de redressement. Limités par cet objectif, les quelques facteurs

obtenus sont fragmentaires; maniés à la légère ils peuvent déclencher des réactions qui échappent à la maîtrise des responsables de l'entreprise.

3. La recherche ne saurait-elle être considérée comme une source d'information systématique qui concerne un cas particulier?

La recherche ainsi conçue vise moins la découverte de mécanismes contrôlables que la description d'une organisation sociale. Elle échappe aux impératifs de l'action.

Cependant, les besoins d'information seront ressentis surtout dans les moments de tension; il peut en résulter des déviations systématiques dues à la brièveté des délais de recherche et à la sélection: les entreprises analysées ne sont pas représentatives d'un moyen de conditions de fonctionnement.

Toutefois, cette conception paraît plus valable, car elle atteint une vision plus globale, qui dresse les cadres d'une action plus qu'elle n'en prescrit les modalités.

4. Le chercheur est-il expert?

On demande à l'expert une vue systématique d'une situation, avec toutes ses composantes et la connaissance de tous les moyens d'action applicables.

Le chercheur n'a pas cette compétence, lui qui n'analyse une situation que du point de vue sociologique sans entrer dans le détail des relations individuelles et des modalités pratiques. De plus, tout conseil en vue d'une action force les chercheurs à prendre une position idéologique d'une part, à participer d'autre part à un pouvoir dont ils doivent au minimum accepter les normes.

En conclusion, quelle est la nature du service que les chercheurs sont le plus capables de rendre dans la vie industrielle?

Leur plus grand apport serait de mettre à la disposition des hommes d'action des cadres, des réflexions, des schémas d'analyse. Comme l'écrit Max F. Millikan: "Le but de la recherche sociale ne devrait donc pas être de fournir aux hommes politiques une réponse, mais d'approfondir, d'élargir et d'étendre leur capacité de judgement".¹

T. E. CHESTER and G. FORSYTH (University of Manchester)

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT.

Perhaps the most characteristic aspect of European industry in the post-war period has been the growing interest in organising management development programmes and the establishment of institutions specifically designed for this purpose. Although some observers have been cynically critical, dismissing the movement as a striving for new status symbols to attract new managers in an age of full employment and high taxation, this paper attempts to analyse some of the deeper issues involved.

It starts with an examination of the increasing scale of industrial organisation — the typical form of industrial activity in the vital sectors of British industry tends to be large-scale in the number of employees and the capital investment required—and goes on to assess the consequences of this trend for the managerial function.

This, with the simultaneous increase in the social responsibilities of management commensurate with the demands and ethos of the Welfare State, have

¹Max F. Millikan, *Sciences sociales et action politique—Esprit-janvier 1959—Paris.*

produced a need for a new type of manager, the general manager with co-ordinating functions. Moreover, whereas in the past small-scale industry could rely on kinship and the "open market" as satisfactory sources of managerial talent, large-scale organisation had increasingly to turn to formal management development programmes.

At the same time, educational reform made universities more accessible to all classes of society and thus one of the major sources of management recruitment. In effect, management development can be seen as an integral part of the educational system, and as an instrument of social mobility.

GASTON DEURINCK (Délégué général de l'Office belge pour l'accroissement de la productivité.)

COLLABORATION DES ENTREPRISES AVEC LES CENTRES DE RECHERCHE SOCIOLOGIQUE : UNE EXPERIENCE A L'ECHELON NATIONAL

L'Office belge pour l'accroissement de la productivité—établissement privé, d'utilité publique—a pris conscience de la nécessité de cette collaboration, à la suite d'une série d'initiatives que lui avaient dictées les circonstances. La mission d'étude dans l'industrie du verre, envoyée par lui aux Etats-Unis, avait abouti à l'organisation d'enquêtes sur les relations humaines dans ce secteur. Les études de ce genre se révélant fructueuses, mais requérant un personnel nombreux et qualifié, l'Office décida de poursuivre dans cette voie mais de les sous-traiter, par contrats, aux centres de recherche universitaires spécialisés. Les sujets sont principalement inspirés par la Déclaration commune sur la productivité, signée en mai 1954 par les organisations d'employeurs et de travailleurs.

Depuis 1958, le Conseil d'administration a fixé son plan en la matière. Les deux grands objectifs sont d'arriver à une formulation plus précise des problèmes sur lesquels portent les recherches, et de promouvoir la science et ses applications dans tout ce qui concerne les réalités humaines de l'entreprise. Une telle politique est indispensable à long terme, même si, financièrement, elle ne se justifie pas à brève échéance.

L'Office poursuit ces buts au travers de commissions fondamentales mixtes incluant des représentants de tous les intéressés, et par le soustraitemennt de ses projets à des institutions universitaires. Il a adopté des modalités de financement très souples, de façon à permettre les aménagements dictés par les circonstances. L'expérience a également amené l'Office de productivité à prévoir des mesures particulières visant à la stabilité des contrats de recherche et à l'amélioration de la qualification des chercheurs. L'Office veille, enfin, à la coordination des activités de recherche sur le plan national comme sur le plan international, où il maintient la liaison avec l'Agence Européenne de Productivité, ainsi qu'à l'évaluation et à la diffusion de leurs résultats.

Comme on le voit, pour mener avec succès l'étude des problèmes de relations industrielles, l'université doit disposer d'une élite de chercheurs possédant une connaissance approfondie des réalités humaines de l'entreprise. Quant à l'Office, il lui incombe de fixer les objectifs, de fournir les moyens financiers, d'assurer la coordination des programmes ainsi que la coopération entre les institutions, et de veiller à la diffusion des résultats obtenus.

CLAUDE DURAND et ALFRED WILLENER (Institut des Sciences Sociales du Travail, Paris)

*LA MODERNISATION ET L'INTERVENTION DE L'OUVRIER
DANS LA PRODUCTION¹*

I

La *description du travail* aux différents niveaux techniques de lamoins montre comment évolue l'organisation du travail et sa préparation et comment se distribuent et se divisent les rôles et les fonctions :

—Elle montre en quel sens évolue la nature des relations du travail (dépendance hiérarchique, structure et extension des communications.)

—Elle indique comment se transforment les postes de travail : cette transformation est décrite par une typologie des postes caractérisée dans le cadre d'un certain nombre de critères concernant la situation du travail et le degré d'organisation des tâches, les caractéristiques du comportement au travail et les exigences des tâches, enfin le mode de formation qu'elles demandent.

II

Dans les anciens trains la machine et l'équipe étaient dominés par le lamineur; aux trains modernes c'est la machine qui domine, tant l'équipe que les postes clefs.

Plutôt que de juger si l'intervention ouvrière perd en importance avec la modernisation, nous décrivons l'évolution constatée : de certains types d'influence (initiative) on passe progressivement à d'autres types d'influence (prévention d'incidents).

III

Dans les usines étudiées l'influence ouvrière est perçue, de part et d'autre, de façon réaliste. L'évolution sur le plan technique a été suivie d'une adaptation parallèle sur le plan de la formation professionnelle et des modes de rémunération. Si le système de production ne fonctionne pas normalement, malgré tout, c'est pour d'autres raisons.

AMITAI ETZIONI (Columbia University)

STUDY OF REWARDS AS AN ANALYTICAL TOOL FOR INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

The study of allocation of rewards in plants and in the communities in which they are located makes it possible to combine structural-functional with motivational analysis. One major element of the study of social structures is the allocation of rewards among statuses. Likewise, allocation of rewards is one major aspect of motivational analysis, such as that of personnel recruitment, training, and performance control. Cross-cultural studies benefit from a careful distinction between rewards offered by industries and those sought by the workers. Studies of decision making such as occupational choice, as well as studies of occupational mobility and career patterns, gain a new dimension when reward structures are examined systematically. Symbolic intermediary rewards aimed at sustaining Affective-Neutrality are of special interest in this context.

The limited application of this analytical tool may well be due to the methodological difficulties it raises. There exists no analytical and exhaustive classification of rewards. Identical rewards may have a different meaning for actors. The lack of

¹ Communication basée sur une étude menée dans l'industrie sidérurgique française, à la demande de la C.E.C.A., par C. Durand, C. Prestat et A. Willener, dans le cadre de l'Institut des Sciences Sociales du Travail, Paris.

common denominators makes it difficult to assess the total reward-value of a position. Prestige and power constitute especially complicated types of rewards. Some suggestions bearing on the solution to these problems are briefly presented.

WILLIAM M. EVAN (Columbia University)

INDICES OF THE HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Common to the structural-functional theory of social stratification and to organization theory is the postulate that hierarchical organization is functionally necessary. A more heuristic postulate is that different degrees of hierarchical organization have different consequences for total and partial social systems. This directs attention to the problem of empirically establishing what degree of variation in fact exists in the hierarchical structure of organizations.

The present inquiry into the problem of measuring organizational hierarchy begins with the selection of three central dimensions of organization : the hierarchy of skills, the hierarchy of rewards, and the hierarchy of authority. For each dimension an attempt is then made to develop and codify one or more indicators. The question of the empirical application of the indicators of the hierarchical dimensions in turn leads to a consideration of the problems of index construction, analysis of change over time, analysis of causes and consequences of variation in degrees of organizational hierarchy, and cross-national research.

Research, particularly of a cross-national character, on the hierarchical structure of industrial organizations would add to our practical and theoretical knowledge of organizations as well as systems of social stratification.

U. G. FOA (The Israel Institute of Applied Social Research)

SOME DEVELOPMENTS OF A STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN ISRAEL

The development of a programme of research in industrial relations in Israel is described against the changing sociological and ideological background of an industry in rapid expansion.

Three stages of the programme are considered :

1. Morale surveys.
2. The investigation of the foreman-worker relation.
3. The development of a dynamic theory of interpersonal relations.

The substantive, methodological and applied problems encountered at each stage and the attempted solutions are briefly described. It is also shown that a continuous line of development runs through the various stages. Each successive step was indeed stimulated by the problems and the findings that preceded it. This account has been motivated by the hope that the results obtained may prove useful to other countries and in particular to those areas where the possibility of industrial development depends on the absorption into industry of large masses of unskilled manpower, trained in patterns of living different from those of an industrial culture.

WILLIAM H. FORM and WARREN L. SAUER (Labor and Industrial Relations Center, Michigan State University)

ORGANISED LABOR'S IMAGE OF COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

The tactics employed by interest groups in arriving at community decisions are a function of their objective power and their appraisal of their place in

the local power structure. Forty union influentials were interviewed to ascertain their image of the local power scene and their place in it. In only very general terms did they perceive the community as dominated by an integrated management clique which controlled the outcome of significant community issues. Labour influentials most deeply committed to community participation were most perceptive of internal cleavages in local power arrangements.

TERENCE K. HOPKINS

INNOVATION AND STRUCTURES OF AUTHORITY

Under certain conditions, a change in an organization's routine produces not the great efficiency intended but instead high rates of absenteeism and turnover, poor morale, and low productivity. The hypothesis examined here is that an innovation has these unintended effects if, in the course of introducing it, the manner of exercising authority in the organization becomes altered. After a brief review of what it means to have authority and to exercise authority, the assumption is made that statuses in an organization's "line of authority" are defined differently by various subgroups and not similarly, as is usually assumed: a given "line" status can therefore have varying degrees of authority at the same time, depending upon who is defining it, and its occupant can exercise authority in a number of ways, depending upon whose definition of the status he accepts. Three modes of exercising authority, or "patterns of supervision", and their characteristic effects are then described. Finally, these patterns are used to interpret the correlation between organizational change and high rates of absenteeism, etc., the argument being that such unwanted effects occur when innovation causes the more common patterns of supervision to be replaced by one which in itself usually produces these very effects.

J. E. HUMBLET (Division des Problèmes du Travail, C.E.C.A.)

RECHERCHE COMPARATIVE SUR LES CADRES DE L'INDUSTRIE DANS TROIS PAYS EUROPEENS

Les recherches comparatives dans le domaine de la sociologie du travail sont susceptibles d'enrichir les recherches théoriques en facilitant l'élaboration de concepts de portée générale mais elles aident également les praticiens de l'industrie en situant les caractéristiques des différents pays, les uns par rapport aux autres.

Nous avons effectué, en Belgique, en France et au Royaume-Uni, une recherche sur les cadres de l'industrie et spécialement de la sidérurgie, principalement par la collecte d'informations dans 42 entreprises et en procédant à 296 interviews. Notre rapport a pour objet la comparaison des trois pays, en ce qui concerne le syndicalisme des cadres, l'âge lors du premier emploi et les diplômes.

Le mouvement de syndicalisation des cadres est essentiellement un phénomène français. Les structures syndicales de ce pays sont d'ailleurs un facteur de syndicalisation.

Les cadres anglais ont commencé à travailler en usine plus tôt que ceux des deux pays du continent; ceux qui ont des diplômes d'enseignement supérieur sont beaucoup moins nombreux. Du point de vue de l'efficacité des entreprises les deux méthodes présentent des avantages et des inconvénients.

Mais la formule britannique est à la fois une conséquence d'une plus grande capillarité sociale et un facteur d'accroissement de cette capillarité.

ERWIN L. MALONE (Newark College of Engineering, Newark, N.J., and Hunter College, Graduate School, New York)

*THE DIFFERING FOCI OF SELF-INTEREST:
A STUDY IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY*

The ways through which men's self-interest finds expression are innumerable and diversified and often difficult to explain. The example is given of a company whose industry position had become jeopardized because of low production and price competition. The union had steadily refused to consider an incentive wage system to replace the hourly wage rates that always had prevailed in the plant.

Within one month after the union's last refusal to consider incentive rates, the men in one department voluntarily increased their production with no increase in wage rates. Twice more within the succeeding twelve months, production was voluntarily increased. So, within a period of twelve to fourteen months, each workman of an original group had increased his production one hundred per cent.; he held no regret and showed no hostility because of receiving the same hourly wages and the same take-home pay as a year earlier, though he knew that had he accepted an incentive system his take-home pay would have been considerably augmented. Each man is certain that throughout he has been serving his own best self-interest. Search for an adequate explanation pursues various channels.

E. MASSACESI et J. E. HUMBLET (Division des Problèmes du Travail, C.E.C.A.)

LA CONTRIBUTION D'UNE INSTITUTION SUPRA-NATIONALE A LA CONNAISSANCE DES PROBLEMES SOCIAUX

La Haute Autorité de la Communauté Européenne du Charbon et de l'Acier, dans le cadre des pouvoirs qui lui ont été attribués par le Traité¹, doit promouvoir l'amélioration des conditions de vie et de travail de la main-d'œuvre et à cette fin, rassembler les informations nécessaires.

Comme telle, elle n'a pas pour tâche de provoquer le développement de la recherche sociologique générale ou d'intervenir dans son financement, mais la connaissance des législations², des situations sociales, des événements sociaux et des transformations économiques et sociales, concernant directement ou indirectement les 1.600.000 travailleurs de la Communauté peut faire l'objet d'études menées soit par les propres services de la Haute Autorité, soit par les Instituts spécialisés.

Toutefois, en matière de sécurité du travail, le Traité lui fait un devoir d'encourager la recherche³.

C'est compte tenu de problèmes précis qui se sont posés à elle que la Haute Autorité a provoqué certaines recherches. Il s'agit en particulier des travaux suivants :

1. Etude des obstacles à la mobilité et des problèmes sociaux de réadaptation, et examen des positions des organisations syndicales internationales

¹ Signé par l'Allemagne (R.F.), la Belgique, la France, l'Italie, le Luxembourg et les Pays-Bas, le 18 avril 1951.

² Il ne sera pas question dans le présent rapport des études de caractère principalement juridique ni des recherches médicales auxquelles la Haute Autorité a procédé ou fait procéder.

³ Art.55 du Traité.

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et nationales en matière de migration et d'adaptation des travailleurs migrants.

Objet : Eclairer les problèmes posés par la réadaptation des travailleurs et le libre emploi des travailleurs qualifiés.

2. Etudes régionales d'emploi :

Basse Saxe, Borinage, Auvergne-Aquitaine, Ligurie, Limbourg néerlandais.

Objet : Eclairer les problèmes d'emploi et de réadaptation dans certaines régions en cours d'évolution montante ou descendante.

3. Etude sur les niveaux de mécanisation et les modes de rémunération (dans cinq entreprises).

Objet : Préciser les rapports entre mécanisation et rémunération, notamment du point de vue de l'influence des travailleurs sur le rendement.

4. Comparaison des salaires réels (pouvoir d'achat à la consommation) et comparaison des niveaux de vie par une étude de budgets de 2.000 familles, dans les six pays de la Communauté.

5. Etudes sur les facteurs humains dans la sécurité du travail.

Des recherches actuellement *en préparation* auront principalement pour objet:

—la prédisposition individuelle aux accidents

(pour le texte anglais : accident proneness)

—les conditions psychologiques et sociologiques du milieu

—l'organisation du travail.

Ces différentes études ont une portée pratique considérable. Bien que la Haute Autorité ne vise pas comme telle au développement de la recherche sociale, sauf dans le domaine de la sécurité, les informations qu'elle a rassemblées jusqu'à présent peuvent être utiles aux sociologues, même comme éléments d'une élaboration théorique.

DAVID MATTHEWS

SOCIAL CHANGE AND COMPARATIVE LABOUR MOVEMENTS

Interest has grown, in recent years, in the study of the labour problems which attend upon the socio-economic and industrial development of non-metropolitan countries. Of importance in this regard is the critical assessment of the relevance of metropolitan trade-union organisation and methods as a foundation for the emergent labour movements of underdeveloped countries. In this paper, the author endeavours to examine, in the light of several years' research experience in the comparative industrial relations' field, the aptness of the British labour-management relations' system as a working model for the labour movements of British colonies in the Caribbean region and in Central Africa. The impact of the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation on the social institutions of indigenous peoples in these territories is discussed in terms of their prior lack of social procedures for effecting adaptations in, and influencing the behaviour of, those governmental and other social organisations which characterise modern developed countries and which, in many instances, have been, or are in course of being, applied to dependent territories overseas.

S. MOOS (University of Durham)

THE EFFECT OF AUTOMATION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Change in Work. Automation is more than continuation of mechanisation. It reverses trend towards "mindless robot-workers". Change in proportions of

muscular effort and mental-nervous effort. Increasing responsibility and growing isolation in work process.

Automation's separating tendencies : it dissolves what mechanisation had strengthened : the group and its cohesion. With automation, a major incentive, developed under mechanisation becomes obsolete : the payment-by-result scheme.

Change in Security. Changes in structure of labour force and in location of firms introduce elements of insecurity, even in times of full employment ; only minority of labour force are mobile.

Effect on industrial relations difficult to measure ; frequency of industrial disputes is not a reliable measure ; required sufficient comparable data on labour turnover, absenteeism, restrictionism, etc., under conditions of automation.

Change in Management. New responsibilities of labour force require new managerial attitudes. Possible neglect of human implications of automation : problem of growing proportion of scientist-technologists in management of industry. Role of personnel management and of line-and-staff principle greatly affected by automation.

Conclusion. Difficult to measure quality of industrial relations. Essential : application of social sciences to industry, and learning of "sociological know-how" under conditions of rapid technological progress. Important : ultimate aims of industrial organisation.

OTTO NEULOH (Sozialforschungsstelle an der Universität Münster, Dortmund)
METHOD AND PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN INDUSTRY

- I. Basic considerations of the realistic approach of the sociological research in industry and of its methods.
 1. Importance and extent of contacts with industrial plants as research objects.
 2. Study and knowledge of in-plant events and proceedings by means of participant or nonparticipant observation.
 3. Sociological field work and plant reality.
 (Instances from sociological research into mining, into the steel and iron industry, and other industrial branches in Germany serve to demonstrate the above aspects.)
- II. Special problems of the applicability of sociological knowledge to concrete cases.
 1. Sociological research and scientific management.
 2. Industrial sociology and its related disciplines (research into industrial economics, and into the physiology as well as psychology of work).
 3. The special difficulty of applying sociological knowledge to the concrete situation in the industries consists in securing transparency and measurability of the method, of the application and its success as well as of the duration of its effect. (Illustrated by examples drawn from investigations into social relations in mining, into co-determination in the steel and iron industry, and into the inter-relations between shortening of work hours and productivity in different other industrial branches.)
- III. Practical importance of sociological research for the social order of the industrial plant.

1. The classic case of the Hawthorne-Study.
 2. Examples from the investigations directed by Max Weber under the sponsorship of the 'Verein für Sozialpolitik': 'Selection and Adaptation of Workers in Large Scale Industrial Plants'.
 3. Additional examples and illustrations provided by industrial-sociological studies of the past decade (Problems of wage-rates and of the relations between supervision and the rank and file labour in mining; social planning in the steel and iron industry; research into accident causation in large industrial plants; methods for evaluating work hours as well as wages in middle-sized industrial plants).
- IV. The quiet way of applying sociological knowledge in industrial plants.

KUNIO ODAKA (University of Tokyo)

APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH TO MANAGEMENT PRACTICES—EXPERIENCES IN JAPAN

Since 1952, the writer of this paper has conducted a series of attitude surveys at four large-scale enterprises in Japan, in order to analyze, besides other characteristics, the "sense of belonging" of workers toward union and management. In each study, a similar questionnaire was administered to a stratified random sample including supervisory as well as non-supervisory employees. Responses to questions testing management and union attitudes of workers were classified on a scale as pro (P), neutral (N), and con (C). With one exception, all surveys were undertaken at the request of the company concerned, and close co-operation was obtained from company representatives as well as union officials by the research team consisting mainly of staff members and students of the Department of Sociology at the University of Tokyo.

It was found that (1) the distributions of workers' attitudes toward management and union varied with the companies studied, and even within the same company, they varied from plant to plant. (2) Contrary to the initial hypothesis, individuals who were either positive toward both management and union (PP) or were negative toward both (CC) were generally much more numerous than those who were for one and against the other (PC or CP). (3) The workers positive toward both management and union (PP) were more inclined to support the ideology of "production increase through union-management co-operation," higher in their morale, and more satisfied with company policies than those positive only toward management (PC). (4) These workers (PC), although their morale was considerably high, tended to be more conservative and traditional in their attitudes, and were greater believers in the paternalistic ways of management. (5) By contrast, the workers solely supporting union (CP) were characterized by their tendency to believe in the ideology of the "class struggle," and by their critical attitudes toward company policies. (6) The most discontented and radical elements were found in those against both management and union (CC). (7) Generally speaking, the PP workers were older, had less education, longer years of service, and received higher wages. (8) The CC workers, by contrast, were younger, of higher education, shorter in service, and received lower wages.

The surveys proved of considerable practical value. (1) They had the effect of improving employee morale within the companies studied. (2) They also contributed to improving management practices by locating communication bottlenecks or discovering the spots where complaints and trouble were likely to arise. (3) Their results were utilized by management, either to avoid anti-

cipated resistance of workers to the introduction of new policies, or to secure reliable materials based upon which the management could prepare for the carrying out of the new policies. (4) Their results have also been utilized in an attempt now being carried out, under the name of "feedback," at one of the companies studied. In this venture in application, which was originally intended to democratize management practices in that company, the employees were invited to examine and comment on the findings which basically consisted of their own opinions about the company policies, and to make suggestions on reform measures for the management.

LOUIS H. ORZACK (University of Wisconsin)

PROFESSIONALS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR PRESTIGE

I

Deference and prestige may be received by individuals in a profession in two ways: (a) through the recognition granted to their profession as a whole; and (b) through the recognition given to their work achievements by others in the immediate work situation.

Empirical data collected from members of several professions, including registered nurses and licensed optometrists, were collected and jointly analyzed. This is justified on the basis of their common concern with the highly-valued area of health and their relative status marginality.

Analysis demonstrates that respondents distinguish between the amounts of prestige received in the two manners. Both manifest greater concern for the profession's prestige than for the professional's prestige.

II

Professionals are likely to believe that their profession as a whole receives varied amounts of prestige from different sources. Four probable sources of prestige were selected, to represent different kinds of relationships with the professionals studied. Each represented a combination of the following two criteria: (a) status parity or non-parity, as perceived by the professionals; and (b) participation or non-participation in the work environment of the professionals. Predictions were made regarding the relative order of magnitude with which the four sources will be thought by professionals to grant prestige to their particular profession as a whole.

The data uniformly support the predictions thus derived.

J. H. SMITH (London School of Economics and Political Science)

SOCIOLOGY AND THE TEACHING OF MANAGEMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

This paper offers some observations on the role of sociology in the university teaching of management. In Britain so far little recognition has been given to sociology in management teaching partly because of the relatively low status of the subject, and partly because of the absence of any distinct sociological tradition in industrial research; yet a strong case can be made for including sociology as a background discipline, as some examples from courses already given in British Universities will demonstrate. Two main purposes will be served by including sociology (1) a development of management's awareness of the social background against which it must make decisions; (2) the development and application of research on specific management questions.

BENOIT VERHAEGEN (Aspirant F.N.R.S. Belgium)

APPORTS DE LA SOCIOLOGIE DANS LA POLITIQUE DE SECURITE DES ENTREPRISES

En matière d'accidents de travail les constatations les plus nettes portent précisément sur la multiplicité et la complexité des facteurs causals et tendent à rejeter les hypothèses de travail patronales concernant le facteur humain.

Il apparaît qu'aucun accident ne peut être attribué au seul facteur humain ou au seul facteur technique. A l'origine d'un accident on ne trouve pas une cause, mais une multitude de facteurs; chacun pris isolément n'aurait pas provoqué l'accident mais la conjonction de ces facteurs entraîne l'accident. Parmi les facteurs les plus immédiatement susceptibles de provoquer des accidents il n'y a en réalité que des facteurs potentiels: ils existent à l'état latent. Ce n'est que lorsque les facteurs complémentaires sont réunis qu'ils provoquent le dépassement d'un seuil et que l'accident survient.

La multitude de facteurs n'exclut pas que dans chaque événement accidentel, l'incidence d'un seul facteur puisse se manifester de manière privilégiée. Par contre la politique de prévention, se limitant à ce seul facteur, se condamnerait à être perpétuellement en retard sur l'événement.

La relation entre les facteurs et l'accident n'est donc pas simple ni directe; elle est complexe par le nombre des facteurs en jeu, par leur situation à différents paliers et par l'interdépendance des divers facteurs.

Parmi la multiplicité des facteurs on peut distinguer deux paliers principaux celui des éléments individuels (caractère, santé, habileté, attention) et celui du déterminisme du milieu (physique, social). Le déterminisme collectif est lui-même susceptible d'être découpé en plusieurs paliers dont le plus éloigné de l'événement accidentel est sans doute le système économique et les rapports de production, et dont le plus proche correspond aux conditions physiques du travail. A priori rien ne détermine à quel palier la politique de sécurité doit porter ses efforts.

Il apparaît donc qu'en matière d'accidents de travail, comme dans les autres domaines de la recherche sociale, il faut substituer à la conception de la causalité efficiente celle d'une interdépendance de facteurs étagés en profondeur, verticalement et horizontalement complexes, de manière à envisager l'accident comme un phénomène social total.

R. BAR-YOSEF (The Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

ROLE CONFLICT IN THE MANAGERIAL ROLE

The paper deals with the conflicts inherent in the definition of the managerial role in Israel. The sudden expansion of industry and the newfound interest in productivity and rationalization have increased the number of managers and led to awareness of the need for efficient management. However, Israel has no managerial tradition and within each of the major role dimensions conflict is evident.

(a) *The conflict of goals:* Although it is accepted that it is an important managerial goal to further the interest of the company, Israel managers are also strongly sensitive to general national goals such as overall development and absorption of immigrants. The interests of the single company may come into conflict with these general goals. The conflict may be particularly sharp in publicly owned companies, where the recognition of national goals is reinforced by the owners, but the manager is still responsible for the welfare of the company.

(b) *Status—uncertainty:* Most managers fulfilled secondary elite roles prior to their managerial role. The occupational hierarchy is not clearly defined in Israel and

management has not yet been allocated a status position. Within the plant, the position of the manager is not clear either. While workers and owners are organized in their respective associations, there is no "trade union" for managers. Many managers are affiliated with the General Federation of Labour (any employee can be a member of the GFL)—while in the factory they are representatives of the owners.

(c) *Lack of role-image*: Role behavior tends to be patterned after a role-model. Lacking a managerial tradition, Israel managers use "borrowed images" of their former non-managerial roles.

The ambiguous role situation creates considerable stress for the managers. One of the mechanisms for alleviation of the stress is professionalization of the managerial role, which also meets the need for recognized status. The training criteria and the professional standards are modelled after those of American Business Management, and the American image of the manager as an "expert of organization" is taken as frame of reference. The problem thus arises, to what extent this American image is suited to Israel conditions. Should a manager indeed abstain from policy making and thus leave industrial planning to the politicians? Do the Western techniques designed to achieve efficiency and smooth organization have general validity, or are they culture-bound and thus applicable to the Western cultural milieu only? Only by an analysis in the context of the society as a whole, will it be possible to evaluate the probable consequence of well-meant but usually insufficiently analysed adaptations of foreign models.

HEIKKI WARIS (University of Helsinki)

WORKERS' PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT IN SCANDINAVIAN INDUSTRY

As in most European countries the industrial workers in the Northern countries of Europe (Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden) have a right to be represented on committees on the plant level.

These plant committees were established either through agreements between the employers' national federations and the trade union federations or by a special law which decreed such plant committees compulsory in plants having more than 25 or 50 employees. Their functions are: 1) communication between management and workers, 2) cooperation between management and workers for higher productivity, 3) discussion on workers' safety and welfare, 4) discussion on schooling and training of workers and apprentices. Wages and hours of work are, as a rule, excluded from the competence of these committees. All plant committees are consultative in nature. The minimum number of meetings is prescribed.

Immediately after the Second World War the need for increased production prompted the search for all possible ways leading to higher industrial productivity. The plant committees were viewed with deep distrust by the employers and with high hopes by the workers.

Their achievements have been limited. The committees' discussions have centred mainly on safety and social welfare measures. Only in rare instances have the committees developed into channels of communication on important problems of productivity, marketing or management of the plant. Further members of plant committees develop a different attitude towards the plant and problems of industry in general than the workers who had not been exposed to the flow of information and the influence of management. An estrangement of representatives from those represented was apparent. It can be concluded that the *achievements of the plant committees have not come up to the high expectations* of their strongest proponents.

The relations of management and workers in all Northern countries are governed

by detailed labour legislation as well as by extensive collective agreements between well organized employers and powerful trade unions. The influence of trade unions in the society as a whole has greatly increased and this has added to the prestige of the shop stewards.

The plant committees cannot complete with shop stewards in prestige and influence. They are two rival social institutions in industrial plants.

Existing studies indicate that the function of shop stewards is easily recognized by all workers who seek solutions to their daily working problems. The plant committees on the other hand, are not born out of the needs at plant level but have been decreed from above.

A. OKULOV (USSR)

SOME SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE USE OF ATOMIC ENERGY

In my brief communication I should like to dwell on some problems connected with the social and moral consequences of the Use of Atomic Energy.

Firstly, with the discovery of this vast source of energy, a new kind of weapon has appeared. Atomic war is highly devastating. Thus the need for peace becomes most urgent.

Secondly, the discovery of atomic energy more than any other discovery in history has raised the problems of the connections of science and the interests of society, the problems of social control of science. Mankind has reached a stage of development when science begins to have a greater influence on industry and the living conditions of men all over the world. Great scientific discoveries must be controlled by the people and used in its interests. They should not be left to monopolies and in the hands of irresponsible people.

Thirdly, the discovery of atomic energy gave rise to all kinds of specific economic and social problems. A new location of industrial enterprises, the necessity to work out most effective labour safety devices, realistic perspectives of transforming farming into agricultural industry and the corresponding change in the system of social relation and many other problems require to be solved on a scientific basis. Nobody would deny that the way in which and the purposes for which the achievements of science and technology are used, depend wholly on the social system. The main feature in the progress of technology in our time is that at each step the problem of the development of social relations is raised.

One of the important consequences of a peaceful use of atomic energy in the Soviet Union will be a more rapid elimination of the discrepancy between mental and manual work. An unlimited source of atomic energy will make possible the increase of production and lead to an abundance of material goods. It will make work more efficient, cut down the working hours and provide conditions for an all-round intellectual and cultural development.

Atomic energy will also assist in solving more rapidly an important problem facing the Soviet people, elimination of the essential difference between town and country, between industrial and agricultural work. Atomic energy is to play an important part in the development of the productive forces in the faraway, thinly populated regions possessing vast natural resources.

A wide use of atomic energy in economy and the creation of new industries on its basis requires a reshaping of the system of vocational education in order to train the necessary skilled workers. Moreover, a new complicated problem of reconstructing the whole system of education is arising, its further improvement and adaptation to the task of an atomic age. For that purpose a wide net of special higher and lower educational establishments is required.

A wider use of atomic energy in economy inevitably raises the problem of preserving the health of the workers subjected to direct radiation while working with radioactive elements. That requires a whole complex of measures and special laws: the introduction of a unified limit of permissible radiation and concentration of radioactive isotopes in the atmosphere and in the water; the length of the working hours and of holidays; the working out of prophylactic rules for workers coming into contact with radioactive substances and subjected to radiation; special medical service for a systematic control of the health of the workers and finally control of the implementation of the existing laws on this subject.

The Soviet Union considers international co-operation in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes as highly important.

The existing forms of international co-operation in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes concern mostly the technical and economic aspects of the problems. The social and moral aspects have not yet become, as they should, the object of international co-operation.

FRIEDRICH WELTZ (München)

CONFLICTING DEMANDS IN THE DISCIPLINARY FUNCTION OF THE INDUSTRIAL SUPERVISOR

During a recent survey in several plants in basic industry a marked differentiation in the outlook and behaviour of the supervisory staff was found. One type was predominantly oriented by what might be called the "principle of standards"; i.e. he saw his main task as the maintenance of standards set by the management. The other type was oriented by what could be called the "principle of cooperation", which means that he saw his main task as eliciting the willingness of his subordinates to cooperate.

The two more or less contrasting types of orientation and behaviour can be seen as the outgrowth of contrasting demands of work in basic industry. On the one hand there are still rather unpleasant working conditions and the necessity of strict regulation of conduct, often in conflict with the expectations of those subjected to it. On the other hand, recent technical progress has increased the importance of willing and intelligent cooperation by the workers.

An attempt at a solution of this conflict may be seen in the endeavours for good human relations.

But as long as a conflict exists between the demands of the principle of standards and the principle of cooperation, this will have its effect upon the exercise of authority within the enterprise. This dilemma was solved, in the plants investigated, by a sort of informal division of tasks. Certain departments or individual superiors predominantly adopt the principle of standards, others the principle of cooperation. For instance, in one plant, the line superiors predominantly stuck to the promotion of good cooperation. It was only the managerial department that adhered consistently to the principle of standards.

The example of the foreman in coalmining shows the difficulties which arise if such possibilities to avoid these conflicting demands are absent. The conditions of production in coal mines put practically all ranks of the hierarchy under pressure. Dangerous and continually altering conditions, however, render the strict definition of the output to be demanded of the miners more difficult. The foreman is to a certain extent always dependent upon the willing cooperation of his workers. He solves the conflict between the requirements of standards and cooperation by a kind of compensatory transaction with his miners. But neither the endeavours for good human relations, nor the "division of tasks", nor the compensatory procedure of the foreman

in coal mines, offer a genuine solution of the conflict between the demands of standard and cooperation. A solution can only be spoken of in the event of these demands not conflicting any more; and this seems possible only if the exercise of authority within the enterprise can be rationalised and shorn of its non-functional implications.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

Professor CLEMENS introduced the discussion by pointing out that the papers under discussion dealt mainly with six topics of industrial sociology:

1. Application of the results of industrial sociology
2. Management and supervision
3. The sociology of organization
4. Attitudes and motivations of employees
5. The influence of external factors on the enterprise
6. The rôle of industrial sociology

The Chairman then proposed that the procedure in the meeting should take the form of introductory remarks by each author of a paper, followed by comments from the other participants.

1. Application of the results of industrial sociology.

The papers by R. CLEMENS and P. EVRARD (Belgium), J. SZCZEPANSKI (Poland), E. MASSACEZI and J. E. HUMBLET (Luxembourg) were summarized and commented by the authors.

2. Management and supervision.

The papers by T. E. CHESTER and G. FORSYTH (U.K.), J. E. HUMBLET (Luxembourg), R. BAR-YOSEF (Israel) were summarized and commented by the authors.

Discussion.

Professor FERRAROTTI (Italy) Professor Chester knows very well that the problem of professionalization of management is a problem that should be considered and I was thinking quite a bit of it. I don't think that professionalization of management can be considered the solution for industrial development, and I don't think that we can restrict the consequence of professionalization of management to the private industries only.

In a recent research in Italy we have been trying to find: what the motivations of managers are, what does a manager do, what is management, why do people become managers. We considered three types of managers:

1. The family oriented manager or the dynastic type of manager.
2. The politically appointed manager of the bureaucratic type.
3. The ideologically oriented manager

In these three types there is a common trait: they all have power and the interesting thing to study is their attitudes to power.

MISS R. STEWART (UK) I just want to make one addition to something Professor Chester has said. The educational changes in Great Britain have resulted in very considerable stressess as to the kind of rôle that the manager should perform. I think that it is possible that some of our friends from other countries may have got the impression that all managers in Britain are university trained or all recruited to management were University trainees. This is certainly far from being true in a good many companies.

One of the difficulties a sociologist might expect is the clash of outlook between managers who have different educational backgrounds; some of the puzzles that this has produced in certain companies have led some companies, particularly engineering companies, to decide that we won't have any more university graduates, it would be better if we could get them earlier before they are being spoilt by the university, before their outlook has become too different from our own outlook as managers. These companies look hopefully towards what we call a sandwich system which is half the time in the factory and half the time at a technological college. I would suggest that an interesting field of further study might be the kind of differences in expectations, the kind of clashes of attitudes that you get between the University trained managers, which tend to be a particular group in England, and the managers who are now trained by the sandwich system.

Professor T. E. CHESTER (UK) I would just like to make one or two remarks on what Professor Ferrarotti has said. I don't intend to overstress the importance of education; at the same time, as Miss Stewart has outlined, the educational changes are just as much social revolutions as anything else even if no blood has been shed. And perhaps I can illustrate very briefly in a little story, which happened to me, the role-confusion which arises when workers can't identify any more the stereotyped image of what we think of a manager. There were twelve shop stewards and eleven of them were discussing the traditional enmity of workers and managers and the twelfth got up and said "Brothers, my son has just graduated in engineering and is entering the factory to-morrow. Is he my enemy or is he still my son?"

I would like to underline the research of Professor Ferrarotti in private and public industries. In my investigations which were originally started in our nationalised industries and then led me to investigate large scale private industries I came to the conclusion that the main

differences between public and private large scale industries if I can use a colloquial phase in England, is that the private industries can wash their dirty linen in private and the public companies have to wash it in public.

In one of our industries which was nationalised and then denationalised I did a lot of attitude surveys and I asked managers "Are you private or public?" To my surprise the greater part did not know and indeed they could not care less, unless they were absolutely at the top level of board memberships. I think Professor Ferrarotti is absolutely right and I am surprised that our investigations, which were by no means co-ordinated, came to the same results. Then he mentioned his point of studying top management, of what they really do: the demystification. I came to the conclusion, that there is not so much mystery about it, that when you approach the top management rightly they are prepared to co-operate. We are at present carrying out one project, where one of our research assistants sits in to find out not only how the managers spend their time on the time table but what they really do, because they themselves can't observe themselves. We always see quite different things, what really happens.

And finally why do the managers become managers? I do believe that Ferrarotti is absolutely right when he stresses the problem of power. When, very tentatively, we made an attitude survey why people want to climb up the ladder, we found that it was mainly because of the feeling that you will be free, that nobody would sit on you, that you can take decisions on a wider level without any supervision. Centralization and decentralization, of course, is the real problem.

3. The Sociology of organization.

The papers by T. HOPKINS (U.S.A.), W. M. EVAN (U.S.A.), F. WELTÒ (German Federal Republic) and A. ETZIONI (USA) were summarized and commented upon by Mr. Wallerstein (the paper by Mr. Hopkins), Mr. Evan, Mr. Weltz and Mr. Linz (the paper by Mr. Etzioni).

Discussion:

DR. H. MEISSNER (German Democratic Republic) I have read with interest the paper of Mr. Weltz. The central problem of this paper is the conflict between the principles of standards and the principles of cooperation. Unfortunately, the extraordinarily important question as to the socio-economic causes of this conflict of interest was not dealt with. But it is only this question that makes it possible to show the way towards the solution of the conflict between management and workers. Mr. Weltz is of the opinion that such a solution at present is not possible, because he has not taken into consideration the already accomplished change of socio-economic conditions in other countries. In our country the most important large industrial enterprises were socialised

and thus a large sector of nationally owned industries was created. This sector to-day produces approximately 90% of industrial gross products. For that reason, objectively there can be no fundamental conflict of interests between management and workers. This becomes clear also by the phenomenon that the majority of managers and members of the management committees are former workers, they have immediately developed from the ranks of the workers. To-day of course a large number of our industrial leaders are university trained. But most of these industrial leaders also come from the working class since the average percentage of children of workers at our universities amounts to 60%.

The manager receives his commission from the owners of the means of production and he expresses their interests. The conflict dealt with by Mr. Weltz between managers and workers is therefore basically a conflict between wage labour and capital. This contradiction is abolished wherever capitalist property has been overcome. This does not mean that in our country there cannot be any conflicts between management and workers and that they are not actually there. But these differences can only concern secondary questions such as the improvement of the organisation of work, the improvement of the premium system, etc.

DR. H. SHEPPARD (U.S.A.): I only want to make a few comments quickly on the last speaker's remarks. They reveal, to some of us at least, the need for empirical research in every country instead of mere statements. Some of the hypotheses stated by the previous speaker need empirical research because they do not fit with what we know about for example the change of role. The mere fact that a foreman or manager was once a worker does not mean that he remains a worker. We have seen it around the world and we know it in terms of other experiences. We would welcome some empirical research by objective observers in the country which the gentleman represents. Let me give one analogy: the fact that a father and a son are of the same family does not necessarily mean that there is no conflict, conflict for studies, conflict for prestige, conflict for power. I said the same thing in criticising certain capitalist sociologists, if I may use the term. The term I did use in some previous writings was "managerial sociology" in particular in criticising the work of Elton Mayo, from Harvard University. So I cannot be accused of being a bourgeois sociologist. Well, I am asking for some truly objective empirical research and not these theological statements.

Professor M. MANESCU (Roumanie): A propos des communications de M. Szczepanski sur l'application pratique de la sociologie dans l'industrie, permettez moi de dire quelques mots relatifs à la connaissance sociologique de la vie industrielle de notre pays. En Roumanie les sociologues ont de grandes possibilités de recherche sociologique

parce-que toutes les entreprises industrielles sont propriété sociale, propriété d'Etat. Les recherches et les méthodes sociologiques chez nous s'appliquent en fonction du développement des forces de production et des relations de production. Les conditions économiques, politiques et sociales sont les éléments fondamentaux de la recherche sociologique. Par exemple, avant la guerre la Roumanie fut un pays agricole, aujourd'hui la Roumanie est un pays industriel qui a de l'industrie lourde extractive, des constructions de machines, qui importent à toute l'économie nationale. Le développement continu de l'industrie et de l'économie nationale caractérisent les recherches sociologiques dans mon pays. Les recherches sociologiques s'y font par exemple sur le problème suivant: le classement de la productivité, l'organisation du travail dans les entreprises industrielles, le classement de la classe ouvrière, la sécurité du travail dans les entreprises, le classement de la qualification des ouvriers, les niveaux de vie, de revenu, de salaire réel et de consommation des ouvriers, le niveau culturel. Dans notre pays la sociologie est une sociologie de classe; c'est la sociologie de la classe ouvrière.

Professor S. M. MILLER (U.S.A.): The two sessions have been very interesting and seem to represent two different strands of thought. It might be worth while to take a few moments to bring the two strands together. A number of speakers have emphasized the problems of industrial sociology in their countries, which principally concern the issue of productivity, absenteeism and labour turnover.

Another mode of thought that prevailed in the papers was the emphasis upon the concern with authority and I thought that those papers gave a rather important contribution in changing our view of authority as an atom, in trying to break up the atom into elements which fasten together into different kinds of patterns. It seems to me that in discussion of authority and its different patterns there is little discussion of the effects of different types of authority upon concrete problems of absenteeism, labour turnover and productivity. The kind of emphasis that many western sociologists have upon an analytic understanding of the patterns of authority can be merged with the emphasis that some speakers have had today on the problem of how to produce higher efficiency and to reduce absenteeism and labour turnover.

Let us begin to become concerned with the consequences of different types of authority and instead of looking on authority as one kind with necessarily undeviating consequences, let us look at authority as having different kinds of patterns, each giving different kinds of structural situations with different consequences for the problem of productivity. So that even if we start from widely different directions, one concerned with broad analytic categories, the other with immediate problems of productivity, it seems to me that these two concerns can come together when we deal with the problem of consequences. And I

suspect that if we begin to deal with the problem of consequences, we will have to turn back to the problem of causes, which will lead us to a re-evaluation of some of the remarks made today which were rather unanalytical in attempting to see the relationship between different patterns of behaviour and their consequences.

DR. F. WELTÖ (German Federal Republic): I just want to reply to the remarks of Mr. Meissner. I am not quite sure I made it clear in my paper, which probably is due to the shortness of the paper, that my point was that the conflict between the principle of standards and the principle of cooperation is due to the conditions characteristic of certain stages of technical and organizational development. That means: this conflict will arise in any industrial plant and system during that stage.

4. *Attitudes and motivations of employees*

The papers by K. Odaka (Japan), U. G. Foa (Israel), B. Lutz and A. Willener (German Federal Republic), E. L. Malone (U.S.A.) and A. Sarapota (Poland) were summarized and commented upon by the authors.

Discussion:

DR. W. EICHHORN (German Democratic Republic): In the German Democratic Republic we are facing many sociological problems, mainly the drawing of millions of working people into the administration and regulation of industry. There are sociological problems involved in the planning of the economy, the relation of human beings and technique under the socialist conditions and so on. I am one of a large group doing research on these problems, and participating in this research there are philosophers, sociologists, economists, jurists as well as workers and foremen. Thus in one large Berlin enterprise, the cable works Oberspree, which has about 6,000 workers, this group is at present preparing a congress of brigades of socialist workers. The sociological problem of that congress is the problem of the human being in the period of socialism, the problem of the allround development of the personality of the working men. You can see from this that we draw the material for our sociological work immediately from practice.

5. *The influence of external factors on the enterprise*

The paper by W. H. Form and W. L. Sauer (U.S.A.), C. Durand and A. Willener (France and German Federal Republic) S. Moos (U.K.), A. Okulov (U.S.S.R.) and H. Waris (Finland) were summarized and commented upon by the authors (Dr. Seppanen for Professor Waris).

Discussion:

Professor G. VIVIANI (Chile):

Tout le monde est d'accord pour attribuer une grande importance aux rapports entre les problèmes de la sociologie et ceux de l'économie. Ce qui est important c'est le bien-être de tous, du peuple particulièrement. Il doit y avoir un rapport entre salaire et minimum vital. Il ne faut pas que l'on fasse travailler les femmes et les enfants pour permettre à la famille de vivre. L'homme n'est pas une machine, le travail doit avoir un caractère humain. Le travail doit être varié. Cela dépend de la Direction.

Problème central: problème des relations humaines. Il faut éviter la répétition dans le travail. Il doit y avoir pour la classe ouvrière la possibilité d'accéder à des conditions de vie meilleures, à s'élever dans la hiérarchie sociale et à participer à la direction technique. Cela récompense le travail humain.

DR. KOEPPERT (German Democratic Republic)

That conflicts between employees and workers still exist in the U.S.A. Mr. Malone has himself reported yesterday when he explained how the workers of the R & M Company only under the threat of dismissal agreed to higher output. It is self evident that under such conditions there can be no community of interest between the workers and the employees. Only socialist property of the means of production forms the basis for a position where the interest of the individual coincides with the interest of the whole society. That does not of course exclude temporary conflicts in socialist societies.

Professor F. H. Blum (U.S.A.)

It seems to me that the only way to overcome the split between the West and the East, which was quite apparent in several contributions, is on both sides to think in broader terms. If we do that we will obtain a very valuable insight which will allow us to test some of our basic hypotheses. Then I would not be astonished if those who look at the West from the East would find, that what is wrong in U.S.A. is not so much what is called the exploitation of the workers but the tremendous similarity of outlook between the workers and management. They will also find a basic similarity in the exclusive emphasis on productivity in the East and the West. I mention these as examples to propose that we look at industry from the human point of view and that we make our basic criterion some human values that we believe in. Unless we do that I don't think we can claim to have a sociology of work in industry.

MR. BUGUSHVYLLI (U.S.S.R.)

I would suggest a classification of industries, including five forms.

- (i) Domestic industry. The aim of this is satisfaction of the needs of the family itself. Not only the raw material but the means of

production are produced in the home. This form of production does not know specialization.

- (ii) Handicraft industry and trade. This is the first form of industry which is separated from agricultural labour. Now the different industrial professions appear. Production and consumption are separated. The production is according to orders of consumers. The master is the owner of the products and of the enterprise. The masters are the owners of their enterprise because of their knowledge of a special trade, not because of their ownership of the means of production. The division of labour was not yet practised.
- (iii) Home industry. It is distinguished from the domestic industry by the fact that it mostly is small commodity production. It differs from the handicraft industry by the fact that in the former the labour produces for customers, while in the later the products are distributed by merchants. The home industry has usually developed out of the domestic industry. In the home industry the place of work and of leisure is the same.

(iv) Manufacture and

(v) Factory industry. It is not necessary to describe these two forms of industry here, because you can find a description of them in the literature of the Marxist sociologists.

Professor EVA J. ROSS (U.S.A.)

I did just wish to refer to the remarks made by the participant from Chile. In modern industrial enterprises we really look at workers as human beings. The errors of early capitalism no longer exist. Modern capitalism realizes that only a worker largely satisfied with working-days and living a free and adequately human life in his after-hours contributes adequately to a highly productive economy.

Madame M. SCHLAG-REY (Belgium)

Je voudrais simplement faire une remarque en rapport avec la communication de M. Verhaegen concernant l'apport de la Sociologie à la politique de sécurité des entreprises. Il me semble bien évident qu'un sociologue doit toujours faire une sorte d'auto-critique au sujet de ses hypothèses de travail. Mais je crois qu'il lui est aussi permis d'avoir des ambitions limitées. Sans avoir nécessairement la prétention de débrouiller le jeu complexe de tous les facteurs de l'accident, il arrive qu'une recherche sociologique, axée sur une hypothèse banale, aboutisse tout de même à une conclusion dont l'utilité se vérifie par des évidences empiriques, comme le demande le Professeur Sheppard.

Dans une recherche sur les communications concernant la sécurité dans les charbonnages nous avons été amené à constater une relation

entre le mode de transmission des consignes de sécurité aux ouvriers et le respect de ces consignes.

Par exemple, dans un charbonnage où le soutènement se fait exclusivement par des étançons métalliques, on constatait régulièrement, tous les mois, un certain pourcentage d'accidents de doigts écrasés dus à une fausse manoeuvre dans le déplacement de l'étançon. La manoeuvre correcte avait été enseignée et était non moins régulièrement rappelée aux ouvriers par le moyen d'avis affichés, d'advertisements oraux, de rappels aux contremaîtres, etc.

Un jour le chef du service de sécurité eut l'idée de prendre deux photos d'un mineur populaire parmi ses camarades, l'une dans la pose d'exécution incorrecte de la manoeuvre avec le doigt apparemment écrasé et l'autre dans la position d'exécution correcte. Pendant les deux mois qui suivirent les statistiques enregistraient une diminution hautement significative de ce type d'accident (je n'ai malheureusement pas les statistiques des mois suivants).

Il me semble que, si à partir d'observations de ce genre la recherche sociologique permet de préciser de façon plus générale les conditions psychologiques et sociales d'une information efficace au sujet des moyens de protection, une telle recherche apporte à la politique de sécurité des entreprises une contribution qui, pour se limiter à un problème spécifique, n'en est pas moins valuable.

DR. K. RICE (U.K.)

It is my belief that within the enterprise there is a considerable capacity for cooperation available, whatever the economic or political system. In other words, that everybody—workers and managers alike—gets considerable satisfaction of doing a good job with efficient equipment. One of the things I think we might be inclined to neglect in our concentration on the difficulties of workers in adopting high mechanization is that, in fact, if you have a high form of energy, then you have the great satisfaction of belonging to a highly efficient organization. Indeed it is a fairly common experience that people who are members of such organizations like it. A further point: if you have a high mechanization, the discipline tends to be imposed by the process itself, rather than by other people. And such discipline is usually easier to tolerate. Therefore I do believe, that with high mechanization (an example is the oil refineries) the relationship between the so-called workers and the so-called managers are in fact very much closer.

6. *The role of industrial sociology.*

The papers by O. Neuloh (German Federal Republic), P. de Bie and M. Chaumont (Belgium) and A. Touraine (France) were summarized and commented upon by the authors.

Discussion

Professor R. LIKERT (U.S.A.)

I should like to make a general point. It is important that sociology be viewed as a science, and a condition of sciences is that their observations are replicable. Many of the papers presented here are not based on replicable observations. They are based on a series of assumptions and various kinds of perceptions. I think that many of these assumptions are incorrect. The perceptions, I believe, are distorted. May I propose, therefore, that in preparing the Fifth Congress it might be desirable to try to make it more truly scientific by having it based on observations, the methods of which are such that anybody who uses the same methods will come up substantially with the same observations.

A. LUNDQUIST

SECTION II(1)b
THE APPLICATION OF
SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO AGRICULTURE

*Chairman: Professor E. W. HOFSTEE
(Agricultural University, Wageningen)*

*Rapporteur: Dr. B. BENVENUTI
(Communauté Economique Européenne)*

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

J. ALLAN BEEGLE (Michigan State University)

SOCIAL COMPONENTS IN THE DECISION TO MIGRATE

This paper views the explanation of internal migration in terms of decision-making process in which three elements play a crucial role. Migration is regarded as the voluntary movement of individuals beyond and outside their interaction systems. The elements of the decision-making process regarding migration are: "satisfactions", or feelings of cohesiveness and security rooted in identification with groups and structures; "social costs", or rootlessness and/or perceptions of rootlessness attending migration; and "aspirations", or the desired future state or condition sought.

The paper also considers the problem of community impact resulting from population gain or loss. Suggestions are offered regarding sociologically relevant lines of investigation concerning structural, functional, and relational changes in community sub-systems coincident with population gain or loss.

Finally, results from a field study among non-migrants in a community of out-migration are presented. These findings suggest the utility of the three elements listed above in the explanation of migration, in this instance of non-migration.

S. P. BOSE (Harinchata Nadia, India)

*CHARACTERISTICS OF FARMERS WHO ADOPT RECOMMENDED
AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES IN SOME SELECTED VILLAGES IN
WEST BENGAL*

In order to find out whether there is any association between the adoption of improved agricultural practices and the socio-economic characteristic of the farmers a survey of ten villages was undertaken.

These ten villages were selected in West Bengal in widely scattered areas. In every village each family were asked which of the following five improved practices they had adopted in the preceding year: use of (1) fertilisers, (2) improved seeds, (3) improved poultry, (4) plant protection and (5) artificial insemination for cattle. Information was also obtained on their socio-economic characteristics, such as, land held, land cultivated, land tenure, education, caste, participation in community activities and outside contact, etc. The results of the investigation have shown that those farmers who belong to the non-scheduled castes adopt improved practices in larger numbers than farmers who belong to the scheduled castes. Similarly farmers who are literate adopt improved practices in larger numbers than those who are non-literate and those who participate in community activities have larger numbers adopting than

those who do not participate. The difference in adoption between cultivating owners and share croppers is not very pronounced.

It has been found that certain characteristics do not go together. Thus there are few scheduled caste cultivating owners and fewer still scheduled caste literates.

In order to trace a relationship between investment per acre of land and land owned, level of education, extent of outside contact, a multiple regression was fitted.

ODD GRANDE (Head of Division for Rural Sociology, Agricultural College of Norway, Vollebekk)

APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGY TO PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVES

The study of agricultural co-operatives is a field where sociological knowledge can be fruitfully applied.

In this paper a sociological analysis is attempted on the basis of economic and sociological theory and research, in order to establish a basis for further systematic research.

The co-operatives are looked upon as aggregates of economic units (farms), and as organizations with economic functions as the primary ones. Important secondary social functions may be latent in small local co-operatives. In larger co-operative societies, however, they become manifest and of immediate concern to the leadership both in regard to membership and community relations.

Strong disintegrating forces are always active in the co-operatives, and lack of understanding of their true nature may cause severe disturbances and sometimes complete failure of the organizations, because of an unfavourable atmosphere for the proper functioning of the social system, internally or externally.

Sociological research has already provided results that may be practically applied and which actually are already put to use in the solution of important problems in this field.

Sociological theory and research combined with other social sciences, particularly economics, can provide an integrated theory for a more complete understanding of this particular type of economic organization and social system.

A. O. HALLER

THE OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT PROCESS OF FARM-REARED YOUTH IN URBAN-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

Farm-reared people are relatively unsuccessful in urban occupations. It is known that youth who have low levels of occupational and educational aspiration are eventually low achievers. Since farm-reared people have low levels of aspiration it has been suggested that the supposedly limited general environment provided by rural society limits the horizons of the farm youth. Later research has disproved this hypothesis by showing that only those farm boys who plan to farm have low levels of aspiration.

The present paper, based on data from farm boys in a highly urban-industrial region with excellent educational facilities, is an attempt to infer a valid explanation for the farm-planner's low levels of educational and occupational aspiration and to simultaneously explain differential plans regarding farming. The explanation inferred holds that farming is the normal occupational self-conception of farm-reared boys. This normal self-conception may be abandoned if the boy has an unusually self-reliant and inquisitive personality, if

his parents are deviants in that they want him to be mobile, or if he perceives farming as inaccessible. If he develops a self-conception of non-farmer he will tend to utilize the information available in the area to develop the higher levels of aspiration needed for successfully entering urban work ; if his self-conception remains that of farmer he will tend not to utilize the information. Thus those wishing to increase the levels of occupational achievement of farm-reared youth should attempt to break up the boy's expectations that he will be a farmer.

The findings may be useful for agriculture in other urban-industrial societies, and, with modifications, in other types of societies. But before this conclusion is reached, the explanation should be retested.

G. P. HIRSCH (Agricultural Economics Research Institute, University of Oxford)

THE USE AND INTERPRETATION OF QUANTITATIVE DATA IN THE STUDY OF RURAL SETTLEMENTS

The empirical approach has been criticised for its bare assemblage of facts and failure to produce any sociological generalisations. Many community studies have to plead ' guilty ' to such indictment.

It is, however, not the empirical approach which is at fault but the *aggregate* technique which has—traditionally—been used in such studies. It lumps together the totality of a population and then merely sub-classifies it according to a number of characteristics.

Only a comparison of communities on the basis of their variations both from the grand average for all of them and from the average for various groupings or sub-groups can lead to generalisations. This approach can be termed the *comparative* technique.

This technique was used in a survey of settlements in East Sussex, a county in South-East England. One of the aims of this survey was to find out if distinctive functional types of settlements exist and, if so, to attempt a classification according to their economic and social structure and function.

HENRI MENDRAS (Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris)

POUR UNE ANALYSE COMPREHENSIVE DE LA DIFFUSION DU PROGRES AGRICOLE

Les sociétés paysannes traditionnelles sont des sociétés à changement lent. Or elles se trouvent aujourd'hui plongées dans une civilisation à changement technique et social rapide. Ce conflit de civilisations pose au paysan un grand nombre de problèmes et l'incompréhension de ce conflit suscite de nombreuses difficultés aux responsables de la politique agricole et aux techniciens de l'agriculture.

Plusieurs enquêtes menées dans différentes régions françaises et en Grèce sur ce sujet montrent que le progrès technique a pénétré plus rapidement à la campagne qu'on ne le pense généralement. Mais cette pénétration s'est faite sans transformation parallèle de la mentalité. Il en résulte que les motivations et les images du progrès sont chez le paysan très différentes de celle que l'on trouve chez un "entrepreneur" capitaliste.

Il existe des différences considérables suivant les sociétés paysannes, en fonction de leur mentalité traditionnelle, de leur évolution économique et technique de la pénétration de la société globale . . . etc., Le niveau de conscience économique est sans doute un des facteurs les plus importants et les

plus variables. Les mécanismes et les canaux de diffusion du progrès varient avec le système social. Mais il faut tenir compte aussi du sentiment de participation à la société globale et du sentiment de dépendance vis-à-vis des conditions naturelles.

Enfin pour comprendre ce phénomène il faut le replacer dans la totalité de la vie sociale et en particulier ses manifestations politiques. Le progrès agricole apparaît le plus souvent dans une société rurale comme un instrument de pouvoir au service d'un groupe ou d'une classe.

LEONARD W. MOSS and STEPHEN C. CAPPANNARI (Wayne State University, Detroit)

A SOCIOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF AN ITALIAN RURAL COMMUNITY

Utilizing an inter-disciplinary approach, a study of rural family patterns, village organization, and social stratification in selected South Italian villages was conducted with special reference to current theories of culture change.

The field experiences of the authors suggest that a valid social scientific community study may yield results which are inapplicable for the promotion of social action and change on the local level.

A contemporary anthropological position holds that a condition of *disequilibrium* is specially conducive to culture change. Investigation of these indicies of *disequilibrium* in a relatively isolated hilltop village ("Cortina d'Aglio") indicates that outside influences have failed to penetrate precisely because of these same factors which here promote a high degree of resistance to change. Such factors as high rate of emigration; education; familial solidarity; *individualismo*; economic and social stratification; and *campanilismo* all tend to work against formation of voluntary associations and change from within the community.

The authors conclude that limited theoretical models have hampered the extension of planned social change which must often go beyond the village frame of reference. Uni-dimensional planning at the village level is unlikely to succeed.

JERZY TEPICHT (Institut d'Economie Agricole de Varsovie)

RECHERCHE SOCIOLOGIQUE EN VUE D'UNE TRANSFORMATION SOCIALE

Trois séries de recherches sociologiques sont menées en Pologne sous l'angle d'une contribution concrète à l'élaboration d'un programme agraire socialiste.

D'un bref aperçu de *recherches sur la structure sociale des campagnes* ressort une atténuation des conflits sociaux dans le village polonais au cours des dernières quinze années, parallèle à une mobilité sociale très accrue et un développement de formes d'aide mutuelle entre les paysans moyens, incitant à y chercher les prémisses d'une future transformation collectiviste.

Une étude des changements opérés dans les fermes co-opératives nous montre la valeur des dernières expériences, souvent spontanées et variées suivant les régions, pour la formation des modèles susceptibles d'être acceptés à l'avenir par la majorité des paysans polonais.

La troisième série de recherches, présentée par l'auteur d'une façon plus détaillée, concerne le mouvement de "cercles d'agriculteurs". Elle est basée sur une vintaine de monographies, préparées simultanément dans diverses régions du pays.

Parmi les problèmes—clefs de cette étude il convient de relever : la composition sociale du cercle par rapport à celle du village, l'activité économique, sociale, culturelle du cercle à la lumière des problèmes les plus importants à résoudre dans le village, l'activité du cercle en face des intérêts divergeants et convergeants de ses membres, la génèse du cercle, ses cadres, ses ressemblances et dissemblances avec le mouvement similaire d'avant guerre, enfin les diverses formes d'entr'aide et de propriété commune qui se créent sous les auspices du cercle.

En considérant les résultats déjà obtenus de l'étude, l'auteur fait une distinction entre les coopératives au grand périmètre d'action et les associations l'échelle du village. C'est à ces dernières qu'il attribue le plus de valeur éducative dans les campagnes polonaises à l'heure actuelle.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

The meeting was opened by the Chairman who proposed that, owing to the absence of several papers, each author should introduce his own document at some length as no discussion was possible otherwise.

The presentation of the papers was arranged in three main groups:

(1) General Cultural Aspects of Social Change in Agriculture and Rural Life in an Industrialising Society.

(2) Organisational and Administrative Aspects of Social Change in Agriculture and Rural Life in an Industrialising Society.

(3) Rural Migration and Occupational Change in an Industrialising Society.

In the first group were discussed the contributions of: Kötter, Mendras, Bose, Moss and Cappanari; in the second group the contributions of: Grande, Tepicht, Lynn Smith; in the third group those of: Beegle, Haller, Pohoski and Sianko.

The Chairman started the debate by clarifying some possible misunderstandings as to whether or not the discussion should really be restricted only to the demonstrable influences of sociology on agriculture. In his opinion such limitation could not be accepted. Such a conception, he said would show a lack of understanding as to the field of application of rural sociology. Rural sociology at present is basically different from industrial sociology in that it studies rural society as a whole; the latter, instead, generally studies only a certain role of man in the industrial society. At this stage of rural sociological knowledge, the cognitive aspects of the discipline are far more important than the possible practical applications of this knowledge to the life of rural society.

This opinion was partially shared by Professor Rossi-Doria who, starting from a different, more pragmatic point of view, pleaded for

the creation of a well-defined body of rural sociological theory. Rural societies are very different from each other and from urban society; furthermore nowadays they generally are in great need of help. In order to be able to help them, social scientists must first be able to know and to understand them. Therefore, since the fields of study of rural sociology are such well defined societies, rural social scientists must try to develop specific concepts and yardsticks for the analysis of such societies and of the phenomena of life in the rural world in general.

The rightness of Prof. Rossi-Doria's statement was questioned by Mr. Benvenuti who remarked that the most important issue was to know first whether or not it is right to speak of rural sociology at all, intended as a discipline different from general sociology. In his own opinion this is not right, although mainly for historical and practical reasons the expression has come into existence and is being now widely used. However, there is only one sociology, which studies society and the relations among human beings. The several adjectives which are being given to sociology derive only from the variations of the latter. On the other hand, since the social context varies, and there can practically be an unlimited series of combinations between "urban" and "rural", between "developed" and "primitive" etc., the speaker does not see how it is possible to maintain the conception of the uniqueness of the rural world and of rural sociology as a discipline. He does not see the possibility nor the need for rural sociology to develop concepts, and yardsticks of its own. While industrial sociology can be said to be, in a certain way, a specialisation, since it studies man during the fulfilling of a particular role into a specific aspect of societal life, rural sociology studies the whole of social life. This social life can be more or less "urban" and more or less "rural" according to time and place.

From the discussion of every paper presented, in spite of the variety of local economic and political conditions referred to in it, constantly one common point emerged: it seemed clear that the clash between a traditionalistic culture (and its self-sufficient form of economic organisation) and a dynamic-progressive culture (and its forms of organization for a market economy) is a total one. That is, the human being is involved in it with every aspect of his life. But if, on the one hand, the process of industrialisation of the countryside means a total clash between two types of culture, on the other hand, this does not mean that the old local pattern of culture will always finish by being replaced by the new one. There are local culture factors making for lags and resistances. Thus M. Mendras pointed to the individualism of the French farmer, which is deeply rooted in the rationalistic ideology of the French Revolution. This makes for a rejection of many new cultural influences coming from persons or institutions which are felt as antagonistic (class consciousness, etc); the same very strong resistance resulting from the mistrust of every new cultural characteristic coming from out-

side the community was reported by L. W. Moss for a southern Italian village. The analyses presented by Mendras and Moss and Cappanari were criticized by Professor Tepicht (Poland), who felt that they were too empirical and too little constructive in their approach, as a result of the lack of a theory of general validity for the interpretation of social phenomena.

MR. V. MALINSKI (Roumania) acknowledged that local cultural differences are very frequent nowadays, particularly in certain countries. Nevertheless, whenever cases of accentuated mistrust and opposition to the integration into the wider national societies occurred, such as the ones quoted by Mendras and Moss and Cappanari, we must not think that such maladjustments will disappear by themselves, if we follow a liberal policy of "laissez-faire". It is the social scientist's and the political authority's task to try to understand the reasons of such maladjustments and to help solve them in the best way. Professor Hofstee thought that strong resistances against new cultural influences coming from outside the local community are found, in many cases, in those parts of the society, or of the country, which are lagging behind the rest in their development. Very often the cause of such lag lies (or is felt to lie by local people) in the bad administration of the central authorities. As nowadays any initiative to solve regional social and economic problems practically come from central authorities, the refusal of local population to accept from outside innovations in their life is mainly due to their instinctive mistrust of the central authority, to which they have been accustomed to ascribe unpleasant socio-economic influences of non-local nature.

The contributions of Mr. Tepicht, Mr. Rühle, Mr. Wiezbicky and Mr. Malinski showed clearly that the changes in the social structure of the countryside, which have occurred spontaneously in the Western world under the influence of industrialism, can also be stimulated and promoted artificially by the central authorities. The most important conclusion of this part of the discussion was that, no matter whether spontaneous or induced, industrialization essentially means a fundamental change in outlook, way of thinking and way of life of the former rural individual. This takes the form of an increase in the individual's degree of social awareness. Mr. Haller's paper showed that such changes are clearly reflected also in the individual's personality type. It seems possible to maintain that the phenomena referred to above are common to every rural individual who has undergone the impact of urban-industrial culture, whereas other cultural variables such as the persistence of certain social institutions, or the coming into being of new ones, vary from place to place. This seems to give automatically an answer to Professor Rossi Doria's plea for the creation of a systematic typology of the different rural societies. It also gives an indirect answer to his question about the actual state of development of rural sociological theory.

The need for the integration of the isolated farmers into wider and new forms of social organizations was stressed by Professor Ardigo. The same point was made by Professor Tepicht, who, however, stressed that the stage of economic development reached by the country concerned (socio-economic system) is the determinant for the farmer's degree of freedom of action and attitudes with respect to cooperatives. Thus at different stages of economic development the importance and function of cooperatives as "bridges" between the traditionalistic cultural phase and the dynamic one is different. The importance placed by Professor Tepicht on cooperatives as "bridges" between individual and collective agriculture, or as new forms of societal organization between the two mentioned types of agriculture, was felt to be somewhat ill-placed by Professor Hofstee. In his opinion associative forms can manifest themselves everywhere at a certain stage of societal development. For instance, in the Netherlands associative forms, similar to some referred to in Mr. Tepicht's report existed until about half a century ago. In Professor Hofstee's opinion forms of this kind are typical of pre-capitalistic economic systems. Of the same opinion was Professor Bicanic. There are certain fixed economic laws which cannot be evaded, no matter what the political system. For instance the relation between productivity of labour (and hence, income) and farm size, farm size and part-time farming, etc. are constant phenomena of economic character. Professor Bicanic criticized the frequent attempts to present long since known phenomena as the results of new social and political ideas.

A clear example of the link between the individual's integration into the larger social context, the need for higher incomes, the modernity of the farm operator, and the degree of efficiency reached in the organization of the farm business was furnished by Prof. O. Larson. He pointed out that in America the small farmers who usually take part in some form of vertical integration of the productive process are apt to have been previously professionally active in some kind of urban institution or in the urban economy at large. This shows the gradual transition from a "rural" way of farming (and hence of living) and an "urban" way of farming and of living. The farmers who take part into a vertical integration frequently resemble very little the traditional farmers.

The following participated in the discussion: E. W. Hofstee (Netherlands), H. Kötter (German Federal Republic), H. Mendras (France), S. P. Bose (India), L. W. Moss (U.S.A.), O. Ruhle (German Democratic Republic), B. Benvenuti (Italy), V. Malinski (Roumania), B. Korstanje (Netherlands), A. Ardigo (Italy), M. Rossi-Doria (Italy), E. Cape (Italy), O. Grande (Norway), J. Tepicht (Poland), O. Larson (U.S.A.), A. Beegle (U.S.A.), M. Pohosky (Poland), C. Kostick (Yugoslavia), E. Abma (Netherlands), R. Bicanic (Yugoslavia), Wierzbicky (Poland).

B. BENVENUTI

SECTION II(1c)

THE APPLICATION OF
SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO EDUCATION

Chairman: Mrs. JEAN FLOUD
(University of London Institute of Education)
Rapporteur: Dr. A. H. HALSEY (University of Birmingham)

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

GEORGE BARON (University of London Institute of Education)

THE NOTION OF THE SCHOOL IN ENGLAND

In this paper it is argued that, despite the diversity of school forms in England they all, in large measure, derive their characteristics from certain basic assumptions, viz.

that a school should possess individuality and a measure of independence; that it should be a community, sufficiently limited and cohesive for all within it to have a common purpose and for it to be controlled by a single individual; that each school is concerned with the transmission and inculcation of:

- a. Certain established and orthodox ideas of national significance
 - b. The spread of a common cultural pattern derived initially from middle-class conceptions and now finding expression in the newer school forms;
- that all schools must be concerned, not only with general education and with instruction directed to vocational ends but with the development of the character of each individual boy or girl.

The transmission of these assumptions, mainly but not wholly derived from long-established *Public Schools*, is due to English schools forming their own close-knit and highly institutionalised value-structure linked not with the local communities they serve but with the cultural traditions of the nation as a whole and especially with those of middle class origin.

Within the school the headmaster (or headmistress) has a distinctive role and there is particular resistance to any challenge to his leadership from outside agencies. Furthermore, every effort is made to draw older boys and girls into the core of authority within each school by giving them responsibilities which cause them to identify themselves with its purposes.

The persistence of this notion of the school in England is shown by the extent to which the new secondary modern schools that have replaced the upper ranges of the old elementary schools have developed an individuality and an independence which their predecessors, hampered by codes and regulations, never possessed. In them and still more in the still newer comprehensive schools there is a marked tendency towards an acceptance of the assumptions already discussed.

If the new technological society now taking shape requires more and more diversified institutions, each possessing its own "ethos", it may well be that the notion of the school put forward in this paper is in closer accord with future patterns of social organisation than its origins suggest.

IDA BERGER (Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris)

TROUBLES MENTAUX ET CONDITIONS DE TRAVAIL DES INSTITUTEURS

Dans tous les milieux compétents on s'est rendu compte depuis quelque temps déjà, que les troubles mentaux des instituteurs, de plus en plus fréquents, semblent être dûs en grande partie aux mauvaises conditions de leur travail dans le sens le

plus large du terme (rétribution, nombre d'heures de classe, nombre d'élèves, état des locaux, présence ou absence d'un matériel scolaire convenable, prestige social auprès de la population, possibilités d'avancement et de promotion sociale).

Ce sont les instituteurs urbains, nous semble-t-il, en France au moins, qui sont les plus affectés par les troubles mentaux, dûs à ces mauvaises conditions de travail.

Les médecins-psychiatres de la Mutuelle Générale de l'Education Nationale qui soignent un grand nombre de membres de l'Enseignement Primaire ont fait deux observations importantes qui nous confirment nous mêmes dans nos hypothèses de travail.

1. L'abîme entre l'imagination de l'adolescent, en ce qui concerne sa vocation et la réalité semble avoir souvent créé des traumatismes psychiques très graves.

2. Les causes traumatisantes ne sont pas les mêmes pour les deux sexes. Les femmes souffrent surtout des mauvaises conditions de l'exercice de leur travail et les hommes sont affectés principalement par la modicité du traitement et la perte du prestige social de leur profession.

Les exemples communiqués par les Médecins-Psychiatres, ainsi que nos propres observations qui se basent sur les réponses données à 7.500 questionnaires des instituteurs et d'institutrices du département de la Seine vont dans le même sens.

Pour de multiples raisons, les données statistiques dont nous disposons sont insignifiantes. Néanmoins quoi qu'il en soit de la proportion d'instituteurs atteints de troubles mentaux par rapport à la population générale correspondante de la population urbaine active entre 20 et 60 ans, il est évident que les répercussions des troubles mentaux des enseignants paraissent beaucoup plus néfastes que celle de beaucoup d'autres malades.

Un des médecins-psychiatres dont la clientèle se compose principalement d'instituteurs nous disait à ce sujet: "Un enseignant, même pas très gravement malade, mais seulement inquiet, angoissé et hypernerveux, ressemble à un chirurgien dont la main tremble."

Si on prend, en effet, en considération que le "temps d'incubation" des troubles mentaux est en général très long et que, pendant toute cette époque, l'instituteur, sur le point de tomber malade, menace dangereusement pendant six heures par jour l'équilibre mental de ses élèves, on comprend parfaitement ce médecin. D'autant plus, que l'équilibre mental des enfants est déjà par leur vie familiale trop trépidante exposé à de fortes secousses. Si donc deux instabilités et états psychiques morbides se heurtent, celui des enfants avec celui de leurs maîtres, on imagine avec difficulté un travail pédagogique fructueux dans de telles conditions.

Pour réaliser la "condition sine qua non" d'un travail pédagogique valable, l'amélioration des conditions de travail, matérielles aussi bien que morales, semble donc s'imposer.

Par ailleurs, pour cerner de plus près le problème de la corrélation des conditions de travail des enseignants et leurs troubles mentaux, il faudra, à notre avis, que les chercheurs qui s'occupent de la sociologie des Enseignants, dirigent leur attention très spécialement sur cette interférence si inquiétante. Ce n'est qu'ainsi, en pleine connaissance de cause, que l'on abordera cette question d'une manière scientifique.

W. A. L. BLYTH (Department of Education, University of Manchester)
SCHOOL GROUPS AND NEIGHBOURHOOD GROUPS: A STUDY IN PREDICTIVE SOCIOOMETRY.

A sociometric survey of classes in certain primary and secondary schools in different areas of an industrial city was conducted in order to investigate the informal social structure and development of these classes and to examine the

relation of this informal structure to the formal order of the schools and to potentially influential variables (parental occupation, places of residence, membership of organisations, etc.) in the districts served by other schools. In addition, choices of friends outside the class, and outside the school, were requested.

During the analysis, it appeared possible that the children's actual "neighbourhood groups" might prove an important additional determinant of in-class choices. By transposition of the data already collected, it was possible to build up, as an extension of the main study, a descriptive picture of these neighbourhood groups by a combination of sociometric and cartographical techniques. Although they were rather crudely defined, they showed certain general characteristics such as unisexuality, persistence, and territorial localisation, while there was also some evidence of more widely-flung and overlapping groups, especially where these were associated with differing value-systems. Some children were not included in any neighbourhood group.

It was soon evident that a substantial association existed between school groups and neighbourhood groups; not surprisingly, this was more marked when reinforced by one or more of the variables originally considered, though the pattern was not entirely consistent. Subsequently, an attempt was made to predict sociometric affiliation in certain classes, on the basis of the known data including previous sociograms and neighbourhood-group attachment, and some 50% of the affiliations in a class were accurately forecast in several situations. Finally, about 50% accuracy was achieved in one school, at a very high level of probability, by the use of neighbourhood data only.

In the light of these preliminary findings, it should now be possible to make a more precise study which, according to some of the existing results, might also help to forecast children's academic and social progress.

JAMES S. COLEMAN (John Hopkins University)

THE EFFECT OF VALUE-CLIMATES AMONG ADOLESCENTS UPON ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT.

In an adolescent social system in which academic achievement is highly valued, those who achieve highly will include more people whose actual ability is high than in a social system where the activity is less valued. This is one hypothesis about the possible affects that adolescent value systems have upon education, and it is examined here, using ten schools with differing value systems. After this examination, the question of what is the source of these value systems is asked, and inferences are made about the apparently powerful effect of interscholastic athletics. This result raises questions about the general effect of interscholastic competition of any sort on the adolescent value system of a school.

CHRISTIAN VON FERBER AND CHRISTIAN GRAF VON KRACKOW
(University of Göttingen)

UNIVERSITY REFORM AND SOCIOLOGY.

The paper is based upon *Investigations into the Position of University Teachers in Germany*, published by H. Plessner, Göttingen (1956).

The authors take as their starting point three basic approaches adopted in the sociology of knowledge in Germany, that is, those concerned with:

the position of "Thinking and the limits imposed upon it by social class divisions";

the "logical relationships" between a given type of society and the organisation of knowledge; and
 the interpretation of the structural organisation of university establishments and faculties according to purpose.

They then present in outline a scheme for a sociology of universities and analyse the conditions favouring or hindering the application of the results of sociological investigation in efforts towards reform; thus particular importance is attributed to the relationship of the legal aspects of university structure to sociological problems.

In two appended essays on, respectively, *The system of selection for the profession* and *The position of the new academic generation with regard to university career or outside practice*, outstanding problems of German universities are sketched in some detail.

NEAL GROSS (Harvard University)

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS TO THE JOB SATISFACTION OF THE SCHOOL EXECUTIVE

This paper reports the findings of the job satisfaction project of the Harvard School Executive Studies. (Findings of the role consensus and role conflict projects of this research programme have been presented in *Explorations in Role Analysis*.) It examines the impact of social structural and social psychological factors on the satisfaction school administrators derive from their positions. The data were derived in the course of eight hour interviews with a stratified random sample of approximately 50% of the school superintendents in Massachusetts. The measure of job satisfaction was a Guttman H-technique scale.

Evidence is presented indicating that job satisfaction of the superintendent is positively related to the following factors: the superintendent's assumption of responsibility in the division of labour with his superordinates; consensus on educational values between the superintendent and the school board; and the school board conformity to superintendent's definition of its role. Positive and negative findings about the relationship between a number of other factors and superintendent job satisfaction are also reported. These include: characteristics of the community in which the superintendent is employed, the pressures to which he is exposed, the superintendent's self concept, and role orientation.

A. H. HALSEY (University of Birmingham)

THE CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF UNIVERSITIES.

This essay is concerned with the relation of higher education to social structure and involves the notion of a type of society—the technological society—towards which Western industrial countries are more or less rapidly moving. The educational institutions of a technological society are in a special sense crucial to its maintenance and, through the institutionalization of technological research, to its further development.

In the medieval and industrial periods the history of the universities in relation to the economy is one of imperfect and usually belated adaptation to the occupational demands of a culture gradually increasing in its complexity. In the technological society the system of higher education no longer plays a passive role: it becomes a determinant of economic development and hence of stratification and other aspects of social structure.

Throughout the period of emerging industrialism in Europe and America, the principle social function of the universities has been that of status differentiation of elites with some assimilation of students from the lower strata. But the progressive

secularization of higher learning since medieval times has increased the potential of the universities as sources of technological and therefore of social change until now they are beginning to occupy a place in the economic foundations of a new type of society. In this new technological society educational institutions are expanded not only to exercise research functions but also to play a central role in the economy and the system of stratification as agencies for selection, training and occupational placement of individuals.

Movement towards this state of affairs is uneven among the Western industrial countries: for example America, Russia and Britain. It is furthest advanced in the U.S.A. where professionalization has permeated the tertiary sectors of industry and has resulted in far reaching modifications of the content of university studies. It is fastest in Russia where the supply of graduates is closely attuned to the needs of a fast developing economy. It is slowest in Britain where the legacy of the traditional status differentiating functions of Oxford and Cambridge persist and where the response to technological change is most strongly contained within an educational hierarchy corresponding to the power and prestige pyramid of the wider society.

G. DUNCAN MITCHELL (University of Exeter)

BRITISH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION AND SELECTION FOR ADMINISTRATIVE OCCUPATIONS.

The development of both economy and government in Britain since the war has provided for a great increase in the number of administrative posts. Recruitment for these positions has increasingly been carried out from among university graduates. There has been a growth in undergraduate teaching in the Universities and a further development of specialised education and training. The proportions of undergraduates following specialised courses of study have altered. The present situation is outlined. The question is posed: to what extent do the various specialised studies prepare people for undertaking administrative work? A brief analysis of types of intellectual training in specialised studies and the extent to which they are relevant to administration. Analysis of types of administrative activity—policy making, negotiation and public relations, and management of employees. A discussion of the suitability of graduates respectively trained in technology, pure science and arts subjects. Factors pertaining to intelligence but not measured by intelligence tests, relevant to different administrative tasks. A consideration of the manner in which different types of training focus attention on specific types of intellectual problems—propensities for perceiving problems as requiring moral, historical or psychological analyses in the administrative sphere. The specific and general relevance of sociological questions to both policy-making and management. Discontinuities in training administrative personnel for higher posts. Some conclusions about the place of analytical and comparative sociology in training administrators for policy-making at the post-graduate level.

ROGER THABAULT (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris)

TRANSMISSION DES VALEURS SOCIALES A L'AIDE DES INSTITUTIONS D'EDUCATION.

Les institutions scolaires d'un pays s'inscrivent dans un ensemble d'usages et de lois qui traduisent l'histoire et la mentalité du peuple qui les a créées. Elles sont particulièrement représentatives par leur organisation, par la manière même dont elles prévoient le recrutement, l'instruction et l'éducation des différents élèves, de cette histoire et de cette mentalité. L'organisation même des institutions scolaires

traduit donc et *transmet* les valeurs admises et essentielles de cette société. Ex: la public school anglaise—le lycée français.

Les Professeurs sont les agents de cette transmission. Ils sont chargés d'instruire les élèves; l'enseignement de quelques-uns comporte officiellement une part d'éducation. Ils ont *tous* une influence éducative par les habitudes d'esprit qu'ils donnent à leurs élèves, par leur comportement social et par leur conception de la vie qui se fait jour sans qu'ils le veuillent dans leur enseignement. Leur influence est d'autant plus grande que leur foi est plus vive.

Les élèves ne subissent l'action de l'organisation scolaire, l'influence des Professeurs que si elles vont dans le même sens et dans la mesure où elles sont conformes aux autres influences qu'ils reçoivent: les écoles, dans les pays colonisés aboutissent le plus souvent à favoriser la cristallisation, l'expression et finalement la victoire de nationalismes différents des intentions des créateurs de ces écoles, mais différents aussi des valeurs traditionnelles des peuples colonisés.

Il faut donc, pour que l'école transmette et appuie les valeurs d'une société que ces valeurs soient acceptées par tous. Son rôle est alors d'élucider, de préciser et par suite d'irradier l'idéal inconscient d'un peuple. C'est par elle surtout que les sociétés closes humaines se distinguent des communautés d'hyménoptères, par cet effort de précision et d'élucidation intellectuelle des valeurs sociales transmises.

Mais le corps des Professeurs du fait qu'il vit plus selon l'esprit est, d'une façon générale, plus perméable aux idées neuves, plus prêt à critiquer les valeurs reçues que l'ensemble de la population. Les jeunes gens, du fait qu'ils sont jeunes et qu'ils étudient sont plus ou moins, mais toujours tentés de juger et de renouveler les valeurs admises. Si bien que, sans même que les institutions soient changées, les valeurs transmises peuvent être modifiées. Cela impose à la longue un changement des institutions. Le législateur qui opère ces modifications croit qu'elles sont définitives (cf. Guizot et sa lettre aux instituteurs français en 1833). Mais elles sont à leur tour remises en cause, après un délai plus ou moins long.

Tout se passe comme si l'école qui est un outil indispensable d'adaption économique dans les sociétés économiquement évoluées, un moyen nécessaire d'adaptation intellectuelle dans les cités closes ou mi-closes, était en même temps l'instrument imparfait et cependant précieux dont se sert l'humanité pour assurer son élan vers une société ouverte.

D. L. THISTLETHWAITE

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES IN RELATION TO THEIR INTELLECTUAL OUTPUT

A study of the output of higher educational institutions can be approached from various standpoints: we can use such a study to appraise the effectiveness of advanced training, with a view to improving education and thereby developing human resources; we may see it as a method for clarifying the role requirements of effective teachers; or we may see it primarily as a way of studying how social systems at college and universities affect promising young scholars and scientists.

From a comparative study of 511 American institutions of higher learning, two measures of output were developed, one for the Natural Sciences and one for the Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences. The measures for each institution represent the relative success of that school in stimulating its undergraduates to get doctoral degrees, the rating of success being adjusted so that it is independent of the quality of the school's incoming student body. The findings show that colleges differ markedly in the proportion of their graduates who go on to get doctorates, and that output is closely related to student and faculty social systems. The findings suggest

that student and faculty cultures and certain characteristics of the interactions between teachers and students are more potent determinants of the institution's output than are the geographical, religious, and organizational characteristics which R. H. Knapp's previous work on undergraduate origins of scientists and scholars emphasized.

Social systems associated with attainment of the doctorate in the natural sciences differ markedly from those associated with attainment of the doctorate in the humanities. The environment productive of natural scientists is characterized by student aggression, nonconformity, and commitment to science; the faculty tends to be nondirective in its teaching methods though adhering to strict curricular requirements. Colleges high in output in the arts, humanities, and social sciences are characterized by students who exhibit breadth of interests, reflectiveness, and limited participation in campus antics, while energy, enthusiasm, and flexibility of curriculum are more typical of faculties at these colleges.

RALPH H. TURNER (University of California, Los Angeles)

SPONSORED AND COMPETITIVE MOBILITY AND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

It is the thesis of this paper that several important differences between the American and British systems of education reflect divergent folk norms defining the appropriate mode of upward mobility in the two countries. Under the American norm of *competitive mobility* elite status is the prize in an open contest, to be taken by the aspirant's own efforts. The prize should go to the enterprising and deserving rather than necessarily to the superior individuals, and every effort should be made to keep lagging contestants in the race until the climax. *Sponsored mobility* (the British norm) involves a controlled selection process in which the elite or their agents choose elite recruits and carefully induct them into elite status. The goal is to sort persons according to their talents and to do so as early in life as possible so as to forestall waste and unrealistic aspiration. Differences between the American comprehensive secondary school and the British specialized system and differences in the value placed upon education, the content of education, the system of examinations, the attitude toward students working, the kind of financial subsidy available to university students, and the relation of social class to clique formation may be explained on the basis of this distinction in norms.

HANS L. ZETTERBERG (Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University).

A COLLEGE FOR ADULTS

This report presents a brief sociological analysis of an undergraduate college for adults, the School of General Studies at Columbia University in the City of New York.

The first problem is the delineation of an institutional study as a *sociological* study. The stress on sociology is not there to persuade the reader that sociologists make particularly reliable or scientific studies. Rather, it indicates that our study ought to deal only with those aspects of the School of General Studies which are of routine interest to the sociologist. Observers from other disciplines would be likely to pay attention to different aspects of the School. A psychologist, for example, studying a college of older persons to acquire the kind of knowledge presented at the college level of education. One psychologist who studied a school for adults published his findings under the revealing title *Adult Abilities* (Sorenson, 1938). This kind of analysis is not included in this report. An economist, to take a second example, would pay attention to other facets of the School. He might

point out that conventional colleges schedule their classes primarily in the morning hours of the day, or in the early afternoon, and that, therefore, by opening an afternoon and evening college for adults a university could collect more students fees without any significant expansion of investment in their physical plant, their classroom space, laboratories and libraries. Although internal economic analyses of this kind have been very persuasive in the process of the founding and expansion of the college we have studied, they are left out of this report, as are other financial discussions concerning the school. Instead, due to training and theoretical persuasion, we pay attention to a different set of factors. These are standard sociological categories, such as the social background of students and teachers; the groups to which they are committed apart from the School; some ways in which the positions of students and faculty in the larger Society have repercussions affecting the internal organizations of the School; and some functions furnished by the School to other social institutions.

A number of hypotheses known to students of organization are illustrated in the study.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

FOR the three meetings devoted to the application of sociology to education, the papers listed were grouped under three main headings : the sociology of higher education, the sociology of schools and the general relations of education to social structure. The present report also follows this form, though limitations of space prevent a full treatment of all contributions to the discussions.

Application of sociology to the major institutions of society must at some point involve judgments of value and nowhere is this more true than in the case of education. True, most contributors, whether critics or supporters of the systems they study, tended to separate analysis from moral affirmation. But both in the papers and the discussions certain themes were pursued relating to the values and ethical responsibilities of sociological study and these may be dealt with at the outset.

The perennial dilemma of the sociologist as critic or apologist was, for once, not explicitly at issue, although Dr. VITERBI (Italy) touched on this in a brief contribution. Professor KOTY (Greece) made a plea for the use of schools to counter what he believed were the dangerous consequences of the traditional individualism of Western culture and Dr. LAPASSADE (France) criticised the French universities from the same point of view. But the main division was between participants from the Communist countries and the rest. This division was again not so much one of ideological disputation of which there was very little, though there was evidence of ignorant stereotyping on both sides. It was rather a division reflecting the conscious position of educators and sociologists in the Communist countries as agents for the deliberate creation of new social values under novel social conditions. As Professor SZANTO (Czechoslovakia) put it, it is the task of the educational system to produce men who "sont bien préparés à édifier

consciemment la société socialiste." Similarly Mrs. CICOLINI (U.S.S.R.), Professor HEISE (German Democratic Republic), Dr. GULIAN (German Democratic Republic) and others reported enthusiastically on programmes of polytechnic education in which vocationalism is used as a gateway to rather than a barrier against a rounded humanistic education. And Professor KRAHL (German Democratic Republic) stressed the function of education as not only an agency for the promotion of necessary occupational mobility but also as the means of eradicating accompanying outmoded notions of social superiority and inferiority. And again Professor FIAMENGO (Yugoslavia) spoke at some length on efforts going forward in his country to teach internationalism.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Discussion of the sociology of higher education attracted participants reporting studies from many countries though unhappily Dr. LAPASSADE confirmed the stagnation in France on which the Chairman had commented in her introductory review (see Vol. II).

1. The first of the three main topics treated was that of *the changing functions of higher education in contemporary society*. In this connection the most general paper was that presented by Dr. HALSEY (U.K.)—an outline comparison of the relation of the universities to the economy in U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and U.K. with an historical sketch of the emergence of this relation as the dominant influence on university life. In considering the general relation of the universities to social structure, Professor GROSS (U.S.A.) stressed the reciprocity of influence, e.g. of the universities on government and Dr. MITCHELL (U.K.) insisted on not assuming a necessarily close functional relationship between higher education and the economy, the autonomy of the university system being the starting point for the problem treated in his own paper. Professor FICHTER (U.S.A.) took a similar line in his description of the special features of American higher education, but he also noted that the special values traditionally cherished by university life were increasingly threatened by economic and commercial influences.

Dr. v. FERBER (German Federal Republic), who had submitted a paper on the application of sociology to the problems of university reform in Germany, went on to criticise Halsey's thesis in the light of the history and present trends of university development in W. Germany. In particular he emphasised the growth of technological research independent of universities and the increased concentration of the latter on pedagogical functions. Professor JOJA (Rumania) challenged this view. Professor PARSONS (U.S.A.) thought that the German case was a special one and, in the course of a short review of the development of American higher learning, he argued that both

research and the training of further research workers remained firmly in university hands.

2. The second main topic was that of *the internal functioning of contemporary institutions of higher education*. Here the close and developing link of the universities to the economy of an emerging technological society was taken for granted. In different ways this is true of the papers presented by Dr. MITCHELL, Dr. THISTLETHWAITE (U.S.A.) and Professor ZETTERBERG (U.S.A.). Dr. Mitchell's paper asks for analysis of the qualities required in administrative occupations in relation to the emphasis developed in different types of degree course in the university. Professor GROSS commented on the need for empirical testing of Mitchell's speculations on this matter. Dr. THISTLETHWAITE's paper also starts by recognising the expanding demand for university graduates and reports on developments in research begun earlier by R. H. Knapp and his colleagues and aimed at improving the efficiency of universities as producers of high scientific manpower. It was pointed out by HALSEY that the kind of research reported bridges the gap between traditional studies of the determinants of educational inequality and modern studies of schools and colleges as 'social systems' or 'sub cultures'.

Professor ZETTERBERG'S description of the School of General Studies at Columbia University is more general than the other two papers referred to above: nevertheless, in addition to its focus on the special characteristics of a full-time college for adults, it brings out the heavy conditioning of American higher learning by expanding vocational opportunities. In discussion of this type of enquiry Mr. BLYTH (U.K.) emphasised the need to take account of the informal as well as the formal organisation of universities and colleges especially under present circumstances where students tend to be socially "uprooted". Professor GROSS also pointed to a neglected field of work—the conflict within universities between the functions of teaching, research and administration.

3. The third main topic goes back to discussions begun at the 3rd World Congress at Amsterdam in 1956 on *the social origins of university students*. The discussion was re-opened by Dr. v. FERBER who challenged the validity, in the case of Germany, of Halsey's contention that throughout the post-medieval Western World, at least until the 1930s, the dominant function of the universities had been, as Weber asserted, that of status differentiation. Professor LOESER (German Democratic Republic) then claimed that the East German universities now recruited 60% of their students from the working class, compared with 3% or 4% in West Germany. Dr. UTECHIN (U.K.) reminded the conference of a disagreement at Amsterdam concerning the Russian situation and said that Mr. Kruschev had recently quoted an estimate for Moscow university of 30% to 40% recruitment from workers and

peasantry. Dr. MILIC (Yugoslavia) reported later on a relevant study of social class and educational opportunity in Yugoslavia.

SCHOOLS

In her introductory remarks on the sociology of the school the Chairman pointed out that no comprehensive analysis and description of the school as a social institution had been attempted since W. Waller's *The Sociology of Teaching*, 1932. Subsequent work had been somewhat fragmentary and the papers presented to the Congress were all concerned with various aspects of the school as a social microcosm or with particular positions in the school system. Thus Mr. BLYTH's sociometric study was focused on neighbourhood groups and Professor COLEMAN's on value climates as determinants of interactions and performances within schools; while Madame BERGER (France) and Professor GROSS had concentrated on teachers and school superintendents.

However, in discussion of the contributions by COLEMAN, BARON (U.K.) and BLYTH, the various facets were related in terms of the general notion of *adolescent culture*. COLEMAN pointed out that in industrial societies there is an increasing gap between childhood and adulthood because of the longer training required by the economy of industrialism. In consequence, adolescents develop their own distinctive sub-culture in that they look to each other rather than to adults for rewards and satisfactions. This circumstance sets a characteristic stamp on the American High School. BARON and BLYTH pointed out that the typically lower school-leaving age of European countries implied a different constellation of social forces as determinants of the internal life of secondary schools. It was also clear that present American experience was a useful indication of the problems to be faced in the future in Europe.

GROSS made the general point that studies of the kind under discussion were in danger of over simplifying the social system of the school and this was exemplified in particular criticisms by particular speakers: thus BARON thought that Blyth's problem ought to be put in a historical context, and Professor GROSS (U.S.A.) argued that Coleman's trichotomy of activities (athletics, social affairs and academic work) was inadequate for study of the great complexity of behaviour in a high school. However, while the danger of over simplification was accepted, it emerged clearly from the discussion that the recognition of a distinct social system of adolescence was a key to the understanding of many features of the American High School and its comparison with European schools. Moreover the criticisms advanced in no way disturbed Coleman's ingenious demonstration of the relation between variations in academic achievement and the value climates of different schools.

The papers by Madame BERGER and Professor GROSS afforded a sharp contrast in styles of research, the one descriptive and illustrative, the other a highly analytical attempt to test closely specified hypotheses. In discussion of Mme. Berger's paper, GROSS pointed out that there was no evidence that mental disorder was growing faster among teachers than among other professional groups in the United States. The discussion was carried further by Mr. SCHENK (U.K.) who argued the case for viewing teachers as agents for the spread of the "Middle-class" "achievement" mentality required to work an increasingly technological society—a social role which places them at the centre of fundamental value conflicts in contemporary society.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Through discussion of Dr. THABAULT'S (France) paper, the sociology of schools and teaching was linked to the general relation of education to social structure. Mme. BERGER introduced THABAULT'S contribution, an historical analysis of the function of schools as transmitters of values in relation to the changing social structure of France since the early 19th century. He had emphasised the problems created in a changing society by the gap in socialisation and therefore in value attitudes between teachers and pupils, parents and children. Some discussants stressed the conservative aspects of the teacher role, but Dr. TROPP (U.K.) reminded the conference that the teacher had also been an important revolutionary agent in many social movements of the modern world. In this context an interesting contribution was made by Mme. DROV-ELBOIM (Israel) who stressed the importance of the social prestige of teachers in their role as transmitters of values. Teachers in Israel thirty years ago were effective agents in the creation of new values and had high prestige. Now they have experienced a sharp decline in prestige; they no longer create but merely transmit values.

Professor TURNER'S (U.S.A.) paper, in which U.S.A. and U.K. were compared in terms of the concepts of "contest" and "sponsored" mobility, attracted a good deal of notice in the final meeting. Two main criticisms of it were put forward by HALSEY. The first, which Turner accepted, was that argument in terms of ideal types tended to ambiguity in its empirical reference. The second was more serious—viz., that the paper assumed an historical role for education which, in the U.K. at least, it had not had: mobility into the élites of business, politics, sport, etc., in industrial society had not hitherto been through educational channels.

Subsequent discussion made it clear that Professor Turner had produced a useful analytical concept for international comparisons. It was argued that the two countries were moving closer together through the development of 'post-Sputnik' sponsored mobility in U.S.A., and

the rise of contest mobility in Britain. Professor KRAHL (German Democratic Republic) thought that the paper over-stressed the differences between two essentially similar countries and condemned the condition of sponsored mobility which involved the indoctrination of the masses with conviction of their own incompetence to govern. Professor FRIEDENBERG (U.S.A.) on the other hand, argued that if "self definition" is the central psychological task of adolescence, then sponsored mobility is to be preferred to contest mobility.

Dr. UTECHIN argued that Turner's analysis could be extended to the U.S.S.R. where mobility through education was increasing in importance. Three stages could be distinguished: first a period of sponsored mobility from 1930-50 when almost all graduates from secondary education received higher education; second the recent past of growing contest mobility with secondary education expanding faster than higher education, and third a future phase of mixed contest and sponsorship.

CONCLUSION

Looking back over the contributions there seems to be an adequate confirmation of the CHAIRMAN'S suggestion that the sociology of education is entering a period of rapid development. Undoubtedly there are fundamental differences in approach among research workers in the different countries. For example Professor GROSS asserted explicitly his belief in the need for analysis and experimental testing of hypotheses rather than for the 'sociography'—the accumulation of quantitative data concerning the relation of educational institutions with the wider social structure—emphasised by the CHAIRMAN as the precondition of progress in this field of sociology. But statements urging the desirability of comparative studies were made so often and so vehemently as to encourage the hope that if in the past they were ritual sentiments to be uttered at international meetings, in future they will yield fruitful research programmes.

A. H. HALSEY.

SECTION II(1)d

THE APPLICATION OF
SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO REGIONAL AND
TOWN PLANNING

Chairman: Mrs. RUTH GLASS
(Centre for Urban Studies, University College London)

Rapporteur: Mr. J. H. WESTERGAARD
(London School of Economics and Political Science)

INTRODUCTORY PAPER*

Companions In Uncertainty

The Application of Sociological Knowledge to Regional and
Town Planning¹

RUTH GLASS

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London)

I

"IN me, past, present, future, meet to hold long chiding conference".² The poet speaks for every human being, and yet there are few who need to be plagued by the consciousness of this inevitable confabulation at every moment of their professional existence. Sociologists and planners alike, however, can—and should—never escape from it. Although they share that obligation, they have rarely so far discharged it jointly. Their encounters have been rather sporadic.

Perhaps this is surprising. But at least in the western world the practical experience of partnership between sociology and planning is very limited. In the socialist countries, and also in the so-called 'underdeveloped' countries, the story might well be a different one. There, in principle, the chances of future co-operation certainly appear to be better. The Congress will, I hope, make it possible for us to compare the respective histories of, and opportunities for, the collaboration between sociology and planning in different nations.

Some of these comparisons can, however, be anticipated. The reasons for the lack of 'teamwork' in some countries are apparent. To begin with, wherever there is, in fact, not much 'planning', or not much 'sociology', or very little of both, there can hardly be any application of one of these disciplines to the other. And it is precisely this difficulty which exists, though in varied forms, in the industrialised countries of the western world, and in particular in Great Britain and the United States.

* The Chairman's introductory paper was circulated in mimeographed form at the Congress.

Unfortunately, this difficulty, however obvious, can neither be admitted nor discussed without a tedious introduction of definitions. Of course, there is 'town and country planning' in Britain and 'city planning' in the United States. But the term 'planning' is a much used and misused one, and particularly so when it appears with a special label, with the adjective 'regional' or 'physical'. The term is used even when the activities to which it refers lack some of, or all, the indispensable characteristics of the concept of planning. Gunnar Myrdal has outlined these characteristics in the first part of his paper on 'The Theoretical Assumptions of Social Planning', which he contributed to this Congress. Perhaps I might, therefore, list them in a rather elliptical form.

Five interrelated attributes are quite essential. First, planning must have explicit purposes, which are, in turn, based on a set of coherent values, formulated by the political system. (Professor Myrdal calls these purposes "political goals".) Second, it follows that the purposes must relate to a concept (or concepts) of the 'public interest', and thus to the development of the society and economy as a whole. This is, of course, the crucial distinction between social planning and the countless forms of private 'planning'—whether they concern babies; clothes; household budgets; organising a business enterprise, a concert, a sociological congress, or any other personal, professional and industrial arrangements. Third, planning is not a mere projection of the *status quo*: anticipation and guidance of public development—on a moving time-belt—imply assumptions both of the need for, and the mechanisms of, social change. Fourth, planning is an experiment in rationality: its purposes, the values which they express, and the methods by which they are to be achieved, have to be subject to objective verification in terms of existing and growing knowledge.³ Indeed, it is only when planning proceeds that it has the chance of becoming increasingly rational: the experience gained in the process, if recorded systematically, will modify and elaborate both the ends and means of controlled development. And finally, planning has to be just as manifold as the society and economy whose evolution it directs; segmented planning is a contradiction in terms. As Mr. Nehru has said:

".... one thing led to another and it was impossible to isolate anything or to progress in one direction without corresponding progress in another. The more we thought of this planning business, the vaster it grew in its sweep and range till it seemed to embrace almost every activity. That did not mean we intended regulating and regimenting everything, but we had to keep almost everything in view even in deciding about one particular sector of the plan."⁴

Perhaps there is nowhere in the world the kind of planning which can claim to possess all these five attributes quite plainly. The last

two, in particular—rationality and comprehensiveness—are aspirations, rather than existing features of planning systems ; they may even still be incompatible with the facts of political life in a variety of regimes. Nevertheless, it is this model of planning, with the five characteristics, that has been pursued, if not perfectly, in those countries which have adopted a series of national plans, and which have set up the appropriate institutions. It is this image, too, with some variations or additions, which we all have in mind, if not always explicitly, when we think of planning with a capital P. Confusion starts, however, when we consider the more specialised activities, such as regional and town planning. It is only too easily taken for granted that the semantic likeness implies an actual likeness to the general model of planning. In fact, these specialised activities belong to the planning family only when they contribute to a whole complex of controlled development. But it is just that which is rarely the case, at least in the western world. Usually such activities are conducted separately, not as an integral part of a coherent code of economic and social policies.

It is not a mere quibbling about terms to say that regional and town planning are thus often misnamed. In the present context, this matters a great deal. For the kind of planning that does not deserve the title will not have much use for sociology. It is the five main attributes of the model of planning—or the aspirations to acquire these attributes—which determine the partnership, actual and potential, of planners and sociologists.

When planning is conceived as the rational direction of multiple, yet coherent developments, sociological thought and knowledge (or the kind of thought and knowledge that sociologists should pursue) also become indispensable. The area of ignorance and vagueness then has to be increasingly narrowed—in the definition of value judgments which are implicit in the purposes of planning, and thus in the understanding of the ‘public interest’ ; in the formulation of economic and social policies, and in the assessment and anticipation of their mutual and combined effects. The levers of social change have to be studied and identified ; the structure of planning institutions and their processes have to be scrutinised.

Sociology, allied to social philosophy and ethics, and also empirically concerned with “the study of human interactions and interrelations, their conditions and consequences”, could in principle share in the manifold responsibilities of planning ; and indeed, it might develop with them. In practice, however, the chances of collaboration are far more doubtful at present. Sociology, as an academic discipline, has grown, if not grown up, so quickly (even since the First World Congress nine years ago) that in its adolescence it is already rigid and conservative, striving for security and thus inclined to defend

the *status quo*. It has lost a good deal of its ethical and political orientation, and with it the impetus to study and to direct social change. Despite an avalanche of 'hypotheses', genuine speculative thought is pushed aside. Social protest and images of the future appear in social science fiction,⁶ but rarely in the academic literature. So many members of the profession, in their ambition to be 'scientific', are overanxious to deal with quantities, here and now, about which one can be precise (or appear to be precise). And they are so preoccupied with the pedantic observation of minute social segments, or with the cautious confirmation of the obvious, that they tend to be alienated from social reality. Specialisation and parochialism make it difficult to perceive social interactions which are only visible—or probable—on a large scale. Altogether, at this stage, the ideological climate of academic sociology is hardly conducive to an active concern with the central problems of planning. Sociological literature on such aspects is thus very scarce.⁷

Political geography, moreover, explains the present, and perhaps temporary, distance between academic sociology and national planning. Academic sociology is established in those western countries—on both sides of the Atlantic—which do not have national planning, though they have considerable experience of various activities which are called 'planning'—of large-scale organisation on various levels and in many fields, and also of specific state controls. But such experience—including that gained by the social sciences—cannot be easily transferred to national planning in an entirely different environment; it may even be a handicap in recognising, and in dealing with, the new questions which arise. Academic sociology is, moreover, most bulky and most prosperous in the United States—in a country that is opposed to the concept of comprehensive planning, and whose past and present are quite remote from the current dramatic problems of development in other parts of the world.⁸ Therefore, western sociology, in general, and American sociology, in particular, have not shown much interest in national planning; nor can they be quickly adapted to contribute to its theory and practice.

On the other hand, national planning exists—or is beginning to exist—in countries in which academic sociology occupies only a small corner. In some of these countries, sociology is not acknowledged as a separate discipline so that its specific contribution to planning cannot be easily assessed. And as in others the subject is rather new, both teaching and research tend to be modelled on the large, and thus apparently impressive, sociological output of the 'unplanned' nations. The empirical interests and technical gadgets of western sociology are especially admired—despite the fact that these are not necessarily appropriate to indigenous conditions and problems. Whenever, as a result, sociologists in the 'planned countries', too, tend to go off on sidetracks, they are either unwilling to take part in the planning pro-

cess, or they find it difficult to do so—particularly in a situation in which concern with the economic aspects of development is predominant. In these circumstances, sociologists are regarded as being far less helpful than other professions—than economists, statisticians and administrators, for example. Thus although sociology and planning could undoubtedly learn from one another, their relationship is still everywhere a tentative one.

II

THE same is true in the specialised activities—which are concerned with the development of towns and regions—though in these fields sociologists are not so obviously outsiders as they are in national planning, nor do they have to travel far to meet the land-use planners.⁹

Planning which is concerned with townscape and landscape can be found, and is in fact especially prominent, in countries which have no aspirations, and no institutions, for national planning. For that reason alone, town and country planning in Britain, city planning in the United States, as well as similar activities, variously named, in other western countries, are bound to be restricted in scope and in their demands for rationality; they have thus also only a limited, and a hesitant, interest in sociology. Indeed, in these countries, physical planning has some characteristics which are the opposite of those that are inherent in the model of national planning.

In detail, the features—administrative and ideological—of land-use planning are, of course, different in each of these countries. There are, for example, more traces of genuine ‘planning’ in the British than in the American activities: in Britain, there is a coherent system of land-use allocation and development control, while in America such efforts are sporadic; there is also more connection between land-use policies and other social and economic policies in Britain than in the United States. American ‘city planning’ (which would be more accurately described as real estate transactions, estate management and civic design), is plainly in the interest of particular groups, and proposes changes only when they are for the benefit of these groups.¹⁰ British town and country planning, on the other hand, was established for the sake of public welfare, however vaguely understood; in principle, the public interest is still its motive, though it is hardly defined and increasingly forgotten. Nevertheless, in many respects, British land-use proposals and controls are inclined to be conservative as well: for reasons of geography, of economics and of the traditions embodied in towns and countryside, Britain has many genuine demands for preservation, and these are often expressed far more strongly than those for social change. It is thus not surprising that a good deal of British ‘planning’ is, rather paradoxically, devoted to the maintenance of the *status quo*.

In the circumstances, land-use planners in Britain, in the United States, and also in other western countries, can get by without considerable knowledge of the elements of social structure and social change ; they are not even especially curious about these matters. As they have their own preconceived notions on these subjects, they are anxious to hold on to the formulae which they have got, rather than to learn what there is to learn, and to get lost in a sea of doubt. Therefore, when they do work with social scientists, they are usually asking for specific technical assistance. And this happens far more in the United States than in Britain. Indeed, there is an apparent contradiction : in America, a good deal of 'sociological book-keeping' (to use C. Wright Mills's phrase) is requested for a small amount of sporadic city planning ; in Britain—where rationality is, so to speak, institutionalised—the position is reversed ; far less empirical social research and accounting is done for a far greater, nation-wide effort of land-use development and control.

Physical 'planning', national or local, in countries such as Britain and the United States, has become well known just because it is the only activity in these countries to which the name of 'planning' is applied, rightly or wrongly. And British land-use planning, especially, has become influential in many different parts of the world ; it is based on a well-designed, elaborate institution ; it has had the chance of developing professional specialisation, and to produce some notable results. But in importing British ideas and techniques from this field, their defects have often been imported as well : it tends to be forgotten that they are not part of a comprehensive process of national planning ; and that they are in any case not necessarily applicable to quite different surroundings.

Of course, it is not only in the western countries that the physical pattern of towns and countryside is deliberately shaped and controlled. Such activities are features of general state planning in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries ; they are also beginning to be introduced into the planning processes of India. But wherever they exist, they have a good deal in common. Indeed, it sometimes appears that they have too much in common.

The same principles of design appear in Harlow and in Chandigarh ; in Holland, in Sweden, in Israel and in Australia. Although they may have been faulty in the first place, they are still transferred across the oceans to other places where they are plainly unsuitable. And if civic design fashions catch up with contemporary conditions in one country, whose examples are well known, they change in the same way in other countries, which have entirely different physical and social climates.¹¹ There is an international alphabet of physical planning, and it tends to be used all over the world, even in circumstances in which it is incomprehensible.

This standardisation of physical design exists not only because the western ideas, in particular in their British version, have been so widely copied. As there are, together with striking differences, also genuine similarities in the processes and patterns of urbanisation in various parts of the world, experience and skills in dealing with these matters can certainly be shared. A new profession of physical planners, who work in many different countries, capitalist and socialist, has therefore grown rather quickly, especially since World War II. The members of the profession have not had much time yet to develop versatility; their training and outlook, moreover, do not make it easy for them to do so.¹²

In Britain, and in most other countries, too, land-use planning is mainly the domain of administrators, architects, engineers and surveyors, all of whom are focussed on the physical aspects of development—land, buildings and communications—and some of whom are, fortunately, preoccupied with aesthetic aspects as well. Their education has been devoted mainly to technical subjects in which knowledge and specialisation are expanding very fast; there have been few opportunities to become acquainted with other disciplines. They thus know rather little of social and economic history, philosophy, economics, statistics and sociology—or of any other subject whose approach helps in recognising the social connotations of spatial distributions. They usually have, moreover, a few rather simple mechanistic ideas on the interconnection between social structure and physical patterns. Some physical planners might learn more about these matters in their jobs. But those who work on their own—in a society in which there is no comprehensive planning—are not likely to do so. By and large, the social horizon of physical planners is a narrow one. And as they are not used to observing the diversity of social groups, they are the more inclined to use the same design recipes in different social situations.

III

THE inclination of physical planners to by-pass social complexity is one of the symptoms of the frequent misunderstandings between them and social scientists. Indeed, in many respects, the social sciences and land-use planning are rather alien to one another, even when they work in the same ideological milieu. There are features, inherent in the special activities which are called regional or town planning, and inherent also in the profession of physical planners, which make collaboration with sociology difficult—though not to the same extent in all countries, East and West.

First and foremost, it is just because sociologists and physical planners are relatives that they remain strangers who hardly know one

another. Of course, they deal with the same subject from different points of view—and as it is the same subject, the difference in approach is not taken for granted but appears to be contentious. Neither sociology nor physical planning is, or can be, moreover, an exact authoritative discipline, with its own venerable scriptures of incontrovertible wisdom, a strict code of professional conduct and precise standards of craftsmanship. Neither the one nor the other has definite frontiers; both are compelled to be highly eclectic. And as they can, therefore, hardly achieve a definite division of labour, there is bound to be friction between them.

Sociologists can become amateur town planners; town planners—even more than everyone else—are amateur sociologists. Many of them have their own brew of sociology—derived from the ideas of 19th century utopias and social reforms; with seasoning by Geddes and Mumford; a few titbits from recent community studies; and with some compatible generalisations of their own spatial and social position in society. It is a sociology which is far more convenient to town planners than anything that the rather long, often tedious and inconsistent academic literature has to offer. The home-made brew of sociology, largely based on a period in which society was less complex and apprehensive of its future than it is now, has the advantage of being apparently less confusing and less tentative than the academic variety. It is in keeping with the town planner's search for mechanistic explanations of cause and effect; it provides the formulae for which he is looking—simple, repetitive solutions to complex, diverse problems. Above all, it promises him that in re-shaping townscape and landscape, he is also reforming society—without blood, sweat and tears.

Academic sociology, however disparate in its approach and interpretation, can never be so positive and so confident. But this will be a lasting difficulty in the relations between sociologists and planners of many kinds.¹³ Even when town planners are weaned away from utopian thought, some other social blueprints will have to take its place. (And, of course, they are not weaned away because no suitable alternatives are offered.) Planners want signposts, not question marks. And they do need precision.

It is true that in some respects town planners are far more meticulous in their demands for information than they need to be. On the one hand, they are slow in asking important questions to which reliable answers are—or could be made—available. (For instance, questions relating to priorities of development or to ordinary matters of space allocation.)¹⁴ On the other, they are inclined to ask for accurate assessments of rather trivial details which no one can anticipate. (They might want to know: How many people of various kinds will wish to park their cars and helicopters of specified types in a particular square twenty years hence? Or: How does neighbourliness vary with size

of windows ; position of doors, width of grass verges and location of shops ?)¹⁵ Some of their questions are unanswerable because the premises are wrong. (They are based on an exaggerated concept of the 'plannable', and in particular also on a false image of environmental determinism.) Others will remain unanswerable although they are valid.

In either case, there is mutual irritation between those who ask the questions and those who are unable to give direct replies. And this is understandable. The job of planners—with a capital P or with a small one—implies so much uncertainty that they do not want to be loaded with more of the same.¹⁶ And yet it is just that which sociologists are liable to do. They may have to suggest a different sequence of questions, or counter anyone which appears to be inappropriate with several others, so as to ascertain its relevance. And when they accept a question, they cannot often draw the answer straight out of a card index ; their knowledge of contemporary society is far too sketchy, or far too specialised. Nor are they soothsayers. As they themselves can rarely be sure, they cannot easily give assurance.

Sociologists find it particularly difficult to do so because their time dimensions differ from those of land-use planners. Sociologists tend to relate past and present, and also to see 'the present as history'. Their concern with the future is rather sporadic—either practical, directed to concrete aspects of tomorrow, or occasionally speculative, extending over a fairly long, and not definitely demarcated, period. Town planners, on the other hand, know little of the past (except as specialised history—architectural or administrative, for example). They do not look upon themselves as creatures of history, and thus often do not realise the origin of their own ideas. And as their concept of the future is frequently that of an idealised past, they tend to 'walk backwards into the future'—not even reluctantly. It is their function to think of time ahead at fixed intervals—in terms of five-year, ten-year, twenty-year or twenty-five-year-plans. (In the case of town planners, it is usually the last : right now, their destination is 1984.)

Sociologists observe 'trends' ; they see time on a band ; while land-use planners see time, as they see space, as parcels which exist at fixed locations. A sociologist thinks of the whole journey ; a town planner thinks of particular stations on the map. (And it is for that reason, too, that he is inclined to identify anticipation with prediction ; not content with the first, he asks for the second.) But 1984 is not like a railway junction ; nor is a plan of any kind, in fact, like a train held by its rails to a given route. In specialised land-use planning, it is by no means easy to combine the concept of the journey with the concept of the station : to construct that interaction between process and purpose which maintains intentions without turning them into *idées fixes*.

How much deviation from the plan does development produce, and how much can be allowed without making the plan meaningless? Under what circumstances can direction be maintained despite the fact that its rationality is bound to be partial? Sociologists have not shown much interest in these problems: so far, there have been hardly any studies of the natural history of regional and town plans in their various settings. Meanwhile, the question marks multiply, and each one implies a whole series of others. We have scarcely as yet begun even to list them, and to assess their relative importance.

IV

ALTHOUGH sociology has remained rather aloof from planning, in general, and also from land-use planning as a social institution, some contributions have been made. They are not the result of systematic organisation of 'operational research' on theoretical and practical aspects; nor have the possibilities of such organisation been persistently explored. Of course, blueprints of operational research have here and there been produced; but they have usually been tucked away in some desk drawer or on a library shelf. It is, moreover, the general spread of awareness of a subject called 'sociology' that has been influential in land-use planning, rather than individual teaching or particular publications.

There have been two main kinds of contribution: ideological and technical, indirect and direct ones. As they are diffuse, they can only be indicated here under a few main headings.

Several elementary concepts of sociology have been adopted by, and also adapted to, physical planning. In general, there has been some infiltration of the historical approach—an increasing interest in the varied processes and social consequences of urbanisation. It has begun to be recognised, for example, that town growth is not a mere matter of multiplication of people and buildings; and that it is not sufficient to count migrants: their origin and characteristics have to be considered. There is a good deal of talk (rightly or wrongly) about 'push' and 'pull' factors; and also about social disorganisation as one of the possible results of rapid industrial and urban growth. But as sociology is by no means up-to-date on these matters, or inclined nowadays to speculate on current and potential changes, its contribution has been one of expanding the horizon of land-use planning, rather than of supplying an impressive array of ideas and facts.

Models of the ecological pattern of cities (and especially that of the Chicago pattern) have become fairly well known. They have shown up typical zones—identified and demarcated from one another by a blend of physical and social features—which exist in most large cities of the world, though not necessarily in the shape of the Chicago dia-

gram or of its several variants. As these models have provided examples of the mutual and cumulative influence of environmental and social conditions, they have also encouraged town planners to turn from the ideas of piecemeal reforms and 'the city beautiful' to those of a broader concept of civic design. And it is no longer unusual for land-use planners to consider (at least in principle) the interactions between the environmental features, the economic functions and social characteristics of settlements, and to distinguish accordingly the different types of town, and also the areas within regions and towns.¹⁷

The land-use planner's image of society has become more realistic as well. In his work, he is bound to become acquainted with the manipulations of political power; he meets a pressure group here, a 'culture lag' there—old men who are attuned to the 20th century and young ones who ride away from it on their hobby horses. And he can hardly always attribute the sympathy or antipathy which he encounters to the individual peculiarities of Mr. X or Mrs. Y. There seems to be method in this madness. And are there not some people who study, and even occasionally explain, such things?

Thus the complexity of the social universe is increasingly apparent to land-use planners. The distinctions between the needs of different age groups and social groups are beginning to be observed—those distinctions between people's needs and aspirations for homes, work, leisure and services, for social distance and proximity, which are—or can be—translated into their territorial distribution. But the distinctions which are being made are still usually preconceived rather than empirical; they tend to be either too crude or too subtle. The varied ideas which different social groups have on privacy and sociability, for example, and on convenience in spatial patterns, have hardly yet been investigated. And it is assumed that human beings are far more hide-bound than they really are—as though they would not like to change if they were given the chance. (For instance, many town planners think that everyone who now wants to have a detached house and garden will want to have it forever, and that his children will want the same.)

There was a time when sociology was often confused with socialism. But since it has become so respectable, it is more likely to be confused with sociability—perhaps because many sociologists have a burning desire to find out, painstakingly and at considerable cost, whether and how often Mrs. O'Grady lends her big saucepan to her neighbour, Mrs. O'Connor. Land-use planners are inclined to fasten upon these discoveries of social research—especially when they live in a prosperous 'developed' country which does not suffer from hunger and homelessness, disease, illiteracy and underemployment, and which can thus afford to take trivial problems seriously. As the planners

in the 'fat' countries—aided and abetted by social 'scientism'—are often also preoccupied with such problems, it sometimes seems as though it were the main purpose of their multifarious activities to make sure that there will be a lot of clubs and organisation men, and that people will live happily ever after by saying 'good morning' to one another when they open their front doors. The more abstract notions of neighbourliness and community, which derive from a recognition of social interdependence, irrespective of close physical proximity, are entering far more slowly into the ideology of land-use planning.¹⁸

It would, of course, be a mistake to assume that it is always of benefit to land-use planning when 'sociological knowledge' is applied to it.¹⁹ The effect is not necessarily one of increasing rationality. Sometimes it is a case of the blind leading the lame. Undoubtedly, planners have become more self-conscious, and occasionally also more critical, about their own ideas. But the kind of sociological thought which could help them in clarifying their purposes—in particular their images of towns and of 'urbanism as a way of life'—has been rather neglected. It was far more frequent in the classic period of sociology, especially among German and French writers, and also in some American schools, than it is now.²⁰ Thus it is not only the inevitable time lag in the percolation of ideas from one field into another that explains why it is the contributions of an older generation of sociologists which have had a positive influence on the approach of land-use planners, rather than the far more extensive output since the thirties.

While the more recent generations of sociologists have rarely explicitly taken part in the formulation of positive planning policies, they have provided a good deal of technical assistance. And they have done this, by and large, from the point of view of their own special interests and skills—and not because land-use planning, in its various aspects, is the field of their specialisation.²¹ They have contributed in their capacity as demographers, sociographers, social statisticians, experts in social survey and research techniques; sometimes (not as often as might be expected) as urban sociologists, and occasionally as political sociologists.²² (And they have not necessarily been consulted personally; frequently it is their books, or some explanations obtained second-hand from their books, which have been used.)

Thus physical planners (who had been inclined to forget matters of life and death in their housing programmes, density calculations and in the location of services and industries) are now far better informed than they used to be on population distribution and on the elements of population growth. (It has only recently become routine for them to take natural increase into account in estimating the poten-

tial population of a new town, or the 'overspill' from an old one.) In this respect, the area of uncertainty has certainly been appreciably narrowed.

More use is being made also of the censuses and other sources of social statistics so as to obtain a more accurate 'diagnosis'²³ of current conditions—of housing and employment, for example—and of future needs. The pattern of journeys to work, especially relevant in considering decentralisation proposals, is being traced in several big cities (though in some countries, the material on these matters is still very scanty). Moreover, technical aids in the collection, analysis and presentation of data, which are familiar to the social sciences, are employed in some investigations which the physical planners themselves carry out: for instance, in studies of traffic flows and land-use. Social and physical survey data are increasingly correlated. Special social surveys of towns, of parts of towns or villages are occasionally carried out, both before a plan is made, and also to observe its effects later on. There are, however, even now far too few comparative surveys of this kind. And, so far as I know, there have been in the western countries no long-term or periodic studies of a particular settlement (that is, no consecutive follow-up studies of the kind made in the fields of criminology, social medicine and human genetics). Even the London and *Middletown* examples of a second survey are rare.

In various ways, sources and techniques from the social sciences have thus, in general, been introduced into the field of land-use planning, and chiefly into the phase of plan-making. But they are not applied consistently: there are still obvious large gaps. For example, the information which is collected in the course of physical planning, and particularly through development control, is left in the administrators' files: it is not used, as it should be used, for the appraisal of planning processes and principles. And wherever there is no national planning, the technical contribution of the social sciences is visible mainly in plan-making on the local level; few attempts are made to put the jigsaw puzzle together. The same is true when sociologists (or their relatives) are especially invited to give technical assistance to land-use planning. As the particular surveys or studies which are made also have mainly a restricted local range, they do not provide comparative and cumulative data. There is, moreover, only a feint correlation between problems, in order of importance, and the amount of fact-finding that is devoted to them. It is not unusual to find a negative correlation.

Of course, a lot of facts can be used to make no plan. And a lot of sociologists do not care whether plans are made and carried out or not—and how plans are made and carried out. So long as they do not care, they will not really be able to take part in the politics and technique of planning. Their ideological contribution to plan-

ning will be fragmentary ; they will be too timid to expand the range of their speculations and to expose their uncertainties. And thus their technical contributions, though extensive, will be sporadic—particularly so wherever planning itself is sporadic. It would be much better if sociologists accepted their commitment to the future : if they do not, they will miss a great deal.

NOTES

- ¹ As the main title indicates, I am using the sub-title, which was set by the organisers of the Congress, with some hesitation.
- ² The first two lines of a poem by Siegfried Sassoon.
- ³ I do not make the same distinction which Professor Myrdal makes. In his view, "values are not true or false" ; and he argues, therefore, that it is not the ends, but the means and results of planning which are subject to objective assessment—in terms of the ends, that is, of the "political goals". Presumably this important question will be discussed elsewhere at the Congress. It is not essential to the very limited purpose of this paper to do so here.
- ⁴ Jawaharlal Nehru, in discussing the work of the Indian Congress Party's National Planning Committee of 1938, in *The Discovery of India* (Meridian Books edition, London, 1956, p. 402).
- ⁵ This is Professor Morris Ginsberg's indispensable definition of sociology "in the broadest sense". (*Sociology*, London, 1934, p.7).
- ⁶ This is not to say that the usual role of sociology (or anthropology) in science fiction is an admirable one. On the contrary, it reflects the current trend to pseudo-science, and to social engineering with phoney precision. The sociologist is frequently presented as a superman with super-gadgets, who knows exactly which particular button (in this or any other solar system) has to be pushed to change a whole society from the ice age to the atomic age or vice versa. His timing, accuracy and speed in delivering the goods are superb.
- ⁷ For example : literature dealing with the concepts and institutions of planning in different societies and at successive stages ; with the question of 'rationality' in planning and the evaluation of planning processes ; with the different elements in anticipation and their margins of error, in theory and practice ; with the forms of organisation used (or required) to translate central into local, general into particular, decisions ; with the fusion (or lack of fusion) of many-sided considerations into a coherent whole ; with the social conditions and consequences of planned economic development. The list is a very long one. Economists have written on some of these, or relevant, matters. Sociologists (and political scientists) have been almost silent. Apparently, they are more interested in studying political interaction, such as 'decision-making', within a very narrow range of time, space and function, in some odd corner of a municipality.
- ⁸ It is not only opposition to the concept of comprehensive planning as such, but also the characteristic American dislike of governmental authority *per se*, which is relevant in this context.
- ⁹ The terms 'town and country planning' or 'city planning' have fairly explicit geographical connotations. The term 'regional planning' is, however, a far vaguer one. It could, in principle, refer to the detailed interpretation of a national comprehensive plan on the regional level, or to a combination of national plans for a region of the world (for south-eastern Asia, for example). In practice, however, the term is hardly ever used for a description of such activities. Instead, it is used as a synonym for 'physical planning', and in particular so as to imply an extension of town planning over a territory which is larger than that of an individual town or local authority area. It might be the territory within the sphere of influence of a new hydro-electrical or irrigation scheme ; or a city with its suburbs ; or a metropolitan area (Greater London, New York, Toronto, Delhi or Tokyo) ; or a yet larger traditional sub-division of a country ; or any other territory, within which there appear to be some socio-economic interactions, and which is demarcated for planning purposes. (Geographical features often contribute to such demarcation.) In the nature of things, a region is a variable entity, with

fairly arbitrary boundaries. As the distinction between regional planning and town and country planning is mainly a verbal one, and as it is in any case not an important one in the present context, I am using these terms interchangeably in this paper—avoiding the first as much as possible—together with 'physical planning' (as it is often called) or 'land-use planning', which is the more precise umbrella term.

¹⁰ Obvious examples of 'city planning' (with a very small p) for the sake of special interests are the re-development of 'central business areas', or that of those urban blighted districts, which were often occupied by Negroes and which are then refurbished for middle-class (mainly or entirely white middle-class) use. These are the main activities of 'urban renewal' in the United States. In the case of the first, the renewal of central business areas, there is, of course, some coincidence of special commercial, and of wider, interests and considerations. In the case of the second type of 'renewal', there is no merging of interests; the motive might even be described as an anti-social one. In general, moreover, the commercial transactions of 'urban renewal'—irrespective of the particular scheme—are so organised that they are to the advantage of real estate entrepreneurs.

¹¹ The change of fashion from low density to high density development is a case in point. This change was started mainly by architects and planners in the western highly urbanised countries. And these 'angry young men'—and also some older ones—are quite right to be impatient with the dull, monotonous assembly lines of suburbia, and of imitations of suburbia, which waste scarce space in and around their big cities. But then the 'new-look' fashion has travelled overseas. And the 'high-rise' buildings which are suitable for London or Milan are hardly appropriate for the rural immigrants (or for the second generation or rural immigrants) who have to be housed in Bombay or in Singapore.

¹² Western models have been followed also because town planners from other parts of the world have frequently been trained, and are being trained, in British and American universities, where the subject is taught from a domestic point of view. Comparative material from other countries has hardly yet been introduced. There has thus been very little reciprocal exchange of information and ideas so far. And it seems that it is not those aspects of European experience (British or Dutch, for example) which can be useful in Africa and Asia which have caught attention elsewhere. It is not so much the experience of grand design, but that of the more pedestrian aspects of development control, which can be shared—though it has, of course, to be adapted to different conditions.

¹³ The difficulty is not so great when land-use planning is a part of comprehensive national planning which supplies an explicit and emphatic social ideology. And the difficulty hardly exists at all when 'planning' is entirely a misnomer (when it is simply private planning) and thus does not need a developing definition of the public interest and its translation into socio-geographical patterns. American city planning, for example, does not require such a definition, though it might occasionally ask for some rationalisation (in utilitarian terms) of the special interests which it serves. In such circumstances, the hesitation of sociologists to make value judgments or forecasts would in fact be convenient to city 'planners': it provides excuses for organised *laissez-faire*. A lot can be written about such hesitation: that gives it all the more useful uselessness.

¹⁴ For example: which part of a country has the greatest need for an improvement in housing conditions? Or: what is the distribution of floor space requirements for office workers in different occupations and establishments? And what increase in employment (and thus in circulation and traffic density) is a given increase in office buildings likely to produce?

¹⁵ Both the vagueness in important matters and the precision in unimportant details are indicative of a situation in which land-use planning is divorced from comprehensive planning.

¹⁶ Of course, there is more certainty in comprehensive planning, with a capital P, than in partial planning. Both guidance and anticipation of development are far easier when a land-use plan is allied with economic policies and controls—and in particular when there is national (or municipal) ownership of land—than when these conditions are not present.

- ¹⁷ On the whole, however, the classification and analysis of areas within towns is more advanced than that of the towns themselves. And it is far more difficult to obtain reliable criteria and methods for a classification—especially for an international classification—of town types.
- ¹⁸ That is to say, these more abstract notions appear implicitly rather than explicitly. The idea of the urban village (or neighbourhood unit) for example, was originally conceived (though not always consciously) as an antidote to the potential combination and upsurge of the urban working classes.
- ¹⁹ As I cannot define 'sociological knowledge' (and have deliberately not attempted to do so) I have to put the words in inverted commas. While it would be possible to define the sociological approach, it is quite a different matter (and an unrewarding pastime) to disentangle the knowledge of sociology from that of all the other social sciences.
- ²⁰ There are, however, some signs of a revival of such interests—though perhaps more among non-academic people than among academic sociologists. An indication of such interest among the latter is provided by the paper on 'The Changing Imagery of American City and Suburb' which Dr. Anselm Strauss has contributed to this section of the Congress.
- ²¹ Despite (or perhaps because of) the increasing specialisation of sociology, there are, so far as I know, very few members of the profession anywhere in the world who regard land-use planning—or any other type of planning—as their special field of study.
- ²² The papers which have been written for this section of the Congress indicate the various interests of sociology which are directly or indirectly relevant to land-use planning, though they do not cover the whole range. The papers also give some examples of the types of sociological contribution and influence which have been referred to—mainly of the technical ones, together with some excursions into ideological matters.
- ²³ Land-use planners are rather fond of medical and cosmetic analogies—of words like 'diagnosis', 'cure' and 'face-lifting'.

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

UNO AHREN (in collaboration with G. ELIASSON and H. WOHLIN)

SOCIOLOGY AND TOWN PLANNING IN SWEDEN

The accelerated development in the technical and economic fields during recent years revolutionizes the conditions of life. The planning for this development has difficulties in keeping pace with its fast rate, and especially the consideration of "the human factor" suffers from this. Sociological aspects are not always given sufficient emphasis in connection with town planning even though several sociological investigations have been made and knowledge in this area has increased substantially.

In Sweden an extensive body of housing research has developed with a practical aim and direction that is of value for planning. A great number of investigations of various conditions in residential areas has also been carried out. Moreover general sociological and other social research produces a still better foundation for town and country planning.

But still there is a lack of intense research upon the intrinsic relations of causes, and still great uncertainty is prevailing as regards the possibilities and the ways of applying the results of sociological research for planning purposes as well as regards the appropriate methods of sociological research directed towards problems of planning. Moreover many very important practical problems of town and country planning have not yet been subject for sociological research.

There is nevertheless reason to regard with optimism the contribution which sociology can make to town and country planning in the long run. Interest in sociological problems has shown an upward tendency and co-operation between planners and sociologists has increased.

P. CHOMBART de LAUWE (Groupe d'Ethnologie Sociale C.N.R.S.—Paris).
LES TRAVAUX D'UNE EQUIPE DE RECHERCHE EN SOCIOLOGIE URBAINE

Après avoir marqué un temps d'arrêt depuis HALBWACHS, la sociologie urbaine reprend en France une place importante. Divers travaux récents ou en cours en donnent un témoignage. Pour le Groupe d'Ethnologie Sociale il s'agit moins de sociologie urbaine proprement dite que d'étude des rapports entre le milieu et les comportements en prenant le milieu urbain comme cadre par comparaison avec le milieu rural.

Divers problèmes pratiques se posent tout d'abord dans ces recherches : liaisons entre recherche fondamentale et recherche appliquée et préservation de la première, recherches collectives et recherches personnelles, formation du personnel de recherche, etc. . . .

Quelques exemples de travaux sont présentés.

1. *Une étude d'écologie urbaine* (préparation au plan d'urbanisme de Bordeaux). L'étude des structures générales de la ville, des phénomènes dits pathologiques, (psychiatrie infantile, délinquance juvénile, criminalité, alcoolisme . . .), des localisations commerciales et industrielles, la distribution des catégories socio-professionnelles, etc. . . . suscite certaines remarques sur la dissociation des fonctions, les rapports entre les rythmes dans le temps et les distributions dans l'espace, la dynamique des groupes sociaux.

2. *La sociologie de la famille en milieu urbain*. L'étude de l'influence des structures familiales et de leur évolution sur les relations parents-enfants est complétée actuellement par des recherches sur les troubles du comportement chez l'enfant (Mme. M. J. CHOMBART de LAUWE) sur les groupes spontanés de jeunes (J. JENNY) sur les rôles de l'homme et de la femme (P. H. et M. J. CHOMBART de LAUWE).

D'autre part, une série de recherches sur la famille et l'habitation a été menée dans un grand nombre de cités nouvelles. Quelques uns des problèmes généraux posés par ces recherches ont été évoqués dans un premier volume sur "Les Sciences Humaines et la Conception de l'Habitation". Les principales questions posées sont : le degré de liberté dans les rapports sociaux suivant les formules adoptées, la coexistence de classes sociales différentes, l'organisation de la vie communautaire

3. *Etude des comportements et des aspirations*. Les comportements économiques sont particulièrement intéressants à observer pour comprendre l'évolution des structures familiales. Ils permettent aussi une approche plus précise de la notion de besoin.

Diverses recherches sur les attitudes (à l'égard des classes sociales, du mariage, de la religion) et sur les aspirations sont en cours depuis plusieurs années. De plus une recherche internationale sur les attitudes à l'égard du travail de la femme et de sa position dans la société a commencé l'année dernière (P. CHOMBART de LAUWE, France, A. KLOSKOWSKA, Pologne, G. ROCHER, Canada).

Diverses remarques terminales concernent quelques nouveaux types de recherche (en particulier par le film), et des problèmes généraux tels que : les relations villes-campagnes, les phénomènes pathologiques, la définition du milieu social, la nécessité de l'observation expérimentale.

RICHARD L. FORSTALL

PROBLEMS OF COMPARABILITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF CITIES

The classification of urban centres according to the industrial breakdown of their labour force has been the subject of an increasing number of studies in recent years. Behind any attempt to classify lies the assumption that different cities may share many common characteristics, and that a recognition of these, as well as of unique aspects, is of great importance in understanding why cities have developed in different ways in the past, and how their future development may differ. In the field of planning, the degree of similarity or difference between particular cities provides an indication of the degree to which the experience of one may serve as a guide to the others.

Among the possible classifications of urban centres, that according to the industrial breakdown of the labour force offers some of the widest possibilities, because it can be based on objective statistical data and because it deals with a fundamental factor, the city's economic activity. Studies of this type have usually grouped urban centres under such titles as Manufacturing Cities, Port Cities, Service Cities, Diversified Cities, and the like. Though there is room for improvement in the methods by which these types are distinguished, the distinctness of the groups as entities seems well established, both by the studies to date and by general observation.

Heretofore, most industrial classification studies have confined themselves to the cities of a single country. Though international comparisons would clearly be of much value, they are made difficult by the lack of consistency among different countries in the attributing of activities to the major industry groups. Although most nations recognize major groups similar to those specified in the International Standard Industrial Classification (Agriculture, Manufacturing, Commerce, Services, etc.), there are wide variations in the attribution of certain activities to these groups. Among activities of special pertinence to urban centres, the classification of construction, repair shops, hotels, restaurants, the armed forces, and the unemployed must be reasonably consistent before accurate comparisons can be made between cities in different countries. Consistency is also important in the treatment of marginal governmental activities, such as school and postal systems.

Certain other activities have been found useful in developing a classification of urban centres by industrial type, and it would be helpful if more countries specified them individually in their labour-force data for small administrative areas. These activities include fishing and water transportation (of great importance in a small number of cities), and wholesale trade, banking and finance, and business services (which have proved to be excellent indicators of the over-all economic importance of a city). Broad subdivisions of the manufacturing and services categories are also desirable, and certain sub-categories are suggested.

LUCIANO GALLINO

SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE, COMMUNITY PLANNING AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

A common problem for planners in Europe—and a crucial one in Italy—is the planning of historical communities under a perspective of economic progress. Historical communities are defined as self-sufficient, under-developed, socially isolated territories, falling entirely within natural and cultural areas,

and containing a central town of ancient origin which exerts a dominant influence all over the outlying zone. The problem for planners is to help them into changing their well-balanced, *low-productivity* space organization in a well-balanced, *high-productivity* space organization, while keeping at a minimum the ills of the transitional phase. Sociology can contribute to this task by pointing to the ways in which different layers of social reality influence each other. Spatial organization—i.e. the morphological-ecological surface of the community—can foster economic progress by inducing a functional specialization of individuals' economic roles. For reaching this goal, the *undifferentiated homogeneity of the community's ecological units must give place to an organic heterogeneity and integration*. This may best be achieved by means of a *controlled degree* of urban concentration, functional centralization and population increase. Other socioeconomic advantages of planned urbanization, all pointing to the necessity of providing a modern city for the needs of developing historical communities, are discussed. Among these should be placed the possibility to control the migration towards the metropolis, by offering to migrating villagers—within the central town of historical communities—the urban values which they are striving for.

EIICHI ISOMURA (Tokyo Metropolitan University)
SOCIAL PLANNING IN JAPANESE SLUM AREAS

The large Japanese cities contain extensive slum areas, in which the typical housing consists of poorly equipped tenement buildings, overnight lodging or 'flop' houses, and partially converted barracks originally built as temporary accommodation for victims of the 1923 Tokyo earthquake and of air raids during World War II. The population of such slums has been swollen, not only as the result of bombing, but by the large-scale repatriation of Japanese from overseas after the war. Koreans—the only distinct ethnic minority group—and the remnant of the old 'untouchable' community are also to be found in the slums.

Physical clearance and reconstruction cannot alone solve the slum problem, which is a problem of poverty and, in particular, of the characteristic social organisation of the Japanese slum. Many of the slum dwellers are rag-pickers and waste-collectors, who sell their scrap at low prices to local 'bosses' in return for a roof over their heads in the bosses' tenement houses or barracks. Their relationship to the boss who exploits them is one of semi-feudal dependence; and is, among other things, a barrier to the activities of outside welfare agencies.

Slum clearance can only be successful if it goes hand-in-hand with an attack on these aspects of the socio-economic organisation of slum life. The authorities should dislodge the bosses by setting up publicly owned 'counting places', at which scrap could be sold at controlled prices. And they should encourage the employment of slum dwellers in regular jobs outside the scrap trade.

BRANKO PETROVIC and STANKO ZULJIC (Yugoslavia)
REGIONAL "SPACE" PLANNING IN YUGOSLAVIA

Regional "space" planning in Yugoslavia is one element in the general planning of the country's development based on full powers of public control. Its important, but limited, part in this wider process is illustrated by the regional plan for Krapina County, hitherto the most complete example of such plans. This plan assumes that development in Krapina—an almost wholly agricultural region of nearly 200,000

people—will concentrate on agricultural improvement, development of industry and mining, and the improvement of living conditions and collective services for the rural population especially. But individual development projects—dependent, of course, on central economic policy—are planned and executed by the local communes. The regional authority's only function is to ensure that such local projects are spatially co-ordinated. The plan is, therefore, essentially a classification of settlements, in terms of the range of economic and service functions to be provided in each: its aim is not only to ensure a rational location of industrial and residential development; but also to provide economically, yet as fully as possible, for the extension to the countryside of the social and cultural facilities of towns. The plan is an instrument of control over development by the local authorities. But these, and other representative bodies, take part in its formulation and periodic revision. Moreover, as a diagnosis of needs and a yardstick by which achievement can be measured, the plan provides a continual stimulus to development.

ANSELM STRAUSS (USA)

THE CHANGING IMAGERY OF AMERICAN CITY AND SUBURB

The imagined polarity of countryside and city which for so long dominated popular thinking about American urbanization was succeeded by a polarity of city and suburb. That too is dissolving, and new imageries are emerging which constitute Americans' attempts to make sense of what is happening—and should happen—to their cities and urban environs.

Among the newest imageries of the city are the central city as "core" of the metropolitan region, and as the "fun center" and "shopping center" and "cultural heart" of the urban region. Redevelopers and real estate agents see the central city as the residential area of the rich. But others, including planners, are beginning to see the redeveloped city as devastatingly ugly and lacking variety, because of super-block construction and the highrise building.

Suburbia as a symbolic locale is also taking on new, and changed, meanings. Suburbia no longer represents merely fresh air, communal life and increasing social prestige for the resident. Suburbia becomes differentiated into suburbia and exurbia, into better and worse suburbs; into a locale not so different really than the city itself. As suburb-city polarity dissolves, an imagery which transcends that polarity emerges, perhaps best expressed by the concepts of "interurbia," "strip cities," and "supercities." Although used technically by planners and sociologists, these are terms which no less than the older terms carry a freight of common sense imagery and refer to symbolic rather than actual locales.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

MAIN TRENDS OF DISCUSSION

The participants in the discussion represented a wide range of experience and interests. They included town planners and architects, though the majority were social scientists. They came from many different countries—countries in which, as the chairman pointed out, physical planning had very different meanings, according to the political context in which it was carried out; and countries in which the patterns and problems of urban development varied widely, as the discussion itself showed. The diversity of subjects covered, and of views expressed, was therefore considerable. The discussion never-

theless focussed on a few main themes, which are outlined below. While the heterogeneous composition of the group provided, as the chairman had suggested in her opening remarks, an opportunity for an extensive exchange of experience and views on the nature of the contribution which social scientists could and should make to physical planning, the discussion also showed a considerable measure of agreement, whether explicit or implicit.

Thus both the planners and the sociologists present agreed that social scientists should not only provide 'technical' information for physical planning, but that they should also, and indeed primarily, assist by evaluating the objectives and results of planning in the light of their own approach and findings. A number of concrete examples were given to illustrate this argument. The discussion confirmed that the extent and character of the contribution actually made by social scientists varied greatly in different contexts. As in some 'under-developed' countries the social sciences themselves were 'under-developed', essential background information was often lacking. By contrast, sociology and related disciplines were now fairly well established in some Western countries, and their relevance to physical planning was increasingly acknowledged. But their actual contribution might still be rather insignificant, concerned mainly with the provision of voluminous, but limited and even trivial, information of a 'technical' kind. This was so, it was suggested, especially when there was 'partial' planning—when physical planning was not related to a comprehensive system of general planning in the public interest.

It was also clear from the discussion that if sociologists were to make an effective 'ideological' or 'educational' contribution, they would have to re-examine their own ideas and concepts in a radical way. The diversity of urban patterns and urban problems in the world presented a challenge which neither social scientists nor physical planners had yet met. Though the growth of towns no doubt showed certain common features all over the world, conventional images of the city were based on the previous experience of Western countries. They could not be indiscriminately applied, for instance, to Japan, to Israel or to Ghana. Indeed these images were no longer appropriate even in their own countries of origin—where, for example, the idealisation of small town life, characteristic of much thinking about the city, was obsolete, and where also increased mobility demanded new thinking about urban patterns.

There were problems of communication between social scientists and planners or architects, since the different professions thought in different ways and tended to see processes of social causation with different eyes. Similar problems of communication might, however, also exist between social scientists and other technical professions, to whose work social research was relevant. Different methods

of organising co-operation were emphasised in the discussion. But it was also stressed that while it was necessary to acquaint planners with the 'sociological approach', this could only be done when sociologists themselves realised that they would not be "soiling their hands" by concerning themselves with concrete problems of development. Sociologists might not be able to provide direct formulæ for design; they might also differ in their specific policy recommendations for planning. But they could co-operate effectively only when they themselves were "committed to planning."

The discussion is summarised in more detail below. The contributions of individual speakers are not reported, speech by speech, in chronological order. Instead, the chief points raised by different contributors have been re-arranged under various headings, corresponding to the main themes of the discussion.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIOLOGY AND THE CONTEXT OF PLANNING

Introducing the discussion, the Chairman, MRS. GLASS, said that the variety of experience represented at the meeting offered unusual scope for an exchange and comparison of views on the contribution of sociology to what—in order to avoid the ambiguities of the term 'regional'—she preferred to call physical planning. In her view, that contribution should not be confined to the provision of 'technical' information, important though this was. The social sciences had also an 'ideological' contribution to make: to evaluate the purposes explicit or implicit in policies of physical planning, and their relationship to broader social objectives, as well as to assess the social consequences of particular planning measures.

She suggested that it would be of particular interest to discuss to what extent the contribution of the social sciences varied, actually and potentially, according to the general context in which such 'planning' took place. Some assumptions and observations could readily be made. If physical planning formed part of a system of comprehensive planning, as in the socialist countries, a large amount of essential information would presumably be readily available, compiled as a matter of course in the general process of control over development. Problems of prediction would be simplified. At the same time, the wider scope of planning would make greater demands on the accumulation of precise knowledge and on the evaluation of objectives. In Western countries, on the other hand, land use planning was an isolated and partial activity; indeed, the term 'planning' in these circumstances was a misnomer. Here, demands on rationality would be less, the uncertainty of predictions greater. In such circumstances, physical planners were likely to be unused to thinking in broad social terms; and the contribution of the social sciences was primarily a 'technical' one.

Several speakers took up these questions in the course of the discussion. DR. A. STRAUSS (U.S.A.) found some of Mrs. Glass's points confirmed by American experience. Effective physical planning in the United States was confined to "real estate" planning in the interests of private profit. Correspondingly, the vast bulk of urban research was essentially 'technical' in character. General sociological thinking about the nature of cities had hardly advanced from the old and out-moded 'images' which were based on nostalgia for the rural way of life.

PROFESSOR U. ÅHREN (Sweden), on the other hand, found the situation in his country a good deal more satisfactory. Effective and fairly extensive co-operation between social scientists and town planners was now established. Even so, much of the relevant research was limited in scope: descriptive rather than analytical, too often concerned with *minutiae*, too rarely with broad questions of the urban patterns appropriate for today and tomorrow. MR. WESTERGAARD asked how far 'prognoses' of economic development in connection with land-use planning—to which in Sweden, as well as in Holland, a good deal of effort and refinement of technique appeared to have been devoted—had produced returns in the form of reliable predictions, when economic forces were controlled only in a limited and negative fashion. PROFESSOR ÅHREN recognised the difficulties of forecasting, and saw them as a problem that could only be overcome through "flexibility" in planning.

Speaking as a land-use planner in a socialist country, MR. B. PETROVIC (Yugoslavia) stressed the obstacles which, in his experience, were hampering physical planning and preventing the social sciences from making an effective contribution in his country. Sociologists could help, for example, to determine priorities in the provision of urban services and facilities—an important task since rural migrants, unaccustomed to such facilities, were streaming into the towns as a result of planned industrialisation. But opposition to "theorists" was preventing or delaying the employment of social scientists in the planning process. Moreover, the various administrative levels at which different kinds of planning were carried out in Yugoslavia presented special difficulties. Regional planners found their hands tied by their intermediate position between the state organs of central economic planning and the local authorities responsible for individual development projects.

DR. E. DROR (Israel) pointed to the special problems associated with the general political and economic situation in which physical planning in his country had to be carried out. Not only was development dependent on such unpredictable, external circumstances as the rate of immigration and world economic trends; but a state of permanent war or military tension put a premium on action, and was

not conducive to recognition of the need for careful and patient research.

THE 'IDEOLOGICAL' OR 'EDUCATIONAL' CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIOLOGY

The need for the social sciences to make a contribution to physical planning over and above that of providing essential background data seemed to be generally accepted, though this additional contribution was defined in different ways and described by different names. To PROFESSOR P. CHOMBART DE LAUWE (France), who quoted examples drawn from the work of his own research group in connection with the town plan for Bordeaux, the sociologist should act as a sort of watchdog on behalf of the public, to ensure that the values implicit in the designs of the planners were in line with the values of the "planned". His experience had shown that the social research team was often able to bring out, and to illuminate, the values behind particular planning proposals—for example, the emphasis on privacy and independence expressed in designs for low density development, which had to be set against the advantages of proximity both to work and to central urban facilities. A balance had to be struck in the light of knowledge and understanding of the varied needs of people themselves. Similarly in Bordeaux, examination of the patterns of wholesale and retail trade had revealed a number of conflicts between public and private economic interests, in the resolution of which the sociologists had found themselves acting as "arbiters". Research could also help to determine priorities in planning; thus an analysis of the ecological structure of Bordeaux had pinpointed a number of problem areas with a high incidence of various social pathologies, and had led to revision of the programme of redevelopment.

DR. L. GALLINO (Italy) saw the essential contribution of sociology as that of unravelling the complex relationships between the physical environment and the quality of social life. There were limits to human adaptability. Beyond those limits, planned changes resulting in material improvement might at the same time lead to individual or social stress—be it the boredom of the commuter, poor neighbourly relations, delinquency or suicide.

A similar view was expressed by PROFESSOR P. RYBICKI (Poland), who described the task of sociology as that of helping to formulate a satisfactory "concept of the ideal city". Aristotle's *polis* was self-contained in the sense of satisfying all needs of all citizens. Could this be achieved today? His own research in Nowa Huta—a new town of some 100,000 people outside Krakow—had shown that the fulfilment of economic and material needs through civic design could be associated with a failure to satisfy cultural and social needs: physical improvement could coincide with a certain amount of "social dissolu-

tion". Sociologists must analyse these complex processes, and thus help to create the *milieux* in which varying needs would be satisfactorily reconciled. At the same time, PROFESSOR RYBICKI stressed that social scientists could not provide direct formulae for physical planning: in his experience, their contribution must be primarily one of tracing the social results of new experiments in planning.

DR. W. STEIGENGA (Holland) saw the sociologist's function as a more active and direct one, that of a "social engineer": in his view only the sociologist was qualified to draw up the programme—to design the framework—for "social life" in new residential areas, for instance. MR. J. MADGE (United Kingdom), on the other hand, assigned a more modest role to the social sciences. The sociologists' contribution could not extend to giving prescriptions for planning: their own ideologies, and hence also their prescriptions, were likely to differ. But it was possible for them to criticise policies and plans, and to get planners to think in sociological terms. It was thus also part of this critical function of social scientists to draw attention to non-economic factors that might otherwise be overlooked. In Britain, for example, the continuing outward spread of suburbs—in volume far greater than the planned development of new towns—had a strong economic base, since it was much cheaper than reconstruction of the decaying inner areas of the cities. Yet such reconstruction was necessary and was, in fact, going on; sociologists had helped to point out the social costs of continued neglect.

In her concluding remarks on this part of the discussion, MRS. GLASS agreed that sociologists could not provide detailed formulae for planning and design. She was not sure, however, whether they would in practice necessarily differ as much on particular policy recommendations as MR. MADGE suggested. But the essential point was that sociologists should not shirk their responsibility to make policy recommendations. Even if these differed, the fact of their being made was in itself an important 'ideological' contribution. However diverse the discussion on this point had been, there appeared to be general agreement that sociologists should actively participate in the planning process in this way.

IMAGES OF THE CITY

At the same time, many speakers stressed that this wider sociological contribution to physical planning must involve radical self-criticism on the part of social scientists: their images of the city and other urban settlements were too stereotyped and antiquated. American thought in this field, said DR. STRAUSS, was based on a traditional, nostalgic idealisation of the rural way of life, in which city civilisation found no place. This scale of values had deep roots in the United States, and was reflected in the old ecological patterns of

the cities, where the inner slum areas housed poor immigrant or Negro migrant populations, and the suburbs had high social status. Yet the pattern were now changing. As a result of the "suburban explosion" of recent years, it was found that the suburbs were by no means of a uniformly high social level; and central redevelopment was reclaiming the hitherto decaying inner areas for "white, middle-class America". The traditional dichotomy was thus being superseded—though the tenacity of the old "small town" values of independence still showed in the insistence with which even 'lower class' suburbs clung to their obsolete political autonomy.

PROFESSOR ÅHREN called for more research and more thinking about the future urban patterns at which planners should aim. In Sweden, to his mind, the explosive increase in private motoring and the consequent growth in mobility demanded radical reconsideration of the internal structure of towns: should private cars be banned from the old centres or, at the other extreme, be allowed free play in a *laissez faire* manner? It also required new thinking about the larger pattern of urban regions. Sociologists had still made far too little contribution to decisions on such questions concerning the balance between conflicting needs, between preservation and change.

DR. STEIGENGA gave an illustration of how sociological analysis might indicate a need for the reappraisal of accepted planning ideas. A policy of decentralisation had been adopted in Holland as a solution to the problems associated with the high density, and continued increase, of population. But since only a limited range of 'footloose' industries could be readily decentralised, this policy was likely to unbalance the industrial and occupational structure of the older towns.

PATTERNS OF URBANISATION

It was agreed that the 'urban images' of the West should not be indiscriminately exported. The fact that this was nevertheless still being done, and the disadvantages involved, were constantly stressed in the discussion. At the same time it had to be recognised, as MRS. GLASS pointed out, that urban development presented certain similar features and problems all over the world. Moreover, as PROFESSOR CHOMBART DE LAUWE said, concern for specific local features and needs must not be used as a pretext for turning societies into anthropological "museum pieces", and thus freezing the process of change.

DR. DROR strongly emphasised the unique features in Israel's situation. In the building of the new settlements, the planners were often faced with a "physical *tabula rasa*". The population, moreover, was an amalgam of immigrants of widely differing origins, whose traditional ideas were being confused and superseded in the process of change. He gave various examples of the direct assistance which social scientists could give to community design, through systematic-

ally following up, for instance, the working of different settlement patterns or of different forms of residential "social mixture". But existing sociological concepts and knowledge, based on Western experience, were totally inadequate for such purposes; and so was the *ad hoc* employment of visiting experts, who were unfamiliar with, and uninvolved in, local conditions and problems.

While DR. E. NARAGHI (Iran) referred to the special problems of such new one-industry towns as Abadan, MR. P. A. TETTEH (Ghana) from his own experience took up some of the points already stressed by DR. DROR. Ghana had few large cities, and none based on a manufacturing economy of an industrial kind. But the process of urbanisation was rapid, and the growing towns had the special features and problems associated with the great heterogeneity of their populations. Yet even basic background information on migration and demographic structure was severely deficient. Moreover, most social research was unconcerned with the major questions of social change, but concentrated on rural and tribal backwaters and dealt with problems of a peripheral kind.

PROFESSOR E. ISOMURA (Japan) stressed the very recent origins of co-operation between sociologists and physical planners in his country. A society for urban studies had been formed a short time ago, of which he was president; it had a large membership of different kinds of specialists. Recent changes had called attention to the difficulty of drawing the traditional distinctions between town and country: one must now talk of "rural cities" or great "metropolitan regions". The new patterns were the effects of mass evacuation from cities to countryside during the war; of the impartial application of such measures as rationing—through which rice had become a staple food of country people as well as townspeople; of the postwar prosperity of agriculture and the consequent narrowing of the gap between urban and rural living standards; and of the outward spread of the towns. New criteria for the definition and classification of cities were needed, and were being elaborated. Yet with all these changes, the old way of life and the old occupational structure persisted in the urban slums and—as he had pointed out in his paper—could not be changed through physical reconstruction by itself.

CO-OPERATION AND COMMUNICATION BETWEEN SOCIOLOGISTS AND PLANNERS

The discussion showed a variety of views on the problems of achieving communication, and organising co-operation, between social scientists and physical planners. MRS. GLASS in her introductory remarks asked how far, irrespective of the political context of planning, the two professions found it difficult to understand each others' minds. Architects and land-use planners were accustomed to thinking

in terms of straightforward sequences of cause and effect, while sociologists tended to see social reality in more complex terms. MR. MADGE similarly commented on a tendency on the part of planners to regard symptoms of dissatisfaction in new areas, for instance, as the product of physical inadequacies of design, rather than of difficulties of adjustment to a new social environment. DR. STRAUSS, on the other hand, argued that problems of communication were not confined to the planning field. In the United States, social research was increasingly in demand in a variety of fields of practical work. As a result, a "new type of sociologist" was emerging, and had to emerge—one accustomed to dealing with 'practical' people. This development at the same time raised other questions; professional integrity required, for example, that sociologists called in as consultants should ask themselves whether their services would be used only to provide "window dressing".

PROFESSOR CHOMBART DE LAUWE said that in France co-operation between physical planners and sociologists had passed through several stages. At first, planners had not realised the relevance of the social sciences to their work. After a second stage of unrealistically optimistic faith in the power of sociologists to answer their problems, there had been a period of disillusionment. Finally, the social sciences now had an accepted, while not exaggerated, place in the process of physical planning. In particular, there was recognition of the relevance both of "applied" social research, and of "pure" research carried out without reference to immediate problems of planning: indeed, land-use planners themselves were asking for more such "basic" research as a general framework for their ideas. In his view, it was essential to maintain the distinction between these two types of research. It was also essential that research workers should not try to turn themselves into planners; they were not qualified for this, though a mutual appreciation of problems and approach was necessary. PROFESSOR CHOMBART DE LAUWE illustrated these points by describing the structure of a particular planning and research organisation with which he had been concerned.

While PROFESSOR ÅHREN said that the history of the relations between planning and social research seemed to have gone through the same stages in Sweden as in France, DR. G. JACONO (Italy) found the distinction between "pure" and "applied" research difficult to maintain, and recalled his own experience, in Southern Italy, of the advantages of "action research": planners, sociologists and other specialists had been members of one team, and had gone to live for a time among the people for whom they were to plan. MR. A. BASART (Holland) stressed the importance of including social scientists—and other specialists, such as doctors—in the planning team. In DR. DROR's view, the problems of planning the new settlements in Israel were such that the sociologist could make no effective contribution

unless he himself was fully involved as a member of the community and of the planning team ; but he recognised that the social scientist's capacity for objective criticism might thus be impaired. This latter point was also mentioned by MR. MADGE.

In the view of DR. S. COLLINS (United Kingdom), the assumption had been too readily made that the problem was one of converting physical planners to the sociologists' point of view. There was a need for the reverse process. Sociologists were too much inclined to divide themselves into "pure" and "applied" varieties : "pure" sociologists enjoyed a higher status and behaved as if they would be "soiling their hands", if they concerned themselves with immediate and concrete problems. In summarising the discussion, MRS. GLASS emphasised the need for "commitment" on the part of sociologists : about this need there appeared to be general agreement in the group, though varying views were held of the way in which co-operation between social scientists and physical planners should be organised in different situations.

J. H. WESTERGAARD.

SECTION II(1)e
THE APPLICATION OF
SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO PUBLIC HEALTH

Editorial Note—The attendance in this Section was small and it was decided with the agreement of the Chairman, Professor Graschenkov, to combine the meetings with those of the Section on Medicine. For a report on the discussions see below, pages 254—261.

SECTION II(1)f

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO MASS COMMUNICATIONS

Chairman: Professor MORRIS JANOWITZ
(University of Michigan, Ann Arbor)

Rapporteur: Dr. G. BAUMERT (DIVO, Frankfurt)

INTRODUCTORY PAPER*

Trends in Mass Communications Research

MORRIS JANOWITZ (University of Michigan)
and ROBERT SCHULZE (Brown University)

BY mass communications we mean the process by which specialized social groups employ technological devices (press, radio, films, etc.), to disseminate symbolic content to large, heterogeneous and widely-dispersed audiences. In the simplest terms, modern society is crucially dependent on the processes of mass communications. The sociological analysis of mass communications seeks an objective understanding of the consequences of communication and mass persuasion on social and political life.

European and American social scientists have addressed themselves repeatedly to the task of theorizing about the role of communications in modern society. In addition, American social scientists have displayed considerable activity in empirical research in this area. However, despite the existence of various theoretical statements and an almost overwhelming amount of empirical work, our systematic knowledge about mass communications in modern societies is undoubtedly more meager than our knowledge, for example, of social class or community structure.

As convenient guides and introductions into the sociology of mass communications, a number of *Readers* have been prepared in recent years for training students at universities and professional schools. These *Readers* by Berelson and Janowitz [1], Katz, et al, [2] and Schramm [3, 4] bring together representative theoretical, empirical and methodological approaches mainly of the last decade. In addition, three comprehensive bibliographic volumes have been prepared by Harold D. Lasswell and his associates which supply indispensable reference works for researchers. [5, 6, 7].

* The Chairman's introductory paper was not available in time for publication in Volume II, and owing to the subsequent delays caused by the printing strike in Britain it could not be circulated in reprint form at the Congress as had been hoped. It is published here as an introduction to the discussion.

The accumulation of a body of knowledge about mass communications is predicated on the assumption that sociological research can make a contribution to the utilization of mass media in the best interest of social policy. Yet one reason for the unevenness of our understanding of these crucial mass communications processes of modern life stems from the difficulty in separating moral criticism from sociological analysis. Much that has passed for sociological theory and research has been uninhibited social criticism by "alienated" intellectuals who see in the mass media the demise of Western civilization. By use of the concept "mass society" sociologists drawing on thinkers as diverse as Karl Marx and Ferdinand Toennies, have concluded that the mass media essentially corrupt audiences, weaken social bonds, and demoralize creative talents. The concept of mass society has been overloaded with moral sentiments in favour of a simpler and more primitive social structure.

Edward A. Shils has presented a comprehensive critique of the historical and sociological errors of the view that the growth of mass media, in and of itself, deteriorates moral and intellectual standards. [95, 96]. He rejects the notion that modern society is undifferentiated and holds that "the seed of the cultural health of the intellectuals lies within themselves." The growth of mass audiences, in this view, has not been accompanied by a decline in cultural standards but in the creation of new audiences who cannot be required to be the bearers of "high culture." The writings of Edward A. Shils and Theodor Geiger, for example, underscore the limitations on the concept "mass society" if it is used to prevent a concern with the conditions under which modern mass communications do in fact contribute to social stability and social consensus. [70].

Despite the problems involved in conceptualizing mass communications, the tradition of empirical research has led, in the United States, to development of a functional approach to the consequences of mass communications, which has supplied at least some basic framework. With the development of the Chicago school of empirical sociology around World War I, interest in the processes of mass communications began to grow. W. I. Thomas' classic study of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* represents the first major theoretical-empirical study in which the functional significance of the press in social organization was analyzed. [100]. Thomas demonstrated that, for the submerged Polish community under alien rule in Europe or in minority group status in the slums of Chicago, the press supplied a wider community and a basis of social integration. Robert E. Park continued to develop the sociological perspective in his study of *The Immigrant Press and its Control* and in his writings on social control. [43, 44]. Harold D. Lasswell, eminent political scientist of the Chicago school, in his naturalistic analysis of political power assigned to mass com-

munications a crucial role in developing revolutions or in facilitating orderly social change. [29, 30, 31]. His early writings supplied a powerful impetus to empirical research into the processes of mass communications.

Thus, in the absence of a general theory, most mass communications research (and most notably, that done in the United States) has been *ad hoc* in nature, stimulated, guided, and, of course, subsidized principally by groups interested in immediate "answers" to immediate problems. Public groups aroused by the potential demoralizing effects of motion pictures or comic books or television programmes on the characterological fibre of juveniles; educators disturbed by their failure to develop effective mass education; governments concerned with the impacts of their propaganda efforts; and finally and most importantly, managers of advertising and commercial communications seeking to influence the habits of the "average" consumer or reader or listener or viewer. These have been the groups which have largely posed the questions and supported much of the costs for mass communications research. But from the very first, empirical study of this variety demonstrated that in the search for answers to practical communication problems, important contributions to the sociological analysis of mass communication could be made. One of the earliest notable examples was the Payne Foundation studies on the impact of the movies on the youth of the United States completed in the early 1930's. [14]. More recently in this perspective, Professor Paul Felix Lazarsfeld, by means of his Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, has been a leading figure in radio and other types of media research. [32, 33, 36].

But to confess that our empirical efforts have been little-informed by theoretical and much-informed by "practical" considerations is not to say that they have necessarily wanted systematic relevance. Most studies, in fact, have followed (whether by design or not) one or more of the broad guidelines of Harold Lasswell's well-known formulation: "*Who says what to whom with what effects?*" Lasswell's classic paradigm poses patently important empirical questions of a descriptive nature and provides a reasonably systematic framework to which most research studies can be related. And therefore, the organization of the present summary of trends in mass communications research derives, almost necessarily, from Lasswell's several-faceted query.

Communications Personnel and Structure

The *who* question can be phrased in two different, although related, ways. First, who are the people—the sponsors, managers, directors, writers, performers, etc.—who conceive, produce, and transmit modern mass communications? What types of personalities are attracted to work in the mass media? And—no less important—what changes in personality structure, self image and social perspective do

the real or imagined role requirements of employment in mass communication organizations induce? What different answers to these questions are obtained among the several major media? The confrontation of questions such as these is largely the task of social psychologists and those interested in the sociology of professions.

Students of social organization should be more concerned with the second phrasing of the *who* question. Since mass communications must inevitably be produced by large, organized collectivities rather than by individual persons or small groups, what is the decision-making process in mass media organizations? How are they internally structured in terms of status, power, communications and other elements of social control? What are their linkages with other social organizations which are not integral members of the mass communications system? What are the consequences of financial and technological characteristics of the various media for their internal structures and external relationships? And, of course, the question: what historical changes have occurred in these various organizational patterns?

Neither of these two types of *who* questions has received more than scant research attention. The personnel side of the problem has perhaps been best explored by Leo Rosten in his *Washington Correspondents* and *Hollywood: The Movie Colony, The Movie Makers*. [50, 51]. Much more impressionistic has been the effort of the anthropologist, Hortense Powdermaker in her *Hollywood: The Dream Factory*. [47]. Hollywood represents perhaps an extreme case in the social tension that one finds in communication enterprises. Thus witness the popular stereotype of Hollywood as a frenzied, schizoid community peopled by alienated, but avaricious, neurotics whose constant fear of failure and gnawing sense of self-hate are almost, but not quite, assuaged by their possession of an inordinate number of pink Cadillacs. Like all caricatures, this one is over-simplified and over-drawn yet apparently not without support in fact. These writers, together with such astute literary students of the mass communications world as James T. Farrell, [16] have suggested that one major source of personal discontent and "alienation" among mass media personnel stems from the need to bureaucratize and thus depersonalize creative effort. The result is a divorce of creative workers from control over and identification with the end products of their work. We use the term bureaucratize with hesitation—for considerable productive activity in the motion picture and other mass media remains unratinalized.

These sociological observations about "alienation" applied to the world of mass aesthetics are perhaps not unsound, but the proportion of persons for whom they have genuine relevance appears rather minute when one realizes that the overwhelming bulk of mass media

personnel are businessmen, managers, technicians, and appealing profiles—not artists. Furthermore, as Professor Paul Lazarsfeld has noted, we perhaps err if we assume that inevitably the essence of creativeness is lost in organized, group effort. We need merely recall the corps of assistants who worked with Michelangelo and Rubens or the monuments to collective artistic creativity that are the cathedrals of Chartres, Milan, and Sainte Chapelle.

The significant point, perhaps, is not that artistic and ideational work has been collectivized for the first time in human experience, but that it has been more extensively collectivized and on a scale never before possible. The completeness of group effort is exaggerated by the pressure to create rapidly and under deadlines. In the setting of such massive and complex organizations as many of today's mass media industries, it is not difficult for the individual worker—whether artist or not—to lose or otherwise abnegate his sense of personal responsibility for the quality of the work eventually produced. That such work may ultimately be born the child of a long series of compromises with expediency, a creative effort without, in a sense, accountable creators, has been vividly and carefully documented by Lillian Ross in her fascinating account of the filming of Stephen Crane's classic, *The Red Badge of Courage*, which was published under the title *Picture*. [49].

Studies such as those by Rosten and Powdernaker have been singularly few in number, and, suggestive as these few are, they have but skimmed the surface of a significant area which students of mass communications have almost wholly ignored in favour of investigations into such matters as the content, audiences, and potential impact of the mass media. This research approach diverges from the strategy which has characterized scholarly explorations into other significant areas of social life. It would be analogous if the industrial sociologists had begun by studying the products and the characteristics and satisfactions of consumers rather than the social structure of industrial plants, and the relationships and communication flows among plant personnel, etc.

If there have, therefore, been few studies of mass communications personnel, there have been only a few more inquiries into the structure and processes of decision-making within the mass media industries. These studies have been primarily undertaken by foundations, universities, and in a few notable cases by governmental agencies. Foremost among these in the United States have been studies conducted under the aegis of a quasi-public sponsor, the Commission on Freedom of the Press. It should be noted that the principal financial supporter of this Commission was Henry Luce, head of a vast news empire which publishes, among other periodicals, *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*. The work of the Commission included two thorough and

conscientious historical surveys of the radio and motion picture industries, Llewelyn White's *The American Radio*, [56] and Ruth Inglis' *Freedom of the Movies*, [22] and a comprehensive review by Zechariah Chafee of the role of government in the mass media process. [13]. Other outstanding descriptive historical studies of the structure of mass communications industries include Herbert Brucker's *Freedom of Information* (newspapers) [11] and William Miller's *The Book Industry*. [41]. An adequate overview of the control components of the mass media industries in the United States is contained in the brief summing-up statement of the Commission on Freedom of the Press: *A Free and Responsible Press*. [15].

Control patterns in the newspaper field have been most carefully documented by the research of Raymond B. Nixon, Professor of Journalism at the University of Minnesota. [90, 91]. Most notable among government-sponsored studies was that conducted into the organizational patterns of the radio industry by the Federal Communications Commission, prior to the issuance by that regulatory agency of its little-enforced Chain Broadcasting Regulations against monopoly practices. [68]. In Britain, the organization of the press has been described in a monograph by the Political and Economic Planning Groups. [45].

The central findings emerging from these inquiries into mass communications control structures have been consonant: each has documented the drift of the major media toward increasing centralization in their decision-making processes, but none has suggested that complete monopolistic control appears to be the destiny of any of the mass communication industries. The evolving pattern is, rather, that which appears to obtain in many other areas of mass production in modern capitalist societies: oligopoly—the control of the respective industries by a few very large units. That a degree of competition has characterized the relations among these organizational giants cannot be denied. This is to some extent enhanced by the fact that the audience can choose between the various media. Equally apparent, however, is the fact that these large producers of mass communications have often collaborated and co-operated with each other in generally successful efforts to fend off attempts by other, supposedly countervailing power groups (such as the government, the churches, and other public or private interest organizations) to effectively influence decisions regarding the structure and content of the mass media. [10, 66].

Analysis of these and similar studies, however, does not appear to warrant the usual, stereotyped conclusions regarding the consequences of this drift toward power concentrations. For the United States, there is some evidence, in fact, that the larger and more all-embracing these industries, the more they come to resemble public institutions, and the more sensitive they grow to the shifting imperatives of public

opinion, public relations, and public responsibility. The mass media have developed, of course, codes of performance to protect themselves from public pressure against extreme excesses. These codes have tended to be negative in outlook and to be oblivious to the needs of specialized audiences. It has, furthermore, been plausibly suggested that the fewer the units of mass communication, the less are they susceptible to the dictates of "outside" vested interest groups. Thus, it is argued, for example, that publishers in one-newspaper communities are relatively immune to the pressures of advertisers, inasmuch as the latter have no recourse to the threat of taking their business elsewhere.

To make these observations is not to suggest, however, that where mass media are operated as business enterprises, a community of interest with other business enterprises fails to operate. Nor is it to argue that the mass communicators' apparently growing consciousness of the supposed mental states of the public means that the control of the mass media is inevitably becoming more responsible. The meaning of public opinion and public responsibility may be read and interpreted in sundry ways. Recourse to the dictates of public taste and opinion may quite conceivably mean little more than misuse of opinion poll data to justify existing wants, rather than to develop new and more enlightened interests. Furthermore, an easy reliance on the amorphous and often ambiguous desires of the audience may simply reinforce those pressures and opportunities for the abdication of personal accountability which, as we have already noted, inhere in large, complex organizations.

Communication Content

Of the four facets of Harold Lasswell's question, the one for which answers are most readily available and manifestly apparent, concerns the *what* of mass communication. The symbols and the message are (by definition) printed, filmed, broad- and tele-cast for mass audiences, for everybody, to consume. And however little informed we may be about control structures, audience profiles, or subtleties of influence and persuasion, we are all—willing or unwilling, sophisticated or unsophisticated—students of mass communications content.

If the patent availability of mass communications has stimulated research in the *what* dimension, empirical efforts have been characterized—especially among American social scientists—by recognition that the analysis of communication content was readily amenable to quantitative treatment. Standard references on content analysis are Bernard Berelson's *Content Analysis in Communication Research* [8] and *The Language of Politics* by Harold Lasswell and Nathan Leites. [31].

Accordingly, content analysis measurement has been conscientiously applied to all manner of content categories, including the kinds of settings, characters, and slow resolution of life problems in daytime radio serials ("soap-operas"); the number and tone of newspaper and periodical references to such topics as the U. S. Neutrality Act of 1939, the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, labour unions, Communists, and the "cold war"; the kind and number of occasions in which American movies adapted from best-selling novels have diverged from their fictional texts; the kinds and number of Negro, Jewish, and Irish jokes contained in popular anthologies; the nationalities of heroes and villains in periodical fiction and in comic strips; the occupations of make-believe and of real-life heroes in popular magazines; or the number of movies in which the marital state is actually portrayed versus the number in which it is merely suggested at the film's end, presumably as a blissful, but nonetheless uneventful denouement to the romantic chase, unworthy of dramatization; and so forth. [26, 45, 61, 62].

Almost all of these studies have been accomplished with attention to technical detail and with a determination to achieve objectivity. And many of them have supplied fairly definitive answers to pressing or interesting questions-of-the-day (e.g. "Is there more violence in TV programmes aimed at children than in those aimed at adults?"; "In terms of their political coverage, do American newspapers in fact constitute a 'one-party press'?"). A few have charted and offered insight and substantiation to the shifting patterns of social mores; e.g., changes in the treatment of divorce in American novels. [74]. Fewer still have presumably documented how changes in media content have reflected larger changes in the ethos of whole societies; e.g., the increasingly frequent suggestion in German films of the 1920's that man must choose between authority and chaos [28]; the marked shift in the subjects of biographies in American magazines between 1900 and 1940 from "idols of production" to "idols of consumption". [86].

However, in evaluating these researches it appears that the vast majority of content analyses have illuminated at best specific social problems. Few of them have contained or suggested significant implications for the building of mass communications theory. The major reasons for their limited sociological utility appear to involve two quite dissimilar issues.

There is, first, the simple but basic question: what does the content of mass communications mainly reflect—the characteristics of the mass audience, what the communicators think are the mass audience characteristics, or merely the characteristics and intentions of the communicators? Undoubtedly, the contents of most mass communications reflect all three of these elements. But this is not a pro-

found observation since it leaves unresolved the task of separating out the relative importance of each element. Unless we can arrive at some sort of tenable, working answers to this question (and the answers may well be different for different media, for different societies, for different historical periods, etc.), the significance and validity of content analysis—however high their reliability—must remain decidedly questionable.

The second question involves the ever present problem of all sociological research efforts : can we formulate, conduct, and analyze our research so that it attains both statistical and sociological significance ? It is possible to count, with considerable accuracy, the space and time devoted to various types of content and to construct indices of different content characteristics such as balance, consistency, style, thematic emphasis and the like. But to conceptualize what these counts mean, what they tell us about the antecedent or the consequent behaviour and values of men, is a far less simple task.

Interestingly enough, some of the content analyses which have most provoked our thought and enlarged our understanding have been those in which the students were not primarily concerned (or even took certain liberties with) the more technical and quantitative aspects of their empirical operations. These are studies in which the insightful interpretation of selected and limited data has taken precedence over scrupulously careful tabulations and statistical precision. One thinks, for example, of two of the suggestive and exciting communications content studies: Wolfenstein and Leites' *Movies: A Psychological Study* (a strongly psychoanalytic analysis and comparison of the characters and plots in recent British, French and American motion pictures); and Lowenthal and Guterman's *Prophets of Deceit* (an analysis of the key themes and propaganda techniques of several rightist American agitators in the 1930's and 1940's). [39, 58].

Nonetheless, by juxtaposing both streams of endeavour in the content analysis field—the quantitative and the qualitative—several broad generalizations of some theoretical relevance may be made about the content of mass communications. First, what is communicated by the mass media is a highly select and non-representative sample of all that is available for communication. And, likewise, what content is effectively received and consumed by the potential audience is a highly selective and perhaps non-representative sample of all that is communicated. Communications content, *per se*, therefore, neither conveys the variety and complexity of life, nor reflects the subtleties and realities that result from exposure. Second, as gauged by content, emphasis is paid not only to highly selective segments of human experience, it is also paid with patterned unevenness. Considerably more of communications content is entertaining than informative ; it is more of the sort which distracts and diverts attention, and less of

the quality which stimulates consideration of central social and personal problems and tasks of living. Most communications content encourages day-dreams or nightmares rather than the sober perception of life, whole and complex. There is, in sum, a disparity between the content of mass communications and the content of human existence. Yet notwithstanding this demonstrable differential, there remains in the mass media a quantity of the sober and serious, the educational and informational so considerable that it has served, in the view of some students, mainly to confound and confuse rather than to educate and inform the vast majority of the mass audience. Thirdly, because its intended audience is the largest possible number, most mass communication is simple in form and uncomplicated in content. In their desire to be understood by all, or, at least, by the overwhelming majority, of their audiences, mass communicators have tended to eschew the subtle, intricate presentations, the meanings of which may be unclear or misinterpreted.

Perhaps one of the most interesting recent developments in content analysis is the effort of the social scientist to join hands with the literary critic in an appraisal of the contents of the mass media. In this new effort, the traditional inclination of scholars and intellectuals to deplore flatly the lowering of standards by the mass media is giving way to a more differentiated and sober evaluation of the positive and negative functions of mass themes. [48].

Communication Audiences

The injunction to "know thyself" has been rephrased by the mass communicator operator into a persistent dictate to "know them". The "them" refers, of course, to the mass, the audience, the intended or actual recipients of mass communications. The relative dearth of *who* (organization and personnel) answers cannot really be compensated for by the almost inundating quantity of *whom* (audience) studies. Nevertheless, efforts of the mass media to discern the numbers, the gross characteristics and preferences of their audiences have been constant and extensive. [55]. In the United States, Handel has sought to summarize movie audience research in a volume entitled *Hollywood Looks at its Audience*, [18], and Bogart has done the same for television in *The Age of Television*. [9]. UNESCO has taken steps to compile basic data on audiences for the mass media throughout the world. [54].

The initial and primary audience research interest of the mass communicators has been to measure the sheer size and numbers of their listeners or viewers or readers. Because they have lacked "built-in" or automatic measures of consumption (such as ticket, newsstand or subscription sales), broadcasters and telecasters have been especially eager sponsors of audience studies. The development of audience

research has not been limited to the United States, where radio and television incomes derive wholly from commercial advertisers interested mainly in expanding consumer goods markets and building "good will". Even where radio is under government operation as in Great Britain and West Germany, audience research is required to justify public budgets or to plan programmes.

"How many people are listening and watching?"—this has been the big and persistent question which most audience research has sought to answer. For the most part, current knowledge of mass audiences is knowledge about size and about basic social characteristics (e.g., age, sex, and educational level).

The more quantitative findings may be briefly summarized. Although by no means typical of most societies, American audiences perhaps reflect the drift of audience formation in all societies increasingly blanketed by the mass media and for those conditions under which the audience has some power to choose between alternative offerings. In the United States: more than fifty per cent. of the population attends the movies at least once every two weeks; more than sixty per cent. read one or more magazines regularly; more than eighty-five per cent. read one or more newspapers regularly; and more than eighty per cent. listen to the radio and/or view television four hours or more every day. In more than ninety per cent. of American homes you will find at least one radio and at least one daily newspaper; there are television sets in almost eighty per cent. of the homes. The number of comic books sold each month exceeds the number of children in the country. The number of paper-cover books distributed each year is more than double the total national population. Clearly, the term "*mass audience*" is no misnomer.

Research further indicates that exposure to mass communications tends to be cumulative. Therefore, the different media do not so much compete as re-enforce one another. Lazarsfeld and Kendall concluded from their audience research that (a) a radio fan is likely to be a movie fan and (b) almost every book reader is also a magazine reader, and (c) a link exists between the printed media and the spectator media (radio and movie) in that individuals who read no magazines are likely to be light listeners and rare moviegoers. [34].

Despite the mass and therefore, fairly representative popular base of all media, studies have indicated that discernible (although not marked) exposure differences are related to certain broad social characteristics. Thus, for example, both males and the better educated tend, in general, to expose themselves somewhat more to printed media (newspapers, magazines, books) than do females and less educated—who seem rather to prefer the so-called spectator media (radio, movie, television); and younger people (persons under 35) constitute the considerable bulk of the motion picture audience.

We know, too, that as the content of the media change, so do their audiences. As newspapers have transformed themselves from essentially political journals to purveyors of a more varied potpourri of news, entertainment, education and human interest, their readership ranks have broadened to become more representative of the whole population. As television has captured from radio large segments of what was but a few years ago the most cross-sectional of all media audiences, more selective consumer groups have been attracted to the new increasingly specialized radio programme output. Despite these widely inclusive, if somewhat shifting, audiences, not everyone in American society is a fan, a devotee, or a regular consumer of mass communications. The non-audience, or rather, low exposure group, apparently included a slightly disproportionate number of persons at the two extremes of the intelligence-quotient continuum: both the illiterate and the very literate.

Despite the plethora of surveys, we do not have basic sociological and social psychological data on audience structure required for a theory of communications. The structure of the mass media audience has been mainly investigated in terms of such general social structural variables as age, sex, occupation and education. Being so heterogeneous, mass audiences do not lend themselves to very meaningful investigations along these traditional lines. The need, it would seem, is for more analytic variables which would encompass social mobility, patterns of consumption, intellectual orientations and the like. Even more fundamental, there is need for a bold approach which would distinguish the mass media habits of the public at large from those of specialized professional groups and elite strata. The study of Ithiel deSola Pool, et al., on American business leaders' exposure to international communications is an example in this direction. [93].

By investigation of social psychological predispositions of the media audiences, further contributions are likely to result. Walter Lippmann's classic book *Public Opinion*, in which he coined the term "stereotype", still remains a basic point of departure. [37]. Already important work has been completed on the symbolic and subjective meanings various audiences attached to particular media systems and to particular types of programmes. Arnheim, and Warner and Henry have completed research on the motives involved among women seeking out daytime radio dramas. [60, 101]. By analyzing the public's reaction in a New York City newspaper strike, Berelson was able to probe "What the Missing Newspaper Means," from the point of view of the audience's social and personal needs. [64]. Lazarsfeld and Kendall turned up important findings on the public imagery of the radio as a source of news and information. [34]. These studies—and many more of them are required—supply the context in which to evaluate the impact and consequences of the mass media. In recent

years, considerable interest has been shown by advertisers in the motive structures underlying exposure to various types of advertisements. The term *motivation research* has been loosely used to refer to studies seeking to understand the social psychology of exposure to advertisements. A popular account of these recent developments is contained in a book by Vance Packard entitled *The Hidden Persuaders*. [42].

Communication Effects

The sociological relevance of mass communication research rests with the knowledge that can be accumulated about communications effects. Popular aspirations still colour our thinking on what are the potentials for the mass media. The proliferation of the mass media in the first decades of the 20th century rekindled for many the hope that modern society, however large and complicated and urbanized, would yet fulfill the democratic promise to which many 19th century thinkers had confidently subscribed. Those technological developments which had made the Western world into an industrial complex had also made possible mass communication. And it was in the mass media that hopeful leaders saw a new opportunity for mass education and for the elevation of men's minds everywhere. However, because of the economic dislocations of the nineteen twenties, the mass political movements of the thirties, and the wars of the forties, these aspirations seemed confounded. The mass media were assigned their burden of the blame of social disruption. Now they were seen mainly as powerful instrumentalities by which men's minds and spirits might be trivialized, corrupted, propagandized, and demeaned. And thus it was the concern with the effect, the impact, and the influence of mass communications that generated great hopes and equally great fears.

Social research addressed specifically to this most difficult problematic area of mass communications study has, time and again, arrived at one general finding which overshadows all others. It has claimed that neither our hopes nor our fears about the persuasively potent influence of the mass media were well-founded. The almost constant refrain of research on specific communications effects is this: the effects are limited and even negligible. In fact, the findings of social research are so at variance with the observations of journalists and mass communications personnel as to raise the question whether the results are the product of the piecemeal and short time span involved in the research approach.

Nevertheless, two general sociological observations can be made which give meaning to and help organize the individual pieces of research which underline the limited influence of the mass media. First,

the vast majority of the mass communications appears to have little content directed toward challenging existing normative patterns, encouraging critical thought, or stimulating individual or collective action disruptive to the more or less orderly flow of existent social processes. In democratic societies, most mass communicators are linked with other large corporate managers and entrepreneurs in a community of interest dedicated, in the last analysis, to the maintenance of stability and order. The point that mass media are oriented to maintaining the status quo is even more applicable to societies characterized by a one-party mass communications organization. Only during revolutionary situations, war or periods of great stress, do the mass media reflect more controversial and more change oriented content.

Second, and of equal, if not greater, importance is the observation that the ultimate censor of all mass communications is the receiver himself. All of the major types of effects research—laboratory (and quasi-laboratory) experiments such as those of Hovland and his associates, [20, 21] interview surveys such as those of Lazarsfeld and his associates on voting behaviour, and intensive case studies such as those of Shils and Janowitz on the cohesion of the Wehrmacht [97] and Star and Hughes on mass adult education [93]—have suggested that no less crucial in the communications process than the intent and design of the communicator is the nature of receptivity of the audience. The amount of individual or group learning and impact, these studies have indicated, is proportional to the kind and degree of attention and to the kind and degree of motivation and social need which compels attention. [40]. The motivational factor, in turn, is mainly a function of the person's position in the social structure. In particular, the orientation of the primary group in which the person finds himself will act as a powerful resistor and interpreter of outside messages. Exposure and absorption are highly selective processes. People tend to read and listen to and watch those kinds of content which support their already-held attitudes, values and interests. And when exposed to complications contradictory to their beliefs, consumers are prone to ignore or misunderstand or misinterpret the alien and disturbing messages. This is neatly demonstrated in the Jahoda and Cooper study on resistance to tolerance propaganda among prejudiced persons. [72]. They may even draw conclusions which are quite opposite to those intended by the communicator, thus producing what has been labelled "the boomerang effect".

None of this is to deny Klapper's statement : "Thousands of (laboratory) experiments have established beyond reasonable doubt that persuasion can be achieved by the planned, or even unplanned, presentation of appropriate content through mass media." It should be added that most studies which have produced "positive" findings

have, indeed, been experiments, and thus inevitably rather contrived and artificial in nature. [27]. Thus, we are reasonably sure, for example, that different media have different advantages and disadvantages insofar as the temporal and psychological consequences of their modes of transmission are concerned (the permanence of print, the speed of radio, the imagery of movies and television); that better-educated people are more effectively persuaded by communications which appear to present both sides of a controversial issue, while the less well-educated are more influenced by communications that employ one-sided, supported arguments only; that the presumed credibility of the communicator markedly affects the immediate receptiveness of consumers, although with the passage of time, a "forgetting curve" appears to operate, and people often remember what was said without remembering who said it ("the sleeper effect"), that exposure is more effective (a) when it is cumulative, (b) when it seeks either to reinforce rather than convert existing attitudes or to "canalize" existing needs rather than to create new needs, (c) when it seeks to alter peripheral rather than central behaviour patterns, and of course (d) when its position is monopolistic, when no contradictory or competing ideas are available. [20, 21, 69, 73]. But the social scientist is still concerned to seek out the limiting conditions under which these hypotheses no longer hold true. A more comprehensive approach to the effect of a single medium on a particular social group is the study of *Television and the Child* by Hilde T. Himmelweit; by means of extensive probing of comparative samples of television and non-television consumers important inferences could be drawn about which children were influenced. [19].

None of these nor comparable research-supported propositions, however, negate the basic finding that human values and behaviour are primarily conditioned by the sociological imperatives inhering in the immediate-contact relationships of the family, the community, and the job—all of which provide the individual with built-in resistances to mass communications which are inconsistent with his "primary" interests. By focusing on these primary group influences, the conditions under which the mass media have greater impact begin to emerge. Thus, Janowitz and Marwick in their analysis of the influence of the mass media in the 1952 United States presidential campaign confirm that persons in primary groups—family and work—subject to uniform political outlooks, were hardly reachable by the mass media. [73, 81]. However, persons under conflicting primary group political pressures oriented themselves to the mass media and to a greater extent had their political behaviour moulded by the mass media. In crisis situations, the breakdown of social norms may increase the potential impact of this mass media. [12]. Likewise, increasing research attention has lately been paid to the role of opinion leaders and other elites in the communications process. [25]. The suggestion is

that mass communications have their major effect via a two-step flow from the communicators to the opinion elites and only then to the mass public. [74]. But to delineate this process is not to demonstrate that the mass media are, after all, prime movers in modern societies. It seems highly tenable, in fact, that the elite audience is no less self-selective and is considerably more critical and sophisticated than the mass audience. Opinion leadership studies have mainly emphasized that stratified arrangements of power and influence operate in moulding opinion, and that the *mass audience*—in the sense of millions of persons who are only addressed directly via the mass media and not simultaneously approached indirectly through their formal and informal leaders—is an over-simplification.

For the most part, it has been the practicing symbol specialists, the essayists, the speculative psychiatrists, the moral philosophers, and the offended intellectuals—not the social scientists trying to engage in relevant research—who have clung doggedly to the notion that a kind of omnipotence inheres in the mass media. While we cannot dismiss their frequently impassioned and persuasive arguments as invalid, we can and must state that, to date at least, they are little supported by empirical evidence. Nor are they confirmed by recourse to historical perspective: to argue, for example, that widespread passive exposure to the mass media reduces individual critical capacity and paves the way for the “engineering of consent” and the narcoticizing of human mentalities is to assume that men were, at some earlier, happier (and more nebulous) time, the thoughtful moulders and masters of their individual destinies.

Nevertheless, these sources have posed questions of relevance for the social researcher into the processes of mass communications. Sociologists particularly of the more theoretical bent are more and more prone to restate the problem of understanding mass communications effects as not involving the study of specific reactions to mass communications. Rather, they argue that the study of the mass media needs to be seen as part of the ongoing processes of social control, and to understand these processes, contemporary research procedures are too narrow and too specific. In the writings of Talcott Parsons [92], Karl Deutsch [17] and Louis Wirth [102], these issues are raised. Alternatively in Merton's examination of the field of mass communications as it is related to the sociology of knowledge, similar issues are treated. [88]. To analyze mass communications as a sociological mechanism requires concern with the totality of the processes of communication. It requires an understanding of the structure and functioning of particular mass communication systems, not merely to audience reactions.

Janowitz in his *Community Press in an Urban Setting*, which investigates the social consequences of the Chicago weekly press, seeks to

bring into one study the historical development, ownership and control, the social role of the publisher, the image of the community as reflected by the content of the press, the functions of the local press for its readers and its impact on the readers. [24]. "The basic orientations of this research view the urban community press as one of the social mechanisms through which the individual is integrated into the urban social structure." In the wider society, the images of class, status and power that any country holds of itself and of others are to a considerable extent defined by the continuing flow of communications. We are concerned less with the audience reaction to a specific message and more with the definition of the situation that the mass media creates. The mass media define the political issues of the day. For example, in an election, it is the ability of the mass media to characterize the alternatives for which the candidates stand that is so important; or in the area of international relations, the ability of the executive to operate and implement its policies is limited by the images of foreign events that the mass media create.

Interestingly enough, the efforts of social scientists to understand the role of mass communications in the Nazi movement and under National Socialism have led to empirically oriented writings in which the mass communications process is analyzed systematically as part of the processes of social control. Among the important contributors have been Lasswell [83, 84], Kris and Leites [80] and Kecskemeti. [77]. Alex Inkeles' analysis of *Public Opinion in the Soviet Union* is an example of a sociologist seeking to understand the institutional consequences of the mass communications system on an entire social order. [23]. Daniel Lerner in *The Passing of Traditional Society* seeks to investigate the importance of the mass media in "new nations" seeking to modernize themselves. [38].

To the degree that the mass communications process is seen as a process of social control in its broadest sense, to that degree will the sociology of mass communication contribute to our general understanding of contemporary society. Research instruments and research design for answering these questions, contrary to the faith of some hopeful empirical plodders, are complex and challenging and perhaps even beyond our grasp. But this much seems pretty well established: mass media research has destroyed many of the stereotyped notions about the power of mass communications and, concomitantly, the nature of so-called mass society. It has—like much other contemporary research into modern social organization—rediscovered and reaffirmed the persistence of traditional sociological forms of association, influence and power.

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ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

MARK ABRAMS (Research Services Ltd.)

THE MASS MEDIA AND SOCIAL CLASS IN GREAT BRITAIN

At mid-1958 there were slightly over 32 million adults aged 25 and over in Great Britain. Of these, one million (or 3 per cent of the total) could be considered as forming a socio-educational elite in that they had received full-time education to the age of 19 or later, and in that they currently held senior posts in business and industry, government, the professions and the "communication" industries. In some of the occupations—particularly the professions—they hold a majority of the senior posts, but in others—particularly industry and business—they constitute only a minority. In all, they form only 20 per cent of all adults conventionally described as middle class in Great Britain.

In analyzing the results of a random sample of 13,620 adults throughout the country, we tested the hypothesis that this socio-educational elite has a very different pattern of mass media consumption from that exhibited by the general public—i.e., from those adults whose full-time education had finished before reaching the age of 19, and who currently are either manual workers or else employed in the subordinate ranks of white-collar workers.

The analysis showed that there are two national daily newspapers—the *Times* and the *Guardian*—which have practically no readers among the mass public, but which are read by fair-sized minorities of the elite; however, among the elite, these two papers reach many fewer people than do some of the mass circulation papers, e.g., the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mail*; even the tabloids—the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Sketch*—are read by large numbers of the socio-educational elite. If one has to choose the distinctive daily newspaper of this group, it would be the *Daily Telegraph*.

Again, with the Sunday newspapers, the position is similar; there are two papers—the *Sunday Times* and *The Observer*—which have practically no readers among the mass public, but which are read by substantial minorities of the elite; but again, neither of these distinctive elite papers has as many elite readers as one of the mass

circulation papers—the *Sunday Express*—and fair-sized minorities of the elite read many of the papers which are essentially dramatic and "human interest" in their appeal—e.g., the *Sunday Pictorial*, the *News of the World*, and *The People*. Here if we are to designate the distinctive newspaper appealing to the British elite, it would be the *Sunday Express*.

It is highly probable that as far as newspaper reading is concerned, one can subdivide the total socio-educational elite of one million adults: the 300,000 (i.e. less than 1 per cent of all British adults) who are in middle-class occupations, have received formal education beyond their nineteenth birthday, read either the *Times* and/or the *Guardian* as their daily newspaper, and the *Sunday Times* and/or *The Observer* as their Sunday papers. They are flanked and greatly outnumbered by the 700,000 who have received the same level of education and currently enjoy the same incomes but prefer either the daily and Sunday newspapers with circulations well over the million mark and with readers in all classes.

When we turn to television, it is clear that the million adults in the socio-educational elite have been more conservative than the mass public—a much lower proportion has sets, and of those with sets, less than two-thirds are able to watch the programmes of commercial television. And even when they can, they prefer B.B.C. programmes. The general public has turned much more readily to the new media and its preference overwhelmingly is for the sort of programmes transmitted from the commercial stations. Here there seems to be a measurable—but not utterly drastic—difference between the two socio-educational extremes. After all, 20 per cent of the elite watch ITV programmes fairly regularly (as compared with 40 per cent of the mass public). This 20 per cent of the elite is apparently particularly attracted by the Westerns, quiz contests, and news-documentary programmes of commercial television.

In the cinema, the socio-educational elite is largely, as a result of its conservative unwillingness to abandon the cinema, perhaps closest to the mass public in its tastes and habits.

The general conclusion seems to be that the British socio-educational elite (as here defined) has mass media consumption habits which are not too remote from those of the mass public; to find any sharply differentiated minority, it is necessary to add to the traits already indicated—education and class—the further limitation of a preference for the *Times* and the *Guardian*. These reduce the elite to no more than 300,000 adults.

Between the larger elite of one million and the general public, there is a substantial bridge of nearly four million middle-class adults whose education ended before their nineteenth birthday; their mass media tastes tend to approximate to both those of the mass public and to the majority of the socio-educational elite which shuns the *Times* and the *Guardian*.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL (USA)

THE VALUE-INSTITUTION ANALYSIS OF MASS COMMUNICATION

The purpose of this paper is to relate the study of mass media to a comprehensive and dynamic theory of social interaction. A brief model of the social process postulates that all participants strive to maximize value outcomes through institutional practices relatively specialized to each value outcome and to resource management. Mass media are not values but institutions; and what are conventionally called mass media in any specific context are not necessarily so classified in the theoretical model. Continuing research surveys are needed to discover the total involvement of mass media at given times and places with value shaping and

sharing. Available research is scanned in order to bring out limitations and opportunities. Eight major value-institution categories are employed: wealth, power, well-being, skill, rectitude, affection, respect, enlightenment. Value analyses are indicated of media controllers, base values, strategies, outcomes and effects. Cyclical and structural changes are distinguished, and formal propositions stated concerning change. Attention is directed to the distribution of factors that comprise indulgence-deprivation systems, and technological systems. Trends in mass communications are reviewed and research policies outlined.

GERHARD MALETZKE (Hamburg University)

RESEARCH ON TELEVISION AND GERMAN YOUTH

The study conducted by the Hans-Bredow-Institut at Hamburg University dedicated itself exclusively to sociological and social psychological problems. Its aim was to investigate by empirical research the significance and importance of television for German youth of today. A thoroughbred case study with Hamburg juveniles aged 15-20 years was to clear up the following points:

1. The place television held among all the leisure activities of the youth,
2. Situation, behavior and habits of adolescents as well as their families in viewing television,
3. Opinions and attitudes of adolescents with regard to television as a modern mass medium influencing the life of today,
4. Interests and preferences of the adolescents which determine their selection of television programs.

Although the study has stressed the qualitative methods there was tried to draw a representative sample and to quantify the qualitative material as far as possible. Three methods have chiefly been applied, viz.:

1. Detailed depth interviews with adolescents concerning their leisure time activities, their program preferences, their viewing behavior and habits and their opinions and attitudes towards television,
2. Projective tests included in the depth interview (picture projections and sentence completions),
3. Group discussions after viewing.

RESULTS

1. Normally the adolescents watch television only half as often as adults (about 7 to 8 hours weekly) and select the program more carefully. The widespread opinion that adolescents in television families are in front of the set for hours without selecting the program and thereby neglect all other leisure-time activities apparently does not prove right in regard to the adolescents aged 15-20. This opinion applies rather to children and adults than to adolescents. To a great extent this fact is due to the psychological pattern of this age.
2. Radio listening is cut down severely by viewers. The influence of television can be recognized clearly. Hardly any difference can be noticed between viewers and nonviewers in respect of newspaper and book reading. Also concerning hobbies little differences can be found. Without any doubt viewers are more interested in politics than nonviewers.
3. The factors "education" and "social status" turned out to be especially powerful and effective in conduct and attitudes. In general adolescents with a higher educational and social status are better prepared to fit television into their daily leisure time without drastic changes.
4. The factor viewer-nonviewer effects also differences in many respects, but on the whole it is not as decisive as often supposed.

The results show how adolescents judge the influence of television in family life, furthermore different types of viewers and nonviewers, what programs they like or dislike and which factors influence the viewing habits.

OLEG MANDIĆ (Université de Zagreb)

QUELQUES VUES MÉTHODOLOGIQUES EN MATIÈRE DE COMMUNICATION DES MASSES

Les moyens de communication des masses et les phénomènes sociaux qu'ils servent à produire et exprimer chez les membres d'une société concrète, sont des faits sociaux engendrés et déterminés par des autres faits sociaux: les opinions, les idées, les symboles et les croyances ne s'épanouissent pas spontanément, mais sous la pression de nécessités sociales qu'on doit constater, relever et déterminer.

L'heuristique dans la sociologie doit tenir compte de ces interactions entre les faits sociaux appartenant à diverses catégories. Chaque événement social est un résultat de l'activité multiforme d'un nombre majeur ou mineur de ces causes, qui se manifestent en des combinaisons différentes selon la nature du fait social en question, avec la prédominance plus ou moins forte du facteur économique.

C'est la raison pour laquelle augmente l'importance de l'aspect génétique ou analytique de l'heuristique. La génétique pose la question comment naissent les divers faits sociaux et de l'importance qu'ont eu dans leur origine les facteurs qui n'appartiennent point à la catégorie dont s'occupe cette science particulière. La génétique cherche donc à déterminer les sources de ces phénomènes particuliers en spécifiant leur diversité et leur appartenance aux autres domaines des sciences sociales.

L'analyse de la formation des langues montre qu'une langue nationale peut se former sous l'influence des facteurs économiques, politiques et cultureaux, entre lesquels les facteurs économiques ont la prépondérance.

De ces faits suit la conclusion qu'on ne peut pas connaître et expliquer l'extension et l'importance des moyens de communication des masses et de leurs composants sans avoir recours à tous les phénomènes sociaux, aucun excepté, qui ont contribué à leur formation et propagation.

PAUL NEURATH (Queen's College, Flushing, USA.)

THE USE OF RADIO FARM FORUM IN VILLAGE ADULT EDUCATION IN INDIA

The Government of India is undertaking enormous efforts to raise the standard of living, both in regard to material goods and in regard to general organization, in the villages of India. One of the great difficulties encountered thereby is the fact that large scale illiteracy prevents the use of cheap pamphlets through which to spread new methods of agriculture, personal and community hygiene, organization, etc. But this very same illiteracy prevents the large scale training of teachers who could spread the new methods through the spoken word.

Attempts have been made to carry on the spreading of new methods through radio, usually in the form that villages were encouraged to buy or were given a radio set (usually battery operated), through which to listen to special rural broadcasts. The success was limited, the villagers would not listen regularly, or would listen to other than the rural broadcasts.

In 1956 UNESCO and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, jointly sponsored a major experiment with the following method: Small listener groups (of 20 members each) were organized in 150 villages (in the

Marathi speaking part of Bombay State) who listened together regularly twice per week to a series of 20 special broadcasts, then stayed together for a discussion of what they had heard.

The experiment was evaluated through a survey carried out in 20 of these 150 villages and a group of 20 control villages, through the Research Division of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Bombay. The survey was headed by Dr. A. M. Lorenzo of that Faculty and by Dr. Paul Neurath, later on by Dr. Neurath alone.

The present paper sets forth the problems out of which the experiment arose; the attitude of the villagers towards the experiment (extremely favorable, with extremely regular participation by all members); the adequacy of this method as a means of transmitting knowledge (very adequate, the members learned an impressive amount of new facts, as established through lengthy interviews before and after the series of broadcasts); the impact that the broadcasts had on the villages (they undertook immediately and planned for the near future a great deal of improvements); and the impact that the whole program had on the village as a whole; together with what appears to be the prospect for the future, when these organizations will be established in all of India.

After the great success of the first experiment, Radio Farm Forum was made permanent for that particular area already during 1956. By late 1957 two more states, Bihar and Madras, had introduced this form of adult education. By 1959 it was introduced in all the states of India.

Of interest to sociologists and research workers in the field of mass communication may be the role that the evaluation survey itself played in achieving this success. This, too, is discussed in the paper, the main point there being that the fact that the results were available in compact form, visible at a glance, was an aid in speeding up the decisions that had to be made in various government places to spread the new method of education into the various states.

ETHIEL DE SOLA POOL (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

INFLUENCE PROCESSES VS. THE ECONOMIC MAN: THE STUDY OF AMERICAN BUSINESS COMMUNICATION ON FOREIGN TRADE

This is a report of a survey of American business executives on their sources of information about foreign trade policy and the ways in which they form attitudes upon it. The product which a manufacturer made and the corresponding self-interest of his firm had considerable significance in determining the attitude which he took. However, any interpretation based solely on self-interest would be most misleading. A number of communication factors were operating, for example what a man made was highly predictive of the attitude of businessmen who had not travelled extensively abroad. It was not predictive for those who had. Reading of foreign media was very rare. Indeed the relevant communication system was mostly an interpersonal one rather than a mass media one. That fact restricted knowledge of foreign business opportunities. The only written sources relied on extensively were standard prestige papers and business magazines. These limitations on sources of information were also limitations on those interests of which businessmen could be aware. They were often unsure themselves of what their economic interest was.

Further structural facts about their communication system affected which of the businessmen's views became politically effective. Businessmen communicated on business matters through business and not through community channels. They did not carry their particular business views into non-business roles. They were aware of only a limited number of possible ways of influencing government policy. They were aware of the possibility of contacting Congress much more than of use

of other channels. This particular favored channel was more advantageous for smaller and localized businesses. Thus business influence was only poorly correlated with political influence.

S. ROKKAN and PER TORSVIK

THE VOTER, THE READER AND THE PARTY PRESS: AN ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PREFERENCE AND NEWSPAPER READING IN NORWAY.

This paper grows out of a programme of electoral studies carried forward since 1957. It focuses on one major problem in the study of the political functions of the press in party systems divided along status lines: the contrast between the strength of the "lower stratum" parties at the polls and the dominance of the press of the "higher stratum" parties in the national readership.

In Norway the Labour party came close to a majority of the votes cast in the 1957 election but its press had less than a quarter of the circulation of newspapers in the country. This contrast sets the problem for analysis; why do so many citizens vote Labour without reading the party's press and why do so many read opposition newspapers and yet fail to vote for any of the parties behind these papers?

The paper focuses on the situations and the motivation of the "party loyal" vs. the "party indifferent" newspaper readers and discusses available evidence on three points:

(1) The choice between "community dominant" and partisan newspapers.

In most areas of the country the Labour party voter is faced with a choice between a dominant community paper opposed or indifferent to his party and a minority paper supporting his own politics. The Conservatives and the Liberals developed their press first and their papers took on a number of community service functions which made it possible for them to retain a broad readership even after the spectacular growth of the Labour party after World War I. For working class voters, most of them in one-paper households, the choice will therefore tend to be highly unequal: they will lose as community members by being loyal to the Labour party press. In the few communities where the Labour press is close to a dominance position, workers are not faced with such a dilemma: here the vote-circulation discrepancy is accordingly very small.

(2) The political content of the newspaper.

A content analysis of campaign editorials indicates marked differences between community dominant and minority newspapers in their treatment of politics; the more heterogeneous the readership the less the emphasis on ideological partisanship. This means that the worker choosing a community dominant paper instead of a Labour organ is not so likely to be heavily exposed to direct political appeals from this source.

(3) Differences in newspaper partisanship between the politically active or committed and the passive and apathetic.

An analysis of survey data indicates important differences in the *attention to the political content of the press*: Labour voters keeping non-socialist papers tend to disregard the political messages in these newspapers while the "party loyal" subscribers are much more concerned to keep politically informed. The "party indifferent" reader is accordingly doubly protected against messages from the non-socialist parties: (1) the

papers gives less emphasis to politics because of their heterogeneous readership and (2) the reader pays less attention to the politics of the paper than to their "community service" content. The Labour party press is read by the "active information seekers" among the party's voters, by those who feel the need to keep informed about developments and arguments affecting the party. It is only through such processes that it is possible for a party to maintain its hold on such large bodies of voters without reaching them through its press.

The paper, in conclusion, points to some implications for theory of political equilibria. There is an interesting two-way process of mutual restraints: on the one hand, a majority of the Socialist voters trust themselves to regular exposure to newspaper messages from the opposition parties, on the other hand the non-socialist papers, just because they so often dominate the local readership, are found to exercise much restraint in the expression of conflicting opinions and to give prominence to "community integrative" points of view.¹

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

MORRIS JANOWITZ¹ in his opening address voiced the opinion that the process of mass communication should be seen as the process of social control in its broadest sense, and that the analysis of mass communication as a sociological mechanism requires concern with the totality of the process of communication.

The interest of the participants in basic approaches in communication research, and especially in the relationship of communication research to a more total analysis of society seems to be indicative of the beginning of a new stage in the development of mass media research. JANOWITZ attempted a description of some of the basic trends by placing them in a larger perspective: The history of this research is characterized by a movement from a general interest in mass communication as part of a general study of society to a more specialized, professionalized, and delimited investigation of concrete problems. The process of studying mass communication was divided into a series of specific studies. At present, a reversal of this concern with subunits of the process of mass communication and a return—in a more sophisticated manner—to studying mass communication in the context of the larger social processes of social change can be observed. JANOWITZ indicated that the main concern no longer lies with specific sub-components of mass media, but again with a more holistic analysis of society. Content analysis has been employed as part of a more total analysis of society in numerous studies of the contents of mass media.

In audience research, the concern with sampling procedure which resulted in atomized individuals, has given way to efforts of creating a basis for studying audiences in their sociological context. Even psychologically-oriented studies in mass communication shifted from the pure response psychology to a concern with imagery.

Several speakers presented papers reflecting interest with a more holistic analysis of mass communication. LEO LOWENTHAL¹, who in his paper dealt with the historical background of the controversy of popular culture—is of the opinion that modern mass media research suffers under self-imposed restrictions, especially under the neglect of historical continuity in which the study of mass media should be located. ADORNO pointed at the distinction between critical research and administrative research. He sees a danger to the extent that administrative communication research remains within given conditions and does not study the function which communication might perform in society. OLEG MANDIC's paper on "Some Methodological Views in the Area of Mass Communication" was devoted exclusively to methodological issues in studying mass communication and society. CHARLES R. WRIGHT discussed in his paper some methodological and theoretical points concerning the application of functional analysis to mass communication.

Other participants discussed at some length specific empirical methodological problems in relationship to their studies. GERHARD MALETZKE⁴ and PAUL NEURATH⁵ gave a description of the methods and techniques which they employed in their respective studies. HILDE HIMMELWEIT⁶ mentioned some implications which arose from her study on the effects of television on children, and particularly from using the factorial design. During the discussions, only a few questions were raised concerning particular techniques and general methodological problems. When T. W. ADORNO stated that the dichotomy between content analysis and survey research has to be overcome, he was more concerned with the question of basic approaches in communication research than with its purely methodological implication. In effect, however, he did raise a serious methodological problem.

Several of the papers dealt specifically with one medium of mass communication, such as film (EDGAR MORIN⁶), television (HIMMELWEIT and MALETZKE), radio (NEURATH), newspaper (STEIN ROKKAN⁷ and JERZY WIATR⁸) and comic books (OTTO LARSEN⁹). When the discussion opened, however, the participants shifted toward a view of mass media in a more general perspective and their relation to social process. The question as to how research in mass communication should be related to other areas and types of investigation was a major topic of discussion.

Several papers submitted propositions or research findings which utilized more recent theoretical concepts. ITHIEL DE SOLA POOL¹⁰ in his studies of the patterns of obtaining information on foreign trade by American businessmen found for example that businessmen entertain interpersonal communications to a surprisingly large extent. The most highly regarded source of information is travel—much more than written sources. The findings emphasize the importance which interpersonal communications continue to perform in modern society; a

fact which has been underestimated for a long period of time. ELIHU KATZ, in his paper on Communication and Technical Change, pointed at a strong tendency which might lead to a convergence of the fields of mass communication and rural sociology. Although these two fields seem to be entirely unrelated, a certain amount of interchange has already taken place, particularly with that branch of rural sociology which is devoted to the diffusion and acceptance of new farm practices. STEIN ROKKAN and PER TORSVIK's analysis of political preference and newspaper reading was intended to throw some light on the central problem of the integration of conflicting movements and organizations in a viable and effective national system. SIMMEL'S notion of criss-crossing conflict lines in a system is of highest relevance in this connection. KLAUS LEIPELT, in his study of voting behaviour in Germany related the shift in allegiance of the worker's dependents from the Labour Party to the Christian Democrats to the process of change from production-oriented to consumption-oriented behaviour patterns.

Apart from concentrating on the problems posed by different approaches, the discussion delved also into the question of the role and function of mass media in modern society. JULIUS GOULD'S paper on Mass Media and Politics, JERZY WIATR'S on The Social Role of the Polish Press, and in part also MARK ABRAM'S on Mass Media and Social Class, as well as others which were mentioned earlier, touched some of the problems connected with this question. The question was approached from various angles in the ensuing discussion. It focused partly on what the role and function of mass media and communication should be in our society, and partly on observations of existing circumstances. The sometimes controversial comments showed that, despite numerous studies of mass media audiences, of the contents and the effects of mass communication, the social sciences are still far removed from a general theory of the function of mass media, and from a complication of reliable empirical data on the relationship of the media to the masses. There was less disagreement about the role which the mass media should play. GOULD'S statement that the distribution of news is not the main task of the newspaper, but that newspapers also play an important political role in the process of image formation, received no opposition. Strong anxiety was expressed when the discussion shifted to the relationship between mass media and democracy. A democratic system requires a free flow of communication. Do mass media ensure indeed this free flow of communication, and if so, to what extent? According to L. MOSS, free political discussion is increasingly excluded from mass media communication. The channels of media communication are used for other purposes, that is to say, mainly for purposes of entertainment rather than for purposes of political information and education. Several other statements were of a similar nature, such as BIANCHI'S, who sees the popular press caught in the pre-dominant desire to please the public. He connects this desire with

a tendency to personalize political issues, which personalization in turn leads to a depolitisation of political life.

The comments of several speakers, who located the problems of mass communication and mass media within specific situations of their respective countries led to a discussion of the role of mass communication in a one-party versus a multi-party system. WIATR pointed in this connection to the change in the social function of censorship in Poland during the last years. There is still no complete freedom of opinion but the present kind of censorship allows at least the expression of different tendencies in Polish public opinion. WIATR suggested an investigation of the differences in the social role of the political press in Poland compared to the social role of the press in other countries.

ADORNO commented on the issue concerning the extent to which mass media reflect mass opinion and the extent to which they form mass opinion. As he sees it, mass culture or popular culture is an artificial product which is spread in an industrialized atomized society by society by central agencies which serve the interest of big companies in the liberal world or the interest of the governments in totalitarian countries. Popular culture does not, in its present predicament, mirror existing conditions in our society, but presents them distorted.

SEYMOUR M. LIPSET attempted a summary of the two points of view which had been expressed in regard to the question whether the media form or reflect mass opinion. Following the first point of view mass communication and mass culture should be viewed as consequences of some kind of manipulated tendency. Following the second position, mass communication is caused by, or a reflection of, popular taste. Elites are reflecting popular taste to a greater extent than they are determining it. LIPSET himself tends to agree more with the second approach. In his opinion, the problem is essentially one of popular taste. The question thus should be posed, what can be done to change the level of popular taste. The answer to this question, according to LIPSET was to be found in a revolution on the level of the masses, and this revolution has to be a revolution of education.

The question as to how far mass media are indeed centralised and manipulated leads immediately to the problem of organisation and management of mass media. JANOWITZ stated that none of the papers presented at the meetings, dealt explicitly with the organization of mass media but that in some the feeling was expressed that this problem was of paramount importance in understanding the processes of social control. In the discussions, the study of organization and management of mass media was repeatedly mentioned. JANOWITZ pointed out that the papers presented to the session and the attendance at the meeting indicated a rapid growth in interest in mass communications research. Interest in this area seems particularly strong in countries undergoing

rapid industrialization and expansion of their media facilities. He concludes that while there was a wide difference of theoretical and empirical approach, there was considerable convergence in the underlying problems being investigated.

G. BAUMERT.

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SECTION II(1)g

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO POPULATION PROBLEMS

Chairman: Professor LIVIO LIVI (University of Rome)

Rapporteur: Professor M. DE VERGOTTINI (University of Pisa)

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

C. D'AGATA (Italy)

THE RELEVANCE OF STATISTICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF POPULATION AND SOCIOLOGY

Representative statistical survey as an instrument for analysing population phenomena, can find wide use in modern positive sociology; they are not always idoneous however for meeting all scientific exigencies.

Certain difficulties sometimes arise from the impossibility of individualising and defining exactly the universe of cases or single facts or units, of which the phenomenon is formed and in that the certain number of cases or facts drawn from the universe, are representative of the said universe.

Sometimes these difficulties arise in selecting sampling units, especially in the case in which this selection cannot be carried out—as happens frequently in studies of population phenomena—in accordance with the rules of the random sample design.

In any case the scholar can never have the exact measure of the frequency or intensity of the phenomenon but only an estimate of such. The suitability of the sample as an analysing instrument in sociology, is therefore strictly dependent on the degree of accuracy of such estimate, and that the phenomena in question are not those with sporadic or rare manifestations or those for which it is not possible to form a probability sample, such as when studying the spiritual life or psychological aspects of the behaviour of a social group.

Representative surveys should in any case be used with caution, especially when the phenomenon under study is or could be influenced by instrumental factors or characteristics not always known, or if known, not easily individualised; such are the phenomena of sociology, since the reasons for their existence are found in the complex causal system which characterise social reality.

N. FEDERICI (University of Rome)

CONTRIBUTION DE LA DEMOGRAPHIE À LA COMPREHENSION DES PHENOMÈNES SOCIAUX

On peut parler des phénomènes démographiques comme de phénomènes sociaux primaires. Mais l'importance de la Démographie pour la Sociologie ne ressort pas seulement de ce fait; on doit surtout la rechercher dans le caractère même de la Démographie. En effet, elle est un pont jeté de la Biologie à la Sociologie et représente donc un puissant moyen de recherche des liens reciproques entre les facteurs biologiques et les facteurs sociaux.

Pour évaluer l'influence des facteurs démographiques sur l'évolution des structures sociales il suffit de rappeler les conséquences sociales qui descendent du fait que certains groupes de population ont un accroissement moindre que celui d'autres groupes. C'est un phénomène démographique qui provoque des changements

internes de structure dans la population d'un Etat et qui, par ce fait même, peut influer sur la psychologie sociale, aussi bien que sur les tendances politiques, religieuses, culturelles, etc. et, par conséquent, sur les structures sociales.

La même phénomène, transféré sur le plan territorial, donne lieu, sous certaines conditions, aux déplacements de population dont les conséquences démographiques, économiques et sociologiques sont nombreuses.

L'étude des tendances que l'on peut observer dans le différent accroissement des groupes représente sans doute aujourd'hui une recherche du plus haut intérêt sociologique, soit au point de vue des causes qui modifient ces tendances soit pour évaluer les effets sociaux qui peuvent en ressortir.

En dehors d'un phénomène particulier, toute étude visant à l'analyse du mouvement démographique et des caractères de structure des populations (sexes, âge, profession, situation sociale, religion, race, nationalité, etc.) aide puissamment à la compréhension de plusieurs phénomènes sociaux, comme c'est le cas, par exemple, pour les tensions sociales, pour les phénomènes d'assimilation culturelle et, en général, pour tous les phénomènes d'intégration sociale.

GIOVANNI LASORSA (University of Bari)

TENDANCES DE PHÉNOMÈNES QUI MODIFIENT LES FORCES SOCIALES: TENDANCES DES "FORCES DE TRAVAIL"

L'Auteur considère les changements survenus dans le nombre et dans la composition des forces de travail, pendant les dix derniers ans, en plusieurs pays. Cela afin d'étudier les rapports entre tels changements et ceux d'autres facteurs des "forces sociales" à légard de divers pays et en particulier de l'Italie.

A cet effet il considère dans pays différents les rapports entre structure de "forces de travail" (selon profession, rang hiérarchique professionnel et d'autres caractères) et la structure de la population totale, et encore les rapports entre le revenu de groupes choisis d'ouvriers et le revenu national.

Les séries historiques éditées par l'Institut Central de Statistique italien et les recherches développées par le Prof. Livi consentent d'examiner les changements susdits plus profondément pour l'Italie et pour autres pays où les recherches ont été poursuivies par organismes internationaux, et surtout par le Bureau International du Travail.

H. V. MUHSAM (The Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE AND FERTILITY

Marital adjustment has been shown in the Indianapolis Study to be correlated negatively with family size and positively with success in controlling fertility. But it is not known whether marital adjustment in a very general way or its specific aspects connected with family planning has an effect on the procreative behaviour of a couple. Communication between spouses can be assumed to be an important component of marital adjustment; it is at the same time relatively easy to ascertain, whether such communication actually takes place. The results of certain field studies in this area, carried out in Puerto Rico and India, suggest that it would be worth while to test a hypothesis of the type: communication between husband and wife in matters of family planning is a determining factor of the success of such planning.

Yet it seems necessary to define exactly what should be called *communication* in the field of family planning, and which *subjects* of such communication should be considered relevant to the problem. The reasons for the absence of communication represents also an important subject of study.

Thus, a considerable amount of concept formation and related theoretical research is needed, before a hypothesis of the suggested type can be submitted to a field test.

CALVIN F. SCHMID (Office of Population Research, University of Washington)

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL CORRELATES OF CRIME AREAS IN THE LARGE AMERICAN CITY

The major objective of this paper is to describe with a high degree of specificity the relationship between crime areas in the urban community and a large number of meaningful demographic, economic, and housing variables. Moreover, in full recognition of the nexus between the demographic-ecological structure of the community, and the social processes and social systems encompassed by it, an effort is made to search out and interpret the more significant social and cultural determinants and dimensions of crime areas.

The city selected for study is Seattle, Washington. In 1950, it had a population of 467,591 and ranked third in size to Los Angeles and San Francisco in the entire western portion of the United States.

The basic data include two series of crime statistics, "offenses known to the police" and "arrests," totaling over 100,000 cases along with detailed demographic, economic and housing indices from the 1950 decennial census. In attempting to determine the spatial configuration of crime, over 30 different categories were analyzed according to census tracts.

A 38×38 correlation matrix, based on 20 crime indices and 18 demographic, economic and housing variables was derived. This matrix was factor-analyzed by the principal axis technique. Eight factors were extracted and retained for orthogonal rotation.

Factor I loads highest on items that reflect *strong family life and new, growing, cohesive neighborhoods*. In areas of this kind, crime rates are low, and by the same token in contrasting areas, crime rates are high.

Factor II is indicative of *high occupational status* which is associated with low crime rates.

Factor III identifies areas with high proportions of *unemployed men* where there is a high incidence of drunkenness, vagrancy, sex offences, disorderly conduct, burglary, and suicide.

Factor IV indicates a high loading on *spatial mobility*. Areas with high mobility show relatively high rates of crime for check fraud, shop lifting, burglary of residence and theft from automobiles.

Factors V, VI and VII do not reflect sharp and significant loadings except between certain types of crimes.

Factor VIII indicates a linkage between a high proportion of *Negroes* and robbery of person and burglary of residence.

CALVIN F. SCHMID and SANTO FRANK CAMILLERI (University of Washington), MAURICE DONALD VAN ARSDOL (University of Southern California), and EARLE H. MacCANNELL (San Diego State College)

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL AREAS BASED ON A SAMPLE OF TEN LARGE AMERICAN CITIES

An important interest of the demographer, sociologist, geographer, and economist in the social morphology of the urban community. The morphological approach sees the city as a mosaic of many diverse segments, each with its own more or less distinctive demographic, economic, and social characteristics. These seg-

ments are referred to variously as "natural areas," "social areas," or "demographic areas." Although during the past few decades many studies have attempted to describe and classify urban areas, it is only in recent years that quantitative taxonomies or typologies have been constructed.

Three basic procedures have been utilized in developing typologies of this kind: (1) ranking systems, (2) cluster analysis, and (3) factor analysis.

Our present research is concerned with the development of typologies based on a factorial analysis of a sample of ten large American cities involving 15 demographic, social, and economic variables.

The principal axis technique was applied to the data, and the various factors were rotated orthogonally. Certain more or less distinct types of areas were differentiated in terms of factor loadings. Since this analysis is still in process, the following characterizations are to be considered tentative.

Factor 1 indicates a marked loading in terms of low income, low educational status, high proportion of unskilled laborers, low percentage of professional workers and proprietors, managers and officials, and relatively large proportion of dwelling units without central heating and mechanical refrigeration. This dimension clearly indicates *socio-economic status*. Other factor loadings common to all ten cities differentiate areal types with dimensions pertaining to *family life, ethnic segregation, and labor force*. In addition there are other dimensions, but at this stage of analysis they cannot be described specifically. Also, there seems to be a very limited number of factors that characterize only a few of the ten cities.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

Au cours des trois séances qui ont eu lieu les 9 et 10 septembre sur les rapports existants entre la sociologie et la démographie, treize communications ont été discutées. Quoique certains membres soient absents mention de leurs communications a été faite dans le rapport du président et dans les commentaires des autres participants.

Parmi les communications présentées celle de Madame Nora Federici sur la contribution de la démographie à la compréhension des phénomènes sociaux mérite d'être spécialement mentionnée. Ce rapport étudie l'importance que la démographie occupe dans l'ensemble des études de sociologie générale positive, en tant que pont jeté entre l'anthropométrie et la biologie dont les phénomènes peuvent être considérés comme des faits sociologiques primaires. Cette conception s'accorde avec celle exprimée par le Président, le Professeur Livi, dans sa communication. En effet, indépendamment de l'apport de chaque sociologie particulière, la sociologie générale positive semble naître de la collaboration entre la démographie, l'anthropologie, la biologie, etc.

Parmi les autres communications qui n'ont pas été discutées à cause de l'absence de leurs auteurs mais qui ont été prises en considération par le président, il y eut celle du Professeur D'Agata intitulée "The Relevance of Statistical Representations of Population and Sociology" traitant principalement des questions méthodologiques et celle du Professeur Giovanni Schiepis intitulée "Contribution of

Demography to Researches on Electoral Sociology": cette dernière montre l'importance de la connaissance de la structure démographique d'un pays afin de mieux comprendre le phénomène électoral. Le président a également mentionné comme particulièrement intéressante la communication du Professeur Michele Marotta intitulée "Biotypes et classes sociales dans une société relativement isolée" qui a présenté un essai d'explication sur le rapport causal entre la structure corporelle et la position sociale. Ce rapport causal—déjà mis en évidence dans d'autres études et dont l'action se conjugue à celle de plusieurs autres facteurs qui peuvent influencer simultanément la structure corporelle et la position sociale, facteurs tels que les mélanges ethniques, l'alimentation, le milieu, etc.—acquiert dans le travail du Professeur Marotta une valeur particulière du fait que son étude concerne une population très pure, isolée et homogène comme c'est le cas de la population de la Sardaigne.

En ce qui concerne les autres communications présentées et qui ont donné lieu à des commentaires nombreux et souvent à des discussions vivantes, le président a fait remarquer qu'elles pourraient se diviser en deux groupes selon que celles-ci soulignent l'importance et l'influence que la démographie a eue dans la formation de la sociologie ou bien, inversement, d'après l'importance que les connaissances sociologiques ont eues pour le progrès de la démographie.

Dans le premier groupe des travaux considérés au cours des séances du 9 septembre on a surtout discuté le rapport présenté par Calvin Schmid et d'autres auteurs sur "Demographic and Social Correlates of Crime Areas in the Large American Cities". Dans ce rapport, fondé sur l'expérience d'une grande ville américaine, l'auteur a distingué les zones de la ville en fonction de la tendance particulière des habitants à la délinquance, en étudiant par ailleurs les caractéristiques économiques et le milieu. Cette enquête montre les avantages que la criminologie peut tirer de la démographie et des sciences connexes.

D'autre part, le Dr. Alessandro Lehner dans son étude intitulée "Social Mobility in a Rural Municipality" a examiné le volume de la mobilité sociale dans une petite ville de province en comparaison avec celle de l'ensemble du pays et des zones plus urbanisées. Il en a conclu que le volume de la mobilité sociale de classe à classe est directement proportionnel à l'urbanisation et qu'un tel mouvement s'intensifie dans la partie médiane de la pyramide sociale et diminue aux extrêmes. Ce sont des études importantes parce qu'elles permettent pour la première fois la comparaison des mesures de ces mouvements se vérifiant dans des milieux différents. Il s'agit de l'application d'une méthode déjà proposée il y a plusieurs années par le Professeur Livi.

La relation qui existe entre les conditions démographiques et les aspects sociologiques se révèle nettement dans l'étude présentée par le Professeur Giovanni Lasorsa. Son rapport intitulé "Tendances des

phénomènes qui modifient les faces sociales: les tendances des forces de travail" a mis en évidence l'influence indiscutable des manifestations profondes qui sont en train de se développer dans la structure de la population active en Italie pour ce qui concerne la situation professionnelle. Ces manifestations profondes ont eu et auront dans l'avenir une influence indiscutable en accentuant ou bien diminuant la force de cohésion de certaines structures sociales. Un problème analogue a été traité dans le rapport présenté par MM. Jack P. Gibbs et W. T. Martin intitulé "Social Structure and Labour Force Participation by Age for Males" et exposé par W. T. Martin. Cette étude tout en n'étant pas encore accompagnée de données statistiques originales démontre le fait que lorsqu'on monte le degré de l'évolution sociale, la proportion des personnes exerçant une activité professionnelle en relation aux personnes qui sont en âge d'exercer une profession diminue. Le président a fait remarquer que la thèse rejoint et développe une conception démographique et sociologique déjà exprimée par le sociologue et démographe Rodolfo Benini il y a 50 ans.

Si les propositions ci-dessus montrent plutôt combien la démographie peut stimuler les études sociologiques, les propositions développées au cours de la séance du 9 septembre dans l'après-midi et au cours de la séance du 10 septembre prouvent plutôt l'importance que les connaissances et les conditions sociologiques peuvent avoir pour les travaux démographiques.

C'est le cas du rapport présenté par M. Raymond Illsley intitulé "Socio-medical Significance of Demographic Categories" qui se base sur la collaboration combinée d'obstétriciens, de gynécologues et d'anthropologues. En utilisant les résultats auxquels on est parvenu à Aberdeen au cours d'une expérience de dix années, ce rapport arrive à l'explication et à la précision de certains caractères des groupes démographiques. Sur ce même thème se développe le rapport de M. F. M. Martin intitulé "Social Implications of Recent Mortality Trends in Britain" qui a suscité un grand intérêt. Un grand intérêt a également été suscité par le deuxième rapport présenté par Calvin Schmid et autres auteurs intitulé "Factor Analysis of Demographic and Social Areas based on a Sample of the Large American Cities". Ce rapport consiste à appliquer l'analyse factorielle aux conditions démographiques et sociales des zones urbaines des grandes villes américaines.

Sur un tout autre plan se situe le rapport présenté par le Dr. H. V. Muhsam relatif à l'importance que peut avoir la recherche exclusivement sociologique pour l'interprétation des faits démographiques. A cet effet il a cité quelques recherches relatives aux accords préalables et aux attitudes des époux à l'égard du contrôle des naissances et de leur planification (arguments de caractère sociologique) en vue de considérer par la suite combien les résultats démographiques reflètent en fait de tels antécédents (problème de caractère démographique).

Un autre exemple de la contribution de la sociologie à la démographie a été exprimé de façon très vivante dans l'importante communication du Professeur Kurt Mayer intitulée "Fertility Forecasts in the United States". Dans ce rapport l'auteur a abordé une interprétation du fait le plus extraordinaire qui soit posé à l'attention des démographes, à savoir le fait de la reprise normale de taux de natalité qui s'est vérifié aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique depuis la fin de la guerre. Le Professeur Mayer lie ce fait extraordinaire à des facteurs exclusivement sociologiques qui sont à la base de la transformation de l'équilibre social—tendant à un nivellement des diverses classes sociales—constaté depuis 25 ans. Cet équilibre a opéré sur la natalité de la même manière qu'ont opérés les équilibres sociologiques qui se sont vérifiés de l'époque coloniale jusqu'à nos jours. La thèse du Professeur Mayer a été la cause d'une discussion très vive au cours de laquelle des doutes et des accords ont été exprimés. Le président rappelle les autres conceptions sociologiques qui ont été adoptées par les intellectuels italiens pour expliquer le renouveau de la natalité: il pense que les constatations faites tout en restant acceptables, n'infirment pas la valeur des hypothèses du Professeur Mayer et il souhaite qu'une collaboration internationale pour contrôler l'hypothèse même et pour rechercher des autres facteurs éventuellement liés à celle-ci puisse arriver à expliquer le comportement différent que la hausse de la natalité a produit dans les autres pays.

En guise de conclusion nous exprimons la conviction que le travail de la section a soulevé des points qui pourraient constituer l'object de développements nouveaux et d'une collaboration internationale entre les différents pays. Ce travail a sûrement conduit à de bons résultats. Une indication de l'intérêt qu'ont suscités les divers rapports présentés se retrouve dans le fait que de nombreuses personnes ont intervenues dans la discussion, à savoir, MM. C. SCHMID (Etats-Unis), K. MAYER (Etats-Unis), C. F. WESTOFF (Etats-Unis), G. LASORSA (Italie), P. K. WHELPTON (Etats-Unis), A. CALLE (Colombie), R. ILLSLEY (Grande Bretagne), H. V. MUHSAM (Israël), H. S. SHRYOCK (Etats-Unis), W. J. GIBBONS (Etats Unis), V. WHITNEY (Etats-Unis), F. LORIMER (Etats-Unis), C. PANUNZIO (Etats-Unis), SUTMAN (Israël), S. SOMOGYI (Italie), A. LEHNER (Italie), G. P. FRANZEV (URSS), W. T. MARTIN (Etats-Unis), F. M. MARTIN (Grande Bretagne), d'autres et évidemment le Professeur Livi.

M. DE VERGOTTINI.

SECTION II(1)h

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO SOCIAL WELFARE PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION

Chairman: Mr. HENNING FRIIS
(Danish National Institute of Social Research)

Rapporteur: Professor A. J. KAHN (New York School of Social Work)

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

DONALD R. CRESSEY (University of California, Los Angeles)

ORGANISATIONAL THEORY AND PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION IN THE TREATMENT-ORIENTED PRISON

Types of organization which have been studied in a variety of settings can all be studied in prisons, where employee roles are integrated in military-type hierarchies designed to keep inmates, factory-type systems designed to use inmates, and professional or service bureaucracies designed to treat inmates. But in some respects prisons differ significantly from other organizations. Policy must be shared with workers rather than simply diffused downward in a chain of command, for the "worker" in the prison also "manages," in a concordant system of regulations the inmates in his charge. Also, the presence of three types of organization gives the prison unrelated and contradictory goals.

Research in an institution in which administrators were "professionals" and attempted to achieve a treatment or service goal in the presence of productive and custodial hierarchies indicates that one important effect of utilising an individualistic clinical, theory of treatment is neutralization of "bureaucratic" authority of rank without replacement by professional, technical, authority. Neither a system of evaluating workers on the basis of the degree to which they conform to explicit work procedures, nor a system of evaluating them on the basis of the degree to which they produce a standardized end-product could be used. A "pattern of indulgency" develops.

SJOERD GROENMAN (Netherlands)

ACTUAL RESEARCH WITHIN THE FIELD OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY IN THE NETHERLANDS

The paper is divided into two parts. One part deals with theoretical considerations, the other with the actual situation in the Netherlands. Mention is made of the conspicuous growth of the number of research institutes in the Netherlands after World War II. Examples are given of actual research projects that have brought a redefinition of a social problem as an effect of the sociological analysis. The paper deals also with the roles of applied sociology and with the desirability of independent scientific research. Crucial problems today are the smooth contact with administrators and especially the need for basic research.

Where applied sociological research is of old date, e.g., for physical planning, the danger is great that it will enter a cul de sac and will be no more than a routine business.

GWYNN NETTLER (Community Council of Houston and Harris County)

IDEOLOGY AND WELFARE POLICY

Welfare programs are often formulated by persons whose social perceptions differ from those who will execute them; someone's plans are thereby apt to be frustrated.

As part of a Child Welfare Study, differences in attitudes affecting welfare policy were measured and found to be linked with occupation and, hence, with status as a welfare policy-maker or policy-executor. These attitudinal differences are rooted in a basic premise about human behavior: "determinism," where this is defined as the assumption that character is a product, present behavior a result, and future behavior a predictable consequence of what the organism has experienced. And this attitude is related to the preferred methods of meeting "children's problems": (a) by treating or punishing behavioral deviations and (b) by tax or voluntary methods of financing. These three attitudes, in turn, are related to the perception of the adequacy of present welfare services.

In sum, these four attitudes form a complex, an ideology, that differentiates welfare policy-makers from policy-executors and which explains, in part, the frustration of group goals.

E. PUSIC (Yugoslavia)

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO SOCIAL WELFARE PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION IN YUGOSLAVIA

Social welfare services are performed in Yugoslavia by a system of widely decentralized, territorially as well as functionally, institutions and organizations coordinated at local, regional and central points by representative public bodies,

Sociological knowledge is centered in two kinds of institutions, purely scientific, such as departments of universities, Academies of Science and research institutes, and institutions with responsibilities for planning and, sometimes, for operations, conducting research with short range and more practically oriented aims.

The system of framework planning, through the long range and the yearly "Social Plans," creates a normal demand for sociological knowledge in the process of preparation of the plans, ultimately deliberated and voted upon by the National Assembly.

The general shift of accent towards the social elements of development creates a favorable atmosphere for the application of sociological knowledge to social policy and, specifically, to social welfare services and that application becomes more and more frequent.

The main problem in that situation is to create a systematic link between fundamental social research and practical social policy. A problem that can be fruitfully approached through the creation of autonomous research institutions endowed with a certain standing in the process of policy making.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

THE chairman, H. FRIIS, opened the discussion with a brief summary of his paper, noting that other paper-writers present would be accorded similar opportunity, since most of the papers prepared had not been circulated in advance. He suggested, too, that the group should not artificially limit itself to sociology, as distinguished from other relevant social sciences, and he mentioned some fields to which soci-

ologists have contributed, while they have ignored others. He proposed the following major subjects for the three sessions, and the listing was adopted by the group as an agenda:

- (1) Studies of social forces, attitudes, values which shape social welfare needs and developments.
—Institutional mechanisms promoting or hampering social welfare developments.
- (2) Studies of the living conditions of "normal" populations and studies of "problem" groups and their "needs".
- (3) Evaluation and measurement of the results of programmes and studies of programme "processes".
—Organizational studies.
- (4) The relationship between research, planning and administration.

Research, Planning and Administration

The discussion was introduced by Professor R. M. TITMUSS (U.K.), whose paper had not yet been circulated. Addressing himself to the question: "does social research have any bearing on social welfare?" the speaker noted that sociology is part of all knowledge and obviously has a contribution to make, since we ask planners and administrators to be intelligent and rational. This leads to the key question of who is to apply the knowledge. The subject of the training of administrators was beyond the scope of the discussion, he felt; in addition to having intelligent policy makers and administrators, we may also organize for application by assuring research services for policy makers. Professor Titmuss distinguished quantitative research (collection of objective facts) and qualitative research (assessment and evaluation). In his view, official bodies are suited for the former, not the latter. His paper illustrates the obstacles posed by official agencies. Whereas the United States and the United Kingdom have a profusion of independent university and private research institutes, people in less developed countries have a special problem in providing for such research.

D. R. CRESSEY (U.S.A.) stressed that the essential role of sociology in relation to social welfare planning and research is a research role, a fact-finding role. But fact-finding is, for the sociologist, based on theory. Professor Cressey illustrated with reference to the theory on which his paper draws. He preferred to talk of administrative research (qualitative or quantitative fact-finding) or sociological research (related to the development of theory). Professor Cressey strongly endorsed Professor Titmuss's comments about the problems faced by government and welfare agencies which would undertake research.

It is extremely difficult for an administrator to see a research problem or to devote energies to gaining broad perspective on his actions and their consequences. There are, too, organizational factors creating resistance to evaluative research. Nonetheless, at present, prisons, mental hospitals and industries in the United States have considerable interest in organizational studies and are having difficulty recruiting sociologists.

J. A. PONSOEN (Netherlands) agreed with the general point about the problems a government agency faces in doing research, but cited the excellent, objective Indian government evaluation of community development. He wondered to whom the private-institute researcher reports. Professor Cressey said that he reports to the profession, but administrators are permitted to see reports prior to publication. In general, sociologists are hired with the understanding they will report to the profession, and there are only occasional problems.

D. V. MCGRANAHAN (United Nations) felt that the Titmuss remarks needed qualifications which were probably in the written paper. Any scientific research has both qualitative and quantitative aspects. The speaker illustrated with reference to the need, in the United Nations, to assess and interpret statistical "facts" which are reported. Also, the speaker noted that certain kinds of reports must, by definition, be prepared by governmental, rather than private bodies. He illustrated with reference to the United Nations World Economic Report. He also cited the importance, under some circumstances, of permitting bureaucrats-administrators some rights and some control where reports are prepared by private agencies and individuals and have the potential, inadvertently, of causing damage or disseminating misinformation. Mr. McGranahan also wondered whether the Titmuss objections to certain types of research from *within* government actually held where relatively separate social research sections or institutes were set up within administrations. He cited an illustration in this direction.

Professor A. J. KAHN (U.S.A.) held that the quantitative-qualitative distinction was less useful than the distinction between research pointed chiefly toward administrative issues and research with basic social science objectives. He cited instances in which either type of research is able to exist under either governmental or university independent research structures. The objectives, values and priorities of the time seem to be more determining than auspices. He noted the importance of the gap between assembling the facts and application. Some of the professions (social work, education, social administration) believe they have special competence for this task. Few administrators would agree that they can function effectively without awareness of the on-going process.

J. D. REYNAUD (France) spoke of the application of the results of research in practice and application in planning. To fail to understand this is to confuse responsibility to the profession and responsibility to a single administration. LOUIS MOSS (U.K.) commented that administrators are often not lacking in information, but must accept the fact that politicians elected by the people make policy—and not the civil servants. The political atmosphere sometimes makes it quite difficult to do certain research from within the government.

ANGELO PAGANI (Italy) noted that one could apply to the social welfare field some of the notions prevalent in the current consideration of the relationship between policy makers and scientists. It is helpful to distinguish, with Myrdal, between practical and theoretical research. Particularly relevant here is the practical research category. In this field a researcher cannot be neutral. He cannot truly advise policy makers unless he identifies with their value premises. Both of Myrdal's types require a theoretical framework and good research technology, but the distinction is whether or not value premises are essential.

Studies of Social Forces, Values, Attitudes

In introducing this phase of the discussion, H. Friis summarized the remarks in his paper relating to study of social forces, attitudes and values shaping both social welfare needs and programme development. J. A. Ponsioen urged study of the process by which various religious groups had moved from a concept that being rich or poor, wise or stupid, was a matter of fate assigned by God, and not challengeable, to the concept that one may take one's fate in one's own hands and deal with problems of poverty, illness, ignorance. Some religious groups have not made this transition, and it would be valuable to understand the process.

Louis Moss was surprised at the comment on the basis of his experience in Ceylon and India. The matter would seem to need more thought. Have not the motivations in some of the instances cited been political, not religious? Mr. Ponsioen explained that he had not meant that the governments cited were religiously motivated but, rather, that the evaluation of religious attitudes must be studied since such attitudes often enter into public resistance to programmes.

Professor Kahn summarized the situation in the United States with reference to items 1 and 2 on the agenda and spoke of how many of the things originally incorporated in social surveys had been "institutionalized" in governmental statistical reports. The interest had not decreased, but now social surveys could be quite specialized. He outlined recent American studies of community power structure, conflict, voluntary associations and attitudes to social welfare. The latter

often reveal a low level of information and low evaluation of social welfare professionals—a matter of some concern. In general, American social welfare research has a stronger programme in agenda items 1 and 2 than in relation to evaluation.

At this point J. D. Reynaud summarized the first section of his paper, which had not been circulated in advance. He ended by posing the problems arising from a situation in which social welfare developments are often based on the initiative of administrators who are ahead of public opinion in their thinking about programmes.

Elaborating Mr. Reynaud's thesis in his paper, Mr. McGranahan noted that, as the state takes over welfare functions from private individuals, the charity concept disappears and a legislative "right" is created, unless the government is very paternalistic. Some governments make this transition rapidly, without access to resources or administrative machinery; the result may be either meaningless "paper rights" or a very heavy burden on the economy. The case is thus strengthened for integrated social welfare and economic development.

MRS. WINIFRED MOSS (U.K.) reported on her studies dealing with attitudes toward social welfare services in England. These studies indicate that different groups do not differ too much in their attitudes to social welfare. More important than occupational differences in attitudes to social services are the differences between families with many children (who are consequently most appreciative of the network of services) and those with one child or no children.

Commenting on the discussion, the chairman, H. Friis, noted the need for dynamic, analytical studies of social welfare developments. While acknowledging the recent work of Titmuss and of Wilensky and Lebeaux, he felt that the field was generally ignored. Moreover, although studies of attitudes, values, goals exist, more would be fruitful; special attention should be given to comparisons between consumer and policy-maker attitudes.

Studies of Living Conditions

A. PAGANI began with a summary of his paper "Poverty Line Re-considered". In opening the discussion, Louis Moss agreed that the weakness of the earlier social surveys had been summarized. He believed, however, that necessary methodological revisions had been made. Since the paper had not been received by most participants, he depended on the summary; but he agreed that one should not consider a limited population sample to define a standard in setting the poverty line for social assistance. Data for the whole population should be used in setting norms. Have not the sampling surveys of the last 50 years, permitting partial or total population sampling, achieved this? The bigger question has to do with what information

is relevant to the question of whether people are actually impoverished. We tend now to make specialized, intensive studies of aspects of the whole (i.e. morbidity) rather than single studies dealing with the whole question of deprivation. The alternative approach, not used since the household budget study, is to build the base on a detailed study of expenditures. Government and academic economists, concerned with demand analyses, have tended to develop this method. Thus, it is not correct to say that survey techniques have not been developing; rather, sociologists are not using all that which exists by way of method.

Professor Kahn commented on the extent to which current statistical series by governmental agencies, as well as special expenditure studies, meet many of the objectives of the earlier broad social surveys. The supplementary surveys are therefore, quite appropriately, more narrow and specialized, in his view.

J. A. Ponsioen spoke of forces in society which lead us to give less attention, at this time, to poverty as a social problem. Various groups in society were cited as less prepared to look at this problem. H. Friis provided an illustration relative to one of the less-developed countries in which the results of a poverty study could not be a welfare tool. The social security rates had to be set in relation to the wage level not in relation to the findings about minimum budgets. He noted, too, that countries in which social security and social assistance benefits assure a "rock bottom" well above the Rowntree level are less interested in poverty studies. Others (i.e., the Italians) are very much in the midst of the problem, hence the call for a new look at poverty studies. Some years ago, in the *British Journal of Sociology*, Peter Townsend pointed out that to define a poverty line without attention to actual living patterns is obviously incorrect; therefore, in this process, the sociologist should study living patterns and aspirations.

PETER TOWNSEND (U.K.) agreed, broadly, with the H. Friis comments. He felt that Dr. Pagani had done a service in asking why there were no significant poverty studies since World War II. Despite his agreement with much that Mr. Moss had said, Mr. Townsend felt that sampling surveys were not a substitute for the earlier surveys. Of course, the matter could be argued at length. The issue is not one of adequate mechanisms to collect facts, but of the way in which facts are integrated with reports. P. Townsend cited a series of illustrations to explain his concern at the growing insensitivity to problems of definition and to the way of life behind the facts. One further problem arises from the low status of interviewers and how this affects the accuracy of facts assembled; another derives from the failure of those who plan surveys from offices to remember what household life is like. Finally, the interpretation process often does not get enough attention in the survey.

Mr. Pagani felt that some of the comments would be satisfied by a full reading of his paper. He favours using the new techniques, but since poverty has not disappeared, the survey is needed. The starting point should be a community study of values influencing attitudes toward need. Such studies are more useful than national studies using sampling techniques. When an income level is announced as defining the poverty line, it should mean something quite specific in relation to a pattern of living.

Studies of Results and Effectiveness

The chairman summarized, from his paper, the current interest in studies of effectiveness of social welfare programmes and the lack of a sufficient number of precise studies in this category.

Professor R. N. SAKSENA (India) summarized his paper, stressing the difference between the evaluation of welfare activities in industrialized countries, which emphasize the professional methods of casework and group work, and evaluation of mass programmes, such as community development, where the objective is directed toward social change. What are to be the criteria : expenditure and activity ; or people's participation ; or local acceptance and initiative ? These would yield different results. Social science might have helped in the planning ; it is certainly essential to evaluation.

D. V. McGranahan emphasized the importance of this topic to the United Nations ; the General Assembly and the Social and Economic Council always request evaluation of technical assistance programmes undertaken. The experience to date suggests that the science of evaluation needs further development. A good specific question obtains answers (i.e., how many were served?). But where a broad programme is to be evaluated, the matter is complex. Today, the view often is that rigorous, quantitative techniques are not applicable and a team of experts is sent in to make a report. The team may include social scientists. Studies of community development are sometimes in the first category, sometimes in the second. There is the problem that many other major factors may intervene in the situation toward which community development is directed. The "cause" of change may be good leadership rather than the specific programme. There are political problems in the way of designating some areas as unserved "control" areas. Despite the obstacles, the Indian evaluation services are most impressive. Evaluation has been built-in. Social scientists have been used, but more are needed. D. V. McGranahan added, in relation to use of people's participation as a criterion of success, that where there is no land reform, participation seems limited. Some people make the case for a degree of required service in community development and do not agree that voluntary participation is adequate—or a sufficient criterion.

RONALD YEN-LIN CHENG (Taiwan) felt that one could not talk of evaluation without prior clarity as to how ends and means are rated and weighed. Some stress means (industrialization) and others the ends (better life). To give verbal recognition of both may mean nothing. Mr. Ponsioen cautioned against perfectionism in data collection where simple things are adequate and possible. P. J. KUUSI (Finland), illustrating the point that more precise evaluation is possible where a more delimited programme is in focus, summarized the experience of a programme for evaluation of government alcohol sales policies in Finland. Often a programme's objectives are behavioural changes, and these are more readily measured than attitude and value shifts. The Finnish study looked at work habits, recreation habits, and so on. This is not difficult if there is clarity as to what is relevant. The alcoholism study has, in fact, been able to use experimental research designs and Mr. Kuusi's experience would suggest their applicability to other social welfare fields.

Professor Kahn said that he could not speak of evaluation of broad community programmes but had interest in and conviction about the possibilities of evaluation of more narrowly defined service programmes and professional processes. He discussed some of the possibilities, problems and current studies under four headings: (1) *Goals and values*—Much of the debate about evaluative studies derives from goal confusion or conflict. One cannot begin evaluative studies without consensus here. Lay advisory committees often play a crucial role in goal definition in social welfare evaluative studies; (2) *The programme or process*—We now understand that a goal evaluative study begins with specification of the measures being tested. In the past, these were often taken for granted. If the results did not show success, the authors considered the method a failure, yet in at least one well-publicized study the "treatment" did not meet professional standards; (3) *The measuring instruments*—Once stimulus and goals are clear, we may concern ourselves with measurement. These are major problems, but they can be dealt with in current social research technology; (4) *Control*—This is the most complex problem, yet without "controls" or "control groups" our evaluative studies are never definitive. A. Kahn outlined a series of studies in which control groups were possible and did not create ethical problems since either there was serious difference of opinion as to which of several measures was best or because, under any circumstances, only part of the population could be served. He urged that available opportunities be used in this way.

Studies of Organizational Structures and Processes

In this context, organizational analysis was discussed as one phase of specification of the stimulus in the programme under study. Pro-

fessor D. R. Cressey talked in general terms about this approach since his paper had not yet reached most of the participants. He noted that organizational studies (apart from their contribution to sociological theory) are of interest in specifying the process in more detail. Beginning with the Weber and Durkheim notions about the determinations of behaviour by social relationships and group membership, organizational studies study such relationships, looking at the business, hospital, prison or factory as a "small society". In addition to looking at staff-client relationships, such studies examine the relationships between the several levels of staff, and are concerned with both formal and informal organization of the "small society". He illustrated the approach by drawing upon his own prison research, described in his paper, and on the work of others in industrial studies. The researcher, as observer, is particularly interested in unanticipated consequences of formal and informal organizational patterns. Social welfare studies reveal that recipients often refuse to follow the formal rules and react in interesting ways.

D. R. Cressey also discussed the conflicts between authority of rank and authority of the professional and what occurred, in a prison, when they were in conflict and neutralized the activity of custodial personnel. Dr. Ponsioen said that European organizational studies should not be underestimated. Two major problems are disclosed; too many services are organized in accord with symptoms or limited aspects of human life and this is dysfunctional. Multi-purpose or multi-disciplinary agencies are needed. Social welfare programmes often suffer a lack of adequate *formal* organization rather than being troubled by excessive informal structures. A. Kahn spoke of current United States alertness to these issues and his own concern, in the field of children's services, with service integration and co-ordination. D. V. McGranahan spoke of discussion in the United Nations of *concerted* and *co-ordinated* measures. He posed several methodological questions in relation to organizational studies. In replying and closing the session, D. R. Cressey said that some of the social welfare fragmentation arises from the lack of scientific impact and confusion about the causes of problems. He feels some of the lack of formal organization derives from confusion in goal definition. Finally, while current organizational studies are in a long sociological tradition, they seek new kinds of data and deal with new problems.

ALFRED J. KAHN.

SECTION II(1)i

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH IN UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Chairman: Professor G. DE MARIA (University "L. Bocconi", Milan)

Rapporteur: Professor F. GUALTIEROTTI (State University of Milan)

Editorial Note—The Chairman originally appointed was unable to carry out his functions, and Professor De Maria assumed the responsibility at a late stage when it was impossible for him to prepare an introductory paper or to invite other written contributions. However, one meeting of the Section was devoted to problems of economic development in Italy, and for this an introductory paper by Professor Rossi-Doria was available. It was originally published as an introduction to a symposium on *Aspetti e problemi sociali dello sviluppo economica in Italia* (Editori Laterza, Bari, 1959), which was specially prepared for the Congress by the Italian Organising Committee. An English version of the paper is published below. This is followed by a general report on the discussions in the Section.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ITALY

M. ROSSI-DORIA

(University of Naples)

1. *The history of sociological studies in Italy*

At the turn of the century, Italy had found itself, if not yet in the vanguard, then at least in a position of considerable importance in the field of sociology. In the field of theory, several valuable contributions had been made, and some of them still influence the modern social sciences to a great extent. In the field of research moreover, developments had been carried much further, and their influence was evident in official documents, and in the thinking of groups of scholars in the social sciences, as well as in the institutional developments of the time. These, through the growth of social legislation and of co-operatives and associations, undoubtedly opened a way to further sociological enquiry.

Those acquainted with Italian history of the last fifty years must, however, recognize that even before the first world war these conditions, relatively favourable to sociological thinking and research, had already come to an end, and their lack became more and more clearly marked after that period.

This change is generally attributed to a purely philosophical in-

fluence: in the first place, the criticism, and then the overthrow of the so-called positivistic school by the so-called idealistic and historical schools. There is no doubt that this had, at least in the beginning, an important role in the decline of interest in sociology; however, the slackening of interests needs further explanation and is certainly based on more deep-seated causes, especially during the inter-war period, when sociological thinking and methods developed to a much greater extent in other countries.

Though it is not within the scope of this report to analyse these factors, we can mention three of them which may help to clarify the influences at work.

During the last 50 years, Italy has been the scene of a deep and prolonged political crisis, in the face of which the opposing forces, not being able to act through democratic channels were expressed in the form of opposing ideologies, Marxist, catholic, liberal, nationalistic and fascist; these movements proved for the most part, not conducive to the development of sociological research; thus, we might add, indirectly confirming the organic relation between sociology and political democracy.

In the twenty years between the two wars, the fascist regime on the one hand closed our country to foreign influence, effectively interrupting that continuous exchange of experiences and ideas, which is the only way of making progress in sociological research; and on the other, systematically attempted to repress the internal unrest of the country, transferring to the nationalistic level any social tensions which could have stimulated interest in sociological analysis.

Finally, in that period, the economic development of the country, which was rapid until the end of the first world war, entered a phase which modern economists call stagnation. This is in itself detrimental to sociological research, the latter progressing best in countries having a rapid economic and social development.

2. *The causes and character of their recent revival.*

The years following the second world war, in our country as in others, had the opposite characteristic to the ones we have just indicated. The restoration of a democratic regime and of the fundamental liberties of the citizens—though it has not yet brought about a stable political situation—has reopened discussion and thus shown the need for a sociological analysis of political struggles. Renewal of contact with other countries, particularly the United States, Great Britain and France, has revealed the extent of their sociological studies and has initiated the exchange of ideas with those countries where sociology has taken on a particular importance in the last decades. But the interest in sociological analysis has spread principally in rela-

tion to the deep economic and social changes which the country has undergone in all its social strata. They have been caused, firstly by the war and by inflation, and secondly by the economic recovery of the last years. After years of silence or of official propaganda the country has thus had suddenly revealed the complexity of its structure and the reality of its many unsolved problems.

It is not surprising that in these conditions, which sprang up suddenly, sociological analysis, before being set in the form of strict scientific research, was expressed in the form of art and journalistic inquiries. There has been a world-wide recognition of the sociological significance of many works of recent Italian literature and of many films of the so-called Italian neo-realist school. These were the most popular products of a wider movement, whose minor manifestations have often had a more definite sociological value.

These comments on the non-scientific forms which were taken by the new interest in sociological analysis, may be helpful in explaining to non-Italians two characteristics of present-day Italian sociology: the great importance it gives to the contributions of persons of the most varied origin and cultural background and the lack of importance it still has in the academic world, i.e. in the universities.

Both characteristics, while on the one hand explaining the many deficiencies of theory, method and teaching of sociological research in Italy, on the other probably help to give it a vitality which sometimes seems lacking in other countries where scientific evolution has reached high levels of theoretical and methodological refinement.

In any case, it is in relation to these characteristics that some recent manifestations of Italian sociology can be explained: the constitution in 1957 of the "Associazione Italiana di Scienze Sociali", open to whoever shows any interest in this kind of study, the first convention of the Association in 1958, from whose published reports it is possible to see the variety of viewpoints expressed on sociological research; and the way in which this group has chosen to present itself at this International Congress. Both the theme under discussion and the qualifications of the co-ordinator and general rapporteur, have significance here; the latter is an agrarian economist with a lively interest in sociological research, and not a sociologist with all the scientific attributes the title implies.

3. Criteria followed in the choice of the topics

After the above considerations, it would be superfluous to give justifications for the choice of the theme for study on the part of the Italian group.

Because of the recent revival of sociological research it is still haphazard, and poorly developed. Consequently it seemed advisable to

call together a certain number of scholars in order to ask them to give, not contributions on some popular topic, but a clear definition of the limits of the field in which they will be called to work in the coming years.

Italian society, after the second world war, has entered a phase of rapid internal transformations due to the considerable economic development of the country and to the new internal and international political situation in which it found itself. The revival of the systematic study of Italian society with its internal relationships, tensions and variations, in order to be scientifically valid must always take this development into account.

The collection of works to which this report is an introduction has been carried out as a collective task. Once a general plan had been laid down, based on the most important changes taking place, the various topics have been assigned to individual scholars chosen on the basis of their suitability ; each of them was then free to develop his theme on the basis of his own viewpoint.

We know very well that, in doing this, many social aspects of the transformations now in being have been neglected, while on some others observations of too general and "unscientific" a nature have been made ; the researches of some other scholars have also been neglected, and all the developments of theory and method which have been carried out in our country in these last years have been left out.

Nevertheless, we think that in this way our contributions will be more useful to this Congress, even though they be more modest, and in any case it will give foreigners a wider and truer picture of our country than if we had followed other criteria.

4. The history, scope and characteristics of economic development in Italy

It is not within the scope of this paper to go into a detailed analysis of the data and indices concerning Italian economic development after the Second World War as compared to those of the preceding periods. It seems more desirable, on the basis of these data, to put forward a series of considerations aiming to illustrate the characteristics both of earlier events and of recent developments.

(a) In the very first periods of our modern economic history—the final decades of the last century and the first twenty years of the present one (until 1925)—a continuous economic development took place, similar to that of other western countries, though with a slower rhythm and very unequally in various parts of the country. A substantially agricultural country, with a high demographic development,

was slowly becoming transformed thanks to a widespread, though small increase in farming production, a progressive improvement of civil equipment and a development of industries almost entirely located in the northern provinces. As a consequence of this unequal regional development, there had already emerged the great disequilibrium between the North, with a normal growth, and the South which was in a situation of great need and under-development, as can be seen from the mass emigration movement of the time.

(b) The twenty years of the inter-war period, notwithstanding the nationalistic boasts of the then prevailing Fascism, were on the contrary a period of complete economic stagnation. In effect, agricultural production had not increased in its total figures and had regressed in the South; the industrial production, if we compare the indices of 1922-25 with those of 1938-39, had remained the same; and the national income *per capita* had decreased as a consequence of the stagnation of the economy, the continuous increase in population and the arrested emigration movement. The origin of this stagnation, as is also partly true in the case of other European countries, is to be found in the great depression of 1930 and in the subsequent difficult recovery in a regime of economic autarchy and of preparation for war.

(c) Between 1940 and 1945, war brought our country material destruction and economic regression, particularly aggravated by the combined effect, firstly, of war economy, bombing, military occupation, active war, and secondly, of civil war. At the end, more than one third of the frail production structure had been destroyed, but damage was still worse in relation to the transport system and to some particular sectors of production (farm animals in agriculture, power-production plants in industry).

(d) Reconstruction in the immediate post-war years was particularly rapid and intense. In three to four years (from 1945 to 1948-49) it was possible in every sector to reach or surpass prewar production levels and, what is more, to create a production machine capable of rapid growth. The "miracle" of reconstruction in Italy took place, as is known, as a consequence of substantial American aid, but it was also helped by the reopening of trade outlets and even by inflation, which for some years gave to economic recovery an impulse it would be difficult to find in different monetary conditions. During the years of "reconstruction" there began those rapid transformations of social relationships and those movements of population which, still increasing, have profoundly changed and renewed Italian society. There were then broken down those conditions of social and economic "immobility" which had been the main characteristic of the preceding periods.

(e) The decade following "reconstruction", 1949-59, has been characterised by a conspicuous, general economic development. Confining ourselves to the period 1949-57, for which data are available, the national income has increased by 40 per cent., agricultural production by 25 per cent., and industrial production by more than 60 per cent. This economic development is differently distributed within the country, and has caused an increase of individual income and consumption, but also such an unequal distribution of these benefits as to speed up social mobility and to determine a different structure of society all over the country. In the volume presented by the Italian group, the individual aspects of economic development in Italy are dealt with in relation to these recent events.

(f) In the last ten years, a specific development policy has finally been established to meet the depression of the agricultural southern regions, which are considerably poorer because of the disequilibrium between natural resources and population. The so-called "southern question" already clearly detected at the end of the last century and artificially hidden throughout the Fascist period, has been recognized as a fundamental problem, detrimental to the economic and civil development of the whole country. It has been finally recognized that by counting solely on the spontaneous processes of economic development, the "South" not only could not progress sufficiently to bridge the initial gap of economic and social level dividing it from the North, but that this gap would be inevitably increased.

The specific intervention policy initiated in 1950 has therefore been mainly directed to creating the essentials for a more widespread and modern economic development by the twelve-year programme of the "*Cassa per il Mezzogiorno*". Secondly it has promoted better balanced social relations between the population of the rural areas by Land Reform; and attempted by its industrial policy to obtain a more rapid and consistent industrial development than that which can occur spontaneously.

(g) The seriousness of the economic and social situation of the country has been demonstrated in this decade by the incapacity to eliminate, notwithstanding the rapid economic development, the unemployment of about 9 per cent. of the labour force. The phenomenon of chronic unemployment stems, as is known, from two allied factors: the rapid increase of population and the accelerated exodus from the rural areas of underemployed and underpaid workers. In effect, the increase of population—more than 60 per cent. of which is concentrated in the Southern regions and is due to the effects of the high, though diminishing, birth-rate and the low death-rate of recent years—increases the labour force by 300,000 persons every year. The exodus from the rural areas also increases in proportion every year as a consequence of the previous accumulation in those

areas of redundant workers and of the growing gap between agricultural and industrial incomes. The figure of 2 million unemployed has therefore remained almost constant in the postwar period, notwithstanding the greater employment in secondary and tertiary activities of one-and-a-half million workers and the emigration of more than a million people.

However, unemployment is not static, but is the result of mass displacements of population from one occupation and from one region to another. We must particularly remember that the South, notwithstanding considerable internal progress, has seen the departure of the great number of emigrants to foreign countries and that there are 60,000-70,000 people a year who depart to the central and northern regions.

5. The social aspects of economic development

This long introduction was aimed at giving an historical and conceptual picture of the process of economic and social change upon which, in our opinion, the analysis and research of our sociologists should mainly be concentrated.

Having thus come to the central part of this report, it seems desirable to put forward several considerations of a more general nature.

As is obvious, the social aspects of economic development are infinite, especially in a country such as Italy which has environmental conditions varying so greatly from one region to another. In the face of the complexity of the task, the analysis developed in the work here presented has therefore confined itself to illuminating—in the most general terms and on the basis of the little material which is scientifically valid—only some of the more striking of the social aspects of present economic developments; these can be grouped under the following headings:

- (1) Changes in the rural areas and mass migration from the countryside.
- (2) Aspects and problems of urban development.
- (3) Specific aspects and problems of industrialisation
- (4) Characteristics and trends of the changes in customs.
- (5) New approaches to education and to professional training.

Other aspects of the transformation concerning the family, culture, religion, politics and community life in general, have been deliberately left out as they still need further study.

6. *Changes in the rural areas and mass migration from the countryside.*

The internal changes in the Italian rural areas have been very great after the war, and are continuing with an intensity and complexity which have not as yet been fully recognized. Though assuming, as is natural, different forms in each case, they all present some common characteristics because they stem from similar conditions.

The main characteristic of Italian agriculture in the past was that in the great majority of cases, the ownership of the land and often the responsibility for the enterprise was left in the hands of the small landed gentry. The organization of the enterprise and the social relations in the rural areas were therefore almost invariably dominated by the different forms of agrarian contracts (leases, share-cropping, partial tenancy on one hand, and wage-paying on the other) which kept the peasants in a situation of precarious dependence. This situation had already undergone a partial change in the past through a gradual formation of peasant ownership and increasing responsibility. However, since the war both processes have become so greatly accelerated as to cause a breakdown in the old structure, and the liquidation of many concerns previously running on the basis of wage-labour.

This process, far from being exhausted, is probably still in an initial stage, and we must foresee its continuation and development. The causes no longer lie in inflation and social unrest, as in the immediate post-war years, but in the general economic development of the country with the consequent rural exodus, as well as the diffusion of new farming techniques and the establishment of new markets.

In this collection of essays, these internal transformations of the rural areas are only briefly mentioned, while attention is drawn to two aspects of the overall development process: the urbanization of rural life on the one hand, and the rural exodus on the other.

The detection and analysis of these two phenomena, very important from the sociological point of view, require a clear distinction to be made between North and South, and between the rich farming areas, capable of development, and the poorer ones.

In the North, where the best farming areas are in direct contact with old and new industrial centres, the transformation of agriculture takes place—as ARDIGÒ rightly says—on the one hand, through the adoption of “increasingly competitive, rationalized and market-minded models of behaviour”; on the other, through the progressive “assimilation of rural society by the industrialized urban

society". In its poorer areas,—the Alps, the Appenines and some of the less fertile areas of the pre-mountain belt and even in the plain—the attraction of the near-by towns and of richer farming areas lacking labourers bring about constant depopulation. This involves the abandonment of entire areas (such as the Emilian Appenines) or at least parts of them, and these are only partially re-occupied by Southern labourers in their movement towards the North, as has been shown by BARBERIS in his report.

On the contrary, in the South—where the industrialization process remains more limited and where the existing cities have, as GALASSO says, the character of "political and administrative centres" and which "live for the greater part as parasites on the rural area's back", there is an actual lack (except in very limited areas) of the urbanization of rural life. The rural exodus, which increases in spite of obstacles, present a phenomenon of "the pure dynamics of evacuation" and is translated into emigration currents to foreign countries or to the North, and in a lesser degree to industrialized areas of the South itself. This is particularly true of poor to average areas, with limited prospects for agricultural progress, which are the most numerous in the South, occupying 70 per cent. of the land surface with more than 50 per cent. of the population.

For the remaining areas, more fortunate and more favoured by recent policy, the processes are more complex and in a certain sense more similar to those of the North, though the redundancy of the rural population and the economic structure do not as yet allow this resemblance to become striking.

It is obvious that, caught in the whirlwind of this deep and rapid transformation, the Italian rural areas are changing not only as regards productivity, the economic and social structure and the mobility of the labour force, but also, ARDIGÒ says—"in the heart of the greatest institutions of the rural world: the family, the relatives, the neighbours, the parish, the political parties, the trades unions, the municipalities, the country festivals and traditions, the fairs and the markets" besides the "power groups" and the "community's value systems".

While in the North the change merges with the general process of the urbanization of rural life and culture, in the South, where the direct influence of a modern urban reality is not yet felt, a crisis of a more serious nature is taking place: while the old "peasant civilization" is crumbling and decaying, "the impact of modern civilisation" writes GALASSO "aggravates the disequilibrium already existing and creates new tensions between the old culture and the new".

7. Aspects and problems of urban development.

At the opposite pole to the internal changes in the rural areas and the mass migration from them, stands the rapid development of the town during the last twenty years, and particularly during the last decade. In the table presented together with this report, the figures relating to this development are set out, though they are not as up to date as we would have wished. Against an overall increase of the population of 15 per cent. in twenty years, we have an increase of town population of 26 per cent., rising to above 30 per cent. for the 30 cities having more than 100,000 inhabitants. This increase would be still greater if, instead of being limited to the administrative limits of the town, it could also include the urbanized areas which have sprung up around most of the larger cities.

Urban development has some characteristics which are common to all cases and others which are peculiar to individual towns. Its analysis should aim at ascertaining to what extent it is due directly to industrialization and to what extent to the centralization of the administrative services and the consumption patterns which characterize economic development. Naturally these components of town development are intermixed and partly correlated; however the characteristics and problems of each town differ according to the importance of each of these factors.

In the case of Italy, this distinction is particularly important, because there are many cases—mainly concentrated in the South—in which a considerable urban development has taken place in the absence of any relevant industrial growth. Therefore, in addition to industrial towns which have expanded, and whose influence extends over a wide radius, there are many towns with a negligible industrial development which like Rome, the supreme example, have modernised and developed the type of the capital city. In these are concentrated the amenities of an entire region, which would perhaps be more prosperous if they were decentralized. This fact has a particular value for the understanding of the new relationships between town and country. In the first case, that of the industrial towns, there is a strengthening of active relations with the surrounding rural areas, which tend to become urban. In the second case however, the parasitic relationship remains and the modernization of the country is slowed down, instead of being accelerated. Data of the greatest interest concerning these two types of recent urban development in Italy will be found in our collection, and particularly in the contributions by

ARDIGÒ and COMPAGNA.

Passing now to consideration of the specific problems determined by town development, our attention is drawn to three groups of prob-

lems: the difficulties caused by the rapidity of urban growth, particularly in large towns; the complex problems of the immigration currents; and, finally, the present and future relationships between large- and medium-sized towns.

The first order of problems is the better known, because it occurs in similar ways in every country, and is the problem in relation to which scholars, town-planners and administrators profit most from the experience of other countries. It is their hope to develop this same kind of research in Italy also.

As to the second group of problems—which are in general not very different from those existing in other countries—attention has been called to the particular situation of the northern towns, caused by the immigration of southerners. In effect, this immigration not only presents the difficulties of assimilation which occur between groups of different origin and culture, but they are rendered more serious: (a) by the primitive social conditions in the immigrants' home regions; (b) by the extreme poverty and by the lack of professional training of a great many of the immigrants; and (c) by the fact that, in many cases, immigration has a precarious character. In fact, it is not always caused by a real demand for manpower; it is sometimes clandestine because of the restrictive laws; and finally, it is conceived as a temporary stage in the passage towards a further destination. Among other things, the phenomenon has been so massive, sudden and unforeseen that the poorer groups have often been restricted to overcrowded slums in the suburbs, lacking public amenities. This makes a rise in living standards and consequent assimilation still more difficult.

Finally, as far as the third group of problems is concerned, it has been recognized in Italy that the concentration of urban development in a few immense agglomerations cannot give rise to a satisfactory social equilibrium or to a harmonious development of the entire national economy. A growth based on a relative decentralization of industrial activities, and, as a consequence, on the development of many medium and small town centres, instead of a very few large ones, would be much more satisfactory. In spite of this, it has been seen that in our country also the tendency toward centralization has prevailed. With a few exceptions, industrial development has taken place mainly inside or around the large centres already industrialized in the past; the location of industries in small agricultural centres or in small towns previously lacking industrial activity has in many cases taken place only because these places were on the "fringe" of the large industrial centres and would in time have entered the phase of development called "conurbation". The prevalence of the trend to centralization is also shown by the fact that, in the North, the cities with a population between 50 and 100 thousand inhabi-

Table I

THE INCREASE OF URBAN POPULATION IN ITALY IN THE LAST 20 YEARS.

SIZE CATEGORIES Base 1955	No. of Towns	POPULATION		% Base 1955	INCREASE 1936- 1955
		1936	1951		
50,000—100,000 inhabitants					
100,000—250,000 "	32	2,068,000	2,224,000	23.6	12%
Over 250,000 "	11	1,197,000	1,409,000	15.2	24%
TOTAL	8	4,640,000	5,639,000	61.2	30%
% of total population	51	7,905,000	9,272,000	100.0	25%
		29%	31%	—	14%
			32%		
SOUTH					
50,000-100,000 inhabitants					
100,000-250,000 "	22	1,141,000	1,363,000	32.1	27%
Over 250,000 "	5	599,000	766,000	829,000	18.3
TOTAL	4	1,720,000	2,069,000	2,243,000	49.6
% of total population	31	3,460,000	4,198,000	4,522,000	100.0
		22%	24%	25%	—
			24%		
ITALY					
50,000-100,000 inhabitants					
100,000-250,000 "	54	3,209,000	3,587,000	3,781,000	18%
Over 250,000 "	16	1,796,000	2,175,000	2,316,000	29%
TOTAL	12	6,360,000	7,708,000	8,283,000	30%
% of total population	82	11,365,000	13,370,000	14,380,000	26%
		27%	28%	30%	15%

tants have grown very little in the last twenty years. The problem must therefore be studied further and the advocated decentralization would become a possibility only as the result of an intensive planning campaign carried out by the State.

8. *Aspects and problems of industrialization.*

As has been seen, industrialization represents the central factor in the whole process of economic development in Italy and in other countries. Its social aspects therefore deserve particular attention, but this type of study would require numerous inquiries in industrial sociology, and these are still in their infancy in our country. Therefore in this collection of essays we have confined ourselves to considering a few aspects of a more general order, i.e., some problems of the industrialization of the South, on the one hand, and on the other some problems deriving from the present trends in Italian industrial organization.

It is well known that the most serious aspect of the so-called "Southern question" is the lack of industrial development in that region. This aspect brings the problem of the Italian South close to those of other underdeveloped countries. The final goal of the development policy now under way is that of promoting the location of industrial plants in the South, in order to change its economic and social structure in a decisive manner. The ways adopted have been (a) a preparatory action, for the promotion and support of industrial activities, which could be more properly called "industrialization policy". From the economic and social point of view the "pre-industrialization" phase has already started the process—as is indicated in the memorandum on the subject edited by the S.V.I.M.E.Z—by breaking down the previous static economy. This has accelerated social mobility, introduced new sources of income and types of consumption, and extended markets, thus making possible the appearance of industry in some areas.

However, as this process takes place within the framework of the general economic development of the country the industrialization of the South faces the further difficulties derived from the emigration to the North of the most qualified individuals and of those who would be best fitted to assume the responsibility of new industrial concerns. In order to overcome these difficulties, it would be necessary to have a policy of greater incentives toward the location of industry in the South. The main element of this would be to establish State factories, to locate and equip specific "areas of industrial development", and especially to have a more intense professional training for the new tasks, so as to meet the needs both of the industrialization of the South and of a better training of emigrants.

It is unnecessary to point out how useful sociological research could be in drawing up and implementing such a policy.

As far as the other subject concerning industrialization is concerned, FERRAROTTI has rightly started from the essential characteristics of the Italian industrial structure of today: the extreme fragmentation of production, on one side, and the prevalence in many areas of a small number of highly centralized large industries. While the first is largely responsible for the not very high productivity of our industry, it is owing to the second that industrial development is not more diffused and is not carried out in better conditions of free competition. Both maintain our industry in a state—in FERRAROTTI's word—of "family or dynasty management", which is increasingly in contrast with the modern type of industrial organisation of "professional or functional management". These characteristics—reinforced during the twenty years of fascist rule—have caused the "relations between managements and workers" to remain of the paternalistic type. This has hindered the development of the institutionalized type of relation between management and worker which are typical of industrial countries. The growth of Trade Unions would lead to democratisation and elimination of political bitterness, which is certainly not the present situation in Italy.

One of the characteristics of Italian industrial development after the war, though confined to a few cases only, has been the creation of some highly organised and modernly conceived industries, which have formed separate islands in the already insular geography of Italian industry. The study by GALLINO in our collection is devoted to the sociological analysis of the situation which has arisen in these particular industries. He shows that in them, because of the higher productivity and income levels attained, it has been possible for the workers to have better working conditions and a higher standard of living than that of the normal worker. This has created a new type of social stratification, which is not easily integrated in Italian society even in the more progressive industrial centres, partly because these privileged jobs are still relatively unstable. Though the inquiry refers to a very particular branch of our industry, it has a much broader significance, especially as these are the first industries in our country to have introduced human relations departments in the firms, similar to those which characterise modern industry in other countries.

9. *Changes in consumption patterns.*

One of the effects of economic development everywhere is a modification of consumption patterns, and in the "models of consumption" themselves. In what ways has this happened in Italy during the last decade? In spite of the scarcity of published data and of systematic sampling research, which are the only elements throwing

light on this phenomena in the memorandum by MOMIGLIANO and PIZZORNO in our collection, an attempt has been made at a review of the known facts and at a sociological interpretation of some of the more typical trends.

A general analysis of consumption in Italy would either have a poor indicative value or would require an enormous amount of research; the difference in income, traditions and even requirements being very great from region to region, and even more so from area to area and from group to group. The only data available, therefore, are general surveys and a series of observations relating to particular social groups. From both, MOMIGLIANO and PIZZORNO draw some conclusions which, though of a general nature, throw considerable light on this field.

Notwithstanding the increase of the average *per capita* income, the percentage of the total consumption spent on food remains high (46 per cent. of total expenditure) and is not very far from what it was 90 years ago (52 per cent.). However, it is clear that almost everywhere, the limit of physiological need has been surpassed and that we are in a stage of qualitative improvement of the diet. Great progress has been made in this direction since the war, though the prevalent patterns of food consumption are diametrically opposed in the North and in the South. In the South there is "less variety of diet, for psychological reasons such as more deeply rooted habits, or for material ones, such as lack of means to buy more expensive food."

A definite change can be seen in the average consumption expenditure, with an increase particularly in durable household goods, services and entertainment as well as transportation. There is a lack of balance in this greatly increased expenditure which suggests that it is probably "more spectacular than profound," and is "far from reflecting an average level of consumption similar to that of economically developed societies".

In the analysis of consumers' behaviour, the first observation to be made is that the tendency to consumption, rather than saving which prevailed after the limitations of war time and during inflation, has remained in the last decade. This also seems due to the "tendency, characteristic of today's economic system, toward the delegation of risk and of the saving function to public administration and large concerns" as well as to the greater occupational security.

The behaviour, which is characteristic of the masses, does not always apply in the case of particular social groups (e.g. some of the immigrants) and in the case of aspiration towards some durable goods such as a home of one's own. It may undergo a partial change with the prospect of an uninterrupted increase in the income per head.

Finally, insofar as the so-called "consumption models" are concerned, in the present stage of development in Italy it has been found that there exists an intermingling of "the persistence of traditional models with the assimilation of models characteristic of countries more advanced technologically" and this coexistence will continue—and not only because of the dramatic contrast between North and South—as long as "two different economies continue to exist within one national system".

10. New approaches to education and professional training.

One of the social aspects of the recent economic development, and of the changed social conditions of the post-war years, has been the powerful urge towards secondary and university education. Both are dramatically shown by statistics, and need to be sociologically analysed. They put very serious problems before the schools, where their scope, curriculum, and method of teaching are concerned.

For elementary education, it must be observed that because of the decrease in the number of children of school age, the pupils of the first classes had in 1956-57 diminished by 20 per cent. in relation to the figures of 20 years before; the pupils of the 4th and 5th classes had however increased by 20 per cent. This bears witness to an impulse towards the higher grades of elementary and post-elementary education, which makes of immediate concern the raising of the school-leaving age as laid down twelve years ago in the Constitution.

This changed approach to education is also revealed by the list of pupils enrolled in the secondary education institutes, whose number in 1956-57 was two to three times higher than that of 1936-37 and which involves more than a third of the pupils coming from the elementary schools. Another indication is the sudden, post-war increase in University enrolments which tripled the 1936-37 figures, and with some fluctuations has continued ever since.

The explanation for this sudden, radical change is partly objective and partly subjective. It is not surprising that, on the eve of the war, the economic stagnation and the depressed social atmosphere then prevailing should have caused the demand for education to fall. Therefore, the impulse after the war was largely a compensation for the pre-war situation. This is a partial explanation, but the fundamental reason must be found elsewhere. It lies in the intense social mobility caused by war and inflation, by the realization of the need for culture and professional training, and chiefly by the great demand for qualified labour, which was a result of the first years of reconstruction.

It is not possible to say to what extent the impulse has been motivated, by reasons of status or by practical reasons, and only specific

sociological research could give the answer. A rough indication, however, can be given by statistical data, which show ; (a) that the sudden increase of university students in the immediate post-war period expressed the frantic rush for jobs characteristic of those and the following years, and that therefore it stemmed from motivations of "status" though it was directed in a practical sense ; (b) that a similar explanation must unfortunately be given to the appalling increase in the number of students of the secondary schools studying the humanities ; (c) that, on the contrary, a considerable part of the increase in pupils enrolling in professional training schools and technical secondary schools was motivated by practical concerns, i.e. by the wish to prepare for the technical jobs in an increasingly industrialized society ; (d) that in any case, the relation between the two motivations has progressively changed in favour of the practical one.

After what has been said, it is not necessary to add much in order to understand the seriousness of the problems which this changed situation has put before the Italian schools. In a general manner, it may be said—with DE RITA—that quantitatively, the schools have responded in a manner which, if not fully satisfactory, is still such as to satisfy as many demands as possible ; but that, at the same time, they have been taken unawares by the novelty of the demand and have not always renewed their methods and orientation, preferring to adapt traditional concepts to the new situation. Only now, after ten to fifteen years of the new situation can it be said that a process of revision and modernization of the school system is taking place ; it will be a long and complex task because of the many demands it must meet, as has been well shown by DE RITA.

11. *Conclusions.*

The considerations presented here, as a commentary on the essays presented by the Italian group, have, I think, illustrated the dominant aspects of the deep transformation our country is undergoing. For each of these considerations, the sociological significance and interpretation have often been barely mentioned, because the data necessary for a precise study are still lacking. This is still more true of the complex but less obvious consequences of a changing society.

The volume, and the present introductory report, had two modest and well-defined goals, which the authors hope to have attained : to present our foreign colleagues with a picture of the complex Italian situation and a justification for the renewed interest in sociological research; to highlight the situation with the help of our Italian colleagues, with the aim of defining their field of work with precision and clarity.

We know that the work before us is enormous ; it involves assimila-

tion of theories and methods of research, the organization of systematic documentation, and orderly development of direct research inquiries. The results of this effort should, however, convince everyone of the need to put sociological research in Italy on a solid foundation; and of the value of expounding it energetically in the interest of the future development of the country.

MANLIO ROSSI-DORIA.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

IN the discussion which opened after the Chairman's introduction the first point to be dealt with was that of existing and future terminology and its significance and definitions.

H. Z. ULKEN (Turkey) lamented the lack of a unified and suitable terminology; he proposed that terms conveying the impression of a pejorative judgment should be avoided and that the word "underdeveloped" should have a purely technical meaning.

L. CALDERON (Mexico) said that emphasis should be placed on technology in general, and in particular on the sector which was the most indicative of productive method and capacity, i.e. the availability of capital equipment. He therefore proposed that a synthetic expression should be used to denote the phenomenon, namely "technologically under-equipped peoples".

M. RALEA (Rumania) agreed that the significance of the terms used—underdeveloped, depressed, backward, etc., etc.—should be defined and ascertained with greater accuracy. He said, for example, that the term "underdeveloped" could not be applied to the various regions of a country, since the phenomenon of internal differentiation was by its nature different from that of the non-transformation of a society as a whole.

In reply to Mr. Calderon he held that the reference to technology as applied to the production of goods was not sufficient to define the phenomenon. The degree of technical progress was one of the factors to be taken into consideration, but not the only one; it was impossible not to take into account the criteria adopted in the distribution of products; nor could the import-export ratio be overlooked; nor the prevailing standard of living of the population; and last but not least, the cultural level, by which he meant not the degree of cultural refinement achieved by a minority but the greater or lesser diffusion of culture. According to Mr. Ralea this complex of factors, which he had only given as examples, was a better guide than taking one single factor to define the status of underdevelopment or backwardness, or whatever we might wish to call it.

FINDIKOGLU (Turkey) also said that the concept of underdevelopment was very vague and indeterminate. It would be necessary to begin with direct observation for all countries and build up a pattern of development which alone could legitimately be used to deduce the patterns of the underdeveloped country.

Thus we should avoid taking up unilateral attitudes such as those of persons who argue that there is a fixed relationship between the terms "lack of development" and "status of colony", which leave out of account universally known examples (Persia, Turkey, etc.); or such as those of persons who, thinking much along the lines of the first group, find the same relationship in the exploitation of trade exchanges where the qualitative composition of the imports is fundamentally different from that of the exports, forgetting that this difference is not related to political ideology in the most heavily industrialised country.

Dr. G. TAGLIACOZZO (U.S.A.), however, considered that the problem of terminology and definitions had a much more serious basis than mere uncertainty or inaccuracy.

He observed that there was generally a certain tendency in statements and discussions to avoid defining concepts with the depth involved in penetrating to the interplay of primary forces operating in economics and sociology. The doubt arose as to whether there was not a reluctance to propound theories in the light of others' criticisms for fear that cherished ideas would turn out to be indefensible and that the faith which was looked upon as a subconscious protection would be lost; there was also a suggestion that a desire existed to preserve the possibility of agreeing at different times and in different places with the exponents of different and perhaps conflicting political theories.

He therefore considered that a great step forward would be made in our knowledge of these elementary forces and the interplay between them if all the schools of thought (religious and lay alike) were openly and logically to expound the economic and social theories which they accepted and considered to be true; and then to agree to, or rather seek, discussion and counter-suggestion regarding them. This of course assumed that the different schools were not attached irrationally and by prejudice to their theories and that they were prepared to be won over by the conclusions reached in the process of analysis and synthesis on the basis of mutually established facts.

This in turn, and here we reverted to the question of terminology, implied the compiling of a vocabulary in which each term should have the same meaning for each party to the discussion; and it was presupposed a searching examination of the terminology hitherto adopted, in which everyone admitted, if they were honest, that most of the words had a multiplicity of meanings. Dr. Tagliacozzo thought that this process of examination and construction would lead to a fertile

co-existence of all ideas; the historical nature of these would inevitably appear, and even present-day ideas would be seen to rest on foundations differing in age.

E. GIARINI (Italy), for other reasons, also found himself perplexed when faced with the somewhat confused concepts which seemed to prevail in discussions on development problems. It would, he said, be tempting to think that sociology was of secondary importance in the solution of economic problems and to ask how a sociologist as such could profitably devote himself to economic questions. He thought, however, that this was due more than anything else to a confused awareness of sociology as a complex of disciplines. Sociology in itself was the observation of the conduct and mentality of the members of a collective society which arose from the circumstances of their social life and the surroundings in which they grew up. Sociology was therefore the study of the "multiplication" of the individual in so far as society was a collective means of individual development and thus not linked to special forms—not linked, for example, to nations.

This therefore brought us back to economics and thus to a country's economy, because a knowledge of the social structure, viewed as a complex of interacting forces, was a prerequisite to any outside aid intended to modify the results of such interaction. According to Giarini, his view clearly implied that, like every individual in every elementary group, every group in every society was determined and determinative as regards all the others, and that individuals and groups were to be considered as equal from the start. In order to arrive at this knowledge of the social structure sociology tended to create its own paths, which therefore appeared new in face of the traditional paths followed by other disciplines. And it so happened that the further society had progressed in the search for this knowledge the more effective sociology was considered. This was fairly understandable if we admitted that the *a priori* rejection of new concepts was a sign of a primitive attitude.

The discussion then turned to specific problems of development.

R. BICANIC reported on the result of his examination of the U.N. statistics. He had noted a characteristic anomaly in the relationship between the collective income level and the breadth of the institutional sectors: this relationship was positive in countries which were sufficiently industrialised, but negative in underdeveloped ones, where the average income per head did not exceed \$200. In the latter the share of the collective income allotted to dependent workers did not increase in proportion to the increase in the collective income itself, so that there was no application of the principle ruling in the former, namely that the social product must be increased in order to increase wages. On the contrary the converse had to be applied: it was necessary to increase

the wage share so that the amount of products intended for the other, institutional, sector could only increase as a result of an increase in the volume of production. This implied a modification of the institutions, which upset distribution criteria.

E. MOLNAR (Hungary), said that he had noted that prior to the last two world wars the pace of development in the less developed countries was greater than in the others, whereas after the last war the reverse had taken place. Anyone enquiring into this could not fail to be struck by the following facts: (a) that industrial societies had found a means of creating raw materials synthetically, so that non-industrialised countries could no longer find themselves a place in trade exchanges and obtain capital equipment in return for raw materials; and their purchasing power contracted in proportion not only to the contraction in the volume of exports but also to the fall in the unit prices for exported raw materials; (b) that industrial societies had also reduced their investments in these countries, not only directly but also indirectly in the form of monetary loans or the opening of credits; this was dictated not only by the slackened pace of economic expansion in these countries caused by the factor referred to above, but also by the fear of political measures, i.e. socialisation or nationalisation of industries equipped and subsidised from abroad.

Dr. Molnar then expressed his conviction that the question of development should be met and resolved within the underdeveloped countries; and that this could only be achieved by means of a radical transformation in social structure by: (a) land reform, resulting in a large surplus of products in relation to the requirements of the workers engaged in their cultivation and (b) state enterprise in the production of capital goods for the industrialisation which was finally planned.

In support of his conviction Dr. Molnar quoted the example of socialist countries where undeniable results had been achieved in this way and, above all, the prospect had been opened up of quickly reaching the necessary and sufficient conditions for the aim to be achieved.

Dr. RALEA drew attention to the profound difference which existed between climate and natural surroundings on the one hand and, on the other, the more strictly historical circumstances of the relationship of people with other peoples.

The former posed a problem whose solution could, according to him be found in technology; the problem posed by the latter was acutely political.

Here it would be necessary to eliminate all imperialistic group spirit, and the tendency to colonisation (external) and discrimination (internal), without stifling the enthusiasm which arises from confidence in being able to attain a goal, even a state of well-being and freedom

similar to that enjoyed by others; to eliminate those circumstance and elements which tended to prefer instruments of defence or conquest to those of production of goods as such, and to foster or sustain the big international institutions; to diffuse culture as the knowledge of elements and relationships, and as rational thought, gradually eliminating mystical prejudice and irrational belief behind which private interests, fully conscious of what they were doing, could defend themselves. As an example for consideration Dr. Ralea quoted what had happened in India, where land reform had found itself hampered by widespread belief in metempsychosis. The big owners of expropriated land had seen to it that a third of the new holders had refused to accept their holdings by provoking them to the fear that their greed might turn them into dogs in the next life (the dog being considered as an unclean animal).

Father O. POLI (Italy), intervened on this point to say that there was no incompatibility between religion diffused throughout a people which was united in one Church and the application of sociological progress for the purpose of economic development. Throughout its history the Catholic Church had been linked with innumerable measures of economic progress: what it refused to regard as progress was that which did not at the same time lead to a spiritualisation of social life.

Reverting to Dr. Ralea's first point, the influence of the relationship between the people under consideration and other peoples, Dr. SCHULZ (German Democratic Republic) maintained that it was the manner of conceiving society and social relationships which determined aid, or the absence of it, intended to foster the development of other countries. The German Democratic Republic rejected both the idea of colonialism and that of isolationism. But he considered that every country was in a position to put forward a ruling class capable of guiding it towards its ends. Therefore the aid, if called for, must be granted in a spirit of assistance and contribute its own wealth of knowledge, experience, ideas and methods.

International cooperation was a means of speeding up the development of all countries, provided that it took place in a spirit of absolute reciprocity, and not for the purposes of enrichment.

Dr. Schulz concluded that for this purpose a completely negative attitude was represented by the sort of trade where the economically stronger party endeavoured to satisfy its own economic requirements in exchange, whilst denying its partner the possibility of offering its natural products in return or of deferring payment, by claiming to be selective or to take the balance in international currency.

The argument put forward by Dr. Ralea and Dr. Schulz was reinforced and given greater definition by Dr. KOSOK (German Democratic Republic).

He started from the assumption that, the concept of development being an essentially relative one, it was not necessary to look beyond industrial activity.

However, to understand how different was the degree of industrialisation between one country and the next it was necessary to consider the varying possibilities which the different countries had had of expressing themselves. The struggle for this possibility coincided, said Dr. Kossok, with the struggle for independence, which is political, cultural and economic. The third independence, economic independence, could only be obtained by creating an individual culture, and this could not be created unless the struggle for political independence had been successful.

The independences were, however, only permissive conditions. It was therefore necessary for there to be a specific "thrust", though of a political nature: the path of industrialisation started with land reform, which freed the agricultural labourer from being bound to a piece of land and linked him instead with the cultivating organism, and led to a rejection of "static" society. By "static" was to be understood the permanence of states of privilege and private enterprise in production; the initiative for industrialisation should ignore the existing condition of economic and social interests and should always come from the State. It was of necessity a political and cultural fact in itself, characterised by a desire to direct a coordinated capitalisation of its constituent parts towards the attainment of an object which was common to the collective group.

Dr. NIEUWENHUYZE (Netherlands), unlike the previous speakers, considered that the distinction between developed and underdeveloped countries could not be accepted. According to him it was necessary to bear in mind the varied pace of structural transformation between one country and another. We should thus distinguish the "specimens" or "trends" of development. But in order to have a clear picture of this situation it was impossible to approach it and study it from different standpoints and in different aspects. It must be seen as a whole, and the various points of view must therefore converge in one examination. Specialised research, unless undertaken in conjunction with other similar lines of research, was barren. For this reason all countries should be subjected to the examination, so that above all the common elements—circumstances and activities—and the differing ones could be ascertained. This naturally created difficulties in the choice of the field to be taken into consideration, which should offer data. Dr. Neiuwenhuyze stated in this connection that the Institute of Social Studies of The Hague, starting from these premises, was now engaged in a study of the Mediterranean area. Already the solution of problems of method, aspect and observation of social-economic

theories ingrained in the mass of the population had proved of particular interest and significance.

According to Father LA ROSA (Italy), as well, experience in research already carried out led one to prefer the global method for each area, since it seemed clear that the factors determining the state of relative evolution or social inertia were interacting and inseparable. He stated that a recent congress of religious psychology had therefore decided in its studies to differentiate between three types of problem: (a) human depressed areas in large cities; (b) large relatively underdeveloped regions; (c) emigrations from insufficiently industrialised countries. The research group which was set up proposed the following in respect of each of these three fields of enquiry: (1) to define the field better; (2) to adopt as working hypotheses a series of relationships between individual and specific phenomena; (3) wherever possible to verify these hypothetical relationships by experience; (4) to consider the phenomena in relation to their capacity to generate or modify the others in force and direction; (5) to erect hypotheses as to the nature of these phenomena for the purpose of bringing to light elements which might be considered as determinative of the state of things.

The general assumption in this study, concluded Father Rosa, was that each element in the problem, however different in degree, was common to all countries.

In support of the theory that the development of society was determined by the combination of the elements which were the object of sociological study, Dr. G. VERGA (Colombia) drew attention to the experience with economic aid. Very often aid which was limited to a few sectors produced general results which were the opposite of those foreseen or desired.

According to Dr. Verga, it would also be wrong for us to restrict ourselves to a single plan without taking into account the characteristics of the different countries. Whilst recognising that it was necessary to employ specialists, he considered it essential that the work should be coordinated and that each should from time to time correct the efforts of the others and have its own efforts corrected, particularly if it was remembered that technological factors, in surroundings different from those which produced them, tended to provoke negative reactions, precisely because the necessary preparation was lacking, so that the result was often a considerable "application trauma".

It was therefore advisable to follow a slower method which would not give rise to repercussions: to prepare the ground culturally and to stimulate a keen demand for the technology which was to be transplanted. This implied respecting the diversity of civilisations, and, prior to this even, accepting the idea of the possible multiple nature of civilisation. The spread of this idea would, according to Dr. Verga,

lead to a new humanism, which we might call poly-cultural. In practice, therefore, the negative aspects of the various civilisations, i.e. the characteristic prejudices of the populations, could be utilised, in the light of such limits, for development purposes. The basic problem would, Dr. Verga maintained, stand a better chance of being resolved everywhere by individual solutions.

G. BRAGA (Italy) was of the same opinion. Investigations undertaken in Southern Italy on behalf of a large industry which wished to set up a factory had shown that specifically economic problems, easily soluble (in theory) at a technical level, could not be solved so easily in practice, on account not only of institutional and distributive difficulties but also, and perhaps above all, of psychological and intermediate units between the elementary artisan type and the large-scale undertaking. The new plant was conceived in relation to a consumer market which did not entirely coincide with the initial market, and was in fact vastly larger than the latter. The result was that the new factories were out of proportion to the society in which they were to operate; and that instead of being instruments of general well-being they contributed to the maintenance of the old social order, although replacing the old sources as discriminatory elements. They thus created an antithesis between their dependents, who obtained an income related to an activity destined to satisfy the needs of an extraneous society, and those who remained bound to traditional production.

The problem was therefore tackled globally, concluded Dr. Braga, and it was a problem of fusing the entire small group with the larger society. It could only be solved globally, and it was not therefore possible to avoid taking into consideration the limits imposed upon private enterprise by its own objects and the burden of the cost of the public assistance operation. We were now on political ground.

Dr. RAHIMI (Iran) added that social evolution, which was linked to economic development, was related on the one hand to the consciousness of the value democracy (substantial) which the ruling classes of a country had, and on the other to the consciousness of itself which the mass of society had.

At this point Professor M. KAMMARI (U.S.S.R.) intervened to say that many opinions had been expressed and many doubts raised, but that it had been forgotten that the most telling experience was furnished by the development of the Soviet Union. In 1917 the country, particularly in the north, was undeniably in a state of extreme backwardness. The two most obvious causes of this were the policy of discrimination and oppression pursued by the ruling group and the state of ignorance in which the population languished. It should be noted that all underdeveloped countries exhibited the same policy, even if not in a

violent manner, and the same lack of education. In Russia the socialist revolution led both to the unification of the rights of all citizens, irrespective of their social status or nationality, and to the most widespread diffusion of education, which was not dependent upon the family's financial resources. And the outburst of development which followed was spontaneous and general.

This showed that the problem could be solved by the advent to power of a ruling group put forward by the people to apply a socialist policy, and that in substance the problem was one of industrialisation.

It was true that industrialisation could also be arrived at through capitalism, but this was a course which was much slower and not open to all societies. The way of socialism was both quicker and more certain of success.

After Professor Kammari's remarks the Chairman concluded the session.

F. GUALTIEROTTI.

SECTION II(1)j

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO ETHNIC AND RACIAL RELATIONS

Chairman: Professor E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER (Howard University)

Rapporteur: Dr. KENNETH LITTLE (University of Edinburgh)

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

ROGER BASTIDE (Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris)

CALVINISME ET RACISME

Le calvinisme a-t-il joué un rôle dans la genèse du racisme? Ou bien celui-ci n'aurait-il qu'une origine économique? notre point de départ sera le comportement différent des protestants et des catholiques dans les communautés multiraciales.

L'étude de la pensée de Calvin montre que toute sa théologie est opposée au racisme (égalité des hommes dans le péché et primauté de la loi de charité); mais cette pensée aussi, par sa définition du paganisme, sa théorie des signes extérieurs de la prédestination, comme par celle de la diversité des vocations, base du pouvoir politique, et celle de la distinction entre l'Eglise invisible et les églises-institutions, pouvait créer des attitudes favorables au racisme dans des communautés multiraciales.

Le calvinisme est d'abord étudié dans les débuts de la colonisation en rapport avec "l'esprit de frontière"; il y apparaît comme un élément constituant (de la culture qu'il s'agit de défendre), formateur (l'attraction de la culture indigène y prenant la forme d'un artifice diabolique), et justificatif de l'exploitation (le succès du blanc étant le signe de l'élection divine). Bref, il faut situer le calvinisme dans un processus dialectique.

Les facteurs économiques devenant de plus en plus prépondérant, mais ceux-ci jouant toujours à l'intérieur d'âmes croyantes, le calvinisme se transforme aujourd'hui en simple idéologie et nous voyons alors apparaître, avec la mauvaise conscience, un "dilemme calviniste" (anologue, quoique différent, au dilemme américain).

SYDNEY COLLINS (University of Edinburgh)

COLOURED AND WHITE IMMIGRANTS IN BRITAIN AND THE COMPARATIVE ROLE OF THEIR SPONSORS

In this paper sponsorship will be considered with respect to its rôle in integrating white and coloured immigrants into British society as illustrated by West Indian and Chinese on the one hand, and by Jews and Hungarians on the other. By a sponsor I mean an individual or group of persons who assumes the rôle of establishing another individual or group in an acceptable social position.

The members of a society may be considered in terms of an arrangement approximating concentric systems, each being nearer or more remote from the core of the society. The immigrants are more often than not to be found on the social periphery with racial or cultural barriers keeping some indefinitely parked on its outskirts. The technique and the effectiveness of the sponsor's rôle will to a great extent depend on his prestige, his relative social position and his ability to exercise formal or informal powers of control over the situation. For example, the acceptance which Hungarian refugees received in Britain was to a large extent due to the prestige of the organisations and individuals that sponsored them.

Sponsors may be found in both the immigrant group and in the host society. On finding employment and a house the immigrant often invites dependents or friends from his home country. But the sponsoring rôle of immigrants in a marginal social position like the West Indians is not usually very effective. In contrast the Jews, who have risen remarkably in social status, occupy a much more favourable position.

The State, backed by its legal and political machinery is a most powerful sponsor of the host society. But voluntary organisations, especially those of a traditional character such as the churches, have played a most active and conspicuous rôle in this process of integration.

Sponsorship in one area of life, without the appropriate response of the immigrants in other areas may, as in the case of the Chinese, even retard their total integration. Sponsorship is a dynamic rôle and its goal is the acceptance of the immigrants, sharing full rights and obligations of other members of the society.

MAURICE FREEDMAN (London School of Economics and Political Science)

THE GROWTH OF A PLURAL SOCIETY IN MALAYA

Two different patterns of immigration have shaped Malaya's modern history. The Chinese and the Indians (who number in the Federation and Singapore nearly 3,500,000 and about 900,000, respectively) have remained Chinese and Indians in culture, social organisation, and political status. The Malays have built up a population of some 3,300,000 by absorbing newcomers from the area now known as Indonesia. British policy regarded the Malays as enjoying primacy of occupation and political rights. It has been possible for non-Malaysians to be assimilated into the privileged part of the population (principally by adopting Islam), but there has never been a considerable movement of this kind.

Under British control the Malay States underwent profound economic and political changes. The Malays were only in small measure agents of the economic revolution. In the traditional system trading on any considerable scale had been conducted by the territorial chiefs who, under *pax britannica*, were pensioned, some of them being made administrative officers; trading became an essentially non-Malay pursuit. The Malay peasantry refused generally to sell their labour, but adapted themselves to the new economy by producing cash-crops. The traditional Malay class system persisted in outline, the aristocracy providing the new administrative class. This class has produced the leaders of a Malay nationalism which seeks to keep the Federation in some real sense a Malay country.

Chinese immigrants filled the growing towns of modern Malaya. They supplied skilled and unskilled labour to the new enterprises, for some of which they were responsible. Many have lived, as miners and cultivators of commercial crops, in the countryside. They have provided the bulk of Malaya's trading class. Organising themselves in relation to their economic roles, the Chinese built up a social system in which status and power depended directly on economic control. The cultural distinctiveness of the Chinese was reinforced by modern Chinese nationalism.

The great majority of Indian immigrants were recruited for estate work. In consequence a characteristic form of Indian local community had been a body of workers on a plantation, housed and supervised by an industrial concern. Many Indians have taken on commercial roles, both urban and rural. Like the Chinese, the Indians have remained a culturally self-conscious category of the population.

Although Malays, Chinese, and Indians are meaningful categories, they are not highly organised entities. Before the Pacific War the plural society consisted not of ethnic blocs but of categories within which small groups emerged on a local basis

to form social ties inside and across ethnic boundaries. The interlocking of these groups, economically and politically, forbids our looking at Malay, Chinese, and Indian "societies" as though they were discrete entities.

Malaya was and remains a culturally plural society, but from a purely structural point of view its plural nature is more marked today than ever before. Nationalism and political independence in its early phase have tended to define on a country-wide basis (as far as the Federation is concerned) ethnic "communities" which were formerly only categories. As Malays, Chinese, and Indians come to be recognised as structural entities they can have "total" relations among them.

One of the disadvantages of the idea of the plural society is that it tempts us to argue from cultural and "racial" appearances to sociological realities. Malaya has shewn important cultural and "racial" divisions, but these have not (or had not up to recently) created cleavages running the length and the breadth of the society. The social ideals of the various categories have been different, but in coming to terms, or keeping their distance, in local situations, they have (or had) prevented a massive alignment of ethnic forces.

M. A. JASPAN (University of Indonesia, Djakarta)

ETHNIC AND RACIAL RELATIONS IN INDONESIA

The prevailing patterns of social cohesion and rupture in Indonesia are examined from the viewpoint of the structure of inter-ethnic and inter-racial group relations. Of a present population of eighty-eight million it is estimated that eight-four million are native Indonesians, three million Chinese, and under half a million Eurasians and Europeans. In the Dutch colonial period "race" was a legal concept and the basis of a hierarchical division of society. Since the independence revolution of 1945, it has been rejected as a legal term or as a recognised civic entity. Nevertheless there are still tensions between racial groups whose social identity and cohesiveness have outlived the abolition of "race" as a politico-constitutional entity.

Ethnic consciousness is rapidly growing among the 360 nationalities. The Dutch had regarded the Toba, Minahassa and Ambon ethnic groups with special favour. These groups have suffered since the revolution from the loss of their former élite powers and privileges. They have tended to develop sharp conflicts with neighbouring peoples. On a broader scale they have identified themselves with anti-government rebellions and separatist political movements.

The republican government is anxious to promote a national consciousness and solidarity, consequently it has neglected the existence and interests of the nationalities.

LEO KUPER (University of Cape Town)

THE HEIGHTENING OF RACIAL TENSION

Analysis of techniques for heightening racial tensions may suggest a fresh approach to the reduction of racial tensions, since they are based on the same theoretical propositions. South African experience provides a case study in the heightening of race tensions.

The first step is to heighten racial consciousness, by so weaving racial classification into the perception of the individual, that the basic definition of the widest possible range of situations is in racial terms. This is achieved by: (a) an unambiguous system of racial classification; (b) the extension of the range of situations in which racial classification is mandatory as a guide to conduct, thus emphasising the primacy of the racial criterion in the daily routine of living; (c) rewards and punishments reinforcing the system; and (d) the canalising of race consciousness in an

antagonistic direction by ideologies which emphasise the inevitability of conflict between races, and represent their contact as a struggle for survival.

The second step is to heighten race prejudice and race tension by extending discrimination to the widest possible range of contact situations. The dominant group finds itself consistently in a position of superiority, and this routine experience may be expected to reinforce sentiments of superiority expressed in the demand for its maintenance and perhaps its enhancement by further discrimination. A realistic basis for these sentiments of superiority is ensured by discrimination itself, which limits the opportunities of the subordinate races.

A number of problems are raised in regard to the relationship between prejudice and discrimination and over-conformity is suggested as a mode of adjustment by the non-prejudiced discriminator. The role of exceptions and of penal sanctions is discussed in relation both to the reduction and heightening of racial prejudice.

SHEILA PATTERSON (Institute of Race Relations, London)

A RECENT WEST INDIAN MIGRANT GROUP IN BRITAIN

The paper reports on a two-and-a-half year field-study of the development of relationships between recent West Indian migrants and the local population in the South London district of Brixton, which was chosen as an area fairly typical of the new type of West Indian settlement in a central industrialised area, as contrasted with the older, peripheral settlements in docks and ports.

The paper puts forward the hypothesis that the present situation of the new West Indian migrant group in Britain is an immigrant situation rather than a colour or race situation. The recent West Indian migrants differ considerably in social and cultural background as well as in colour from the receiving society, in which mild xenophobia is a cultural norm. The colour difference, however, makes the newcomers more noticeable and more strange than other outsiders.

The paper goes on to discuss the development of relations between the immigrants and the receiving society in three main spheres of association, those of economic life, housing and social relationships. Whereas until 1956 housing constituted the main area of potential friction, employment has since taken this place. Social relationships between immigrants and local people are largely restricted to casual, and to a lesser extent, formal contacts.

The process of adaptation and acceptance may be relatively slow and difficult, not only because of colour but because the majority of migrants are in fact only equipped to enter British society at a low socio-economic level, and because West Indian lower-class cultural patterns differ considerably from those in the receiving society.

A large-scale economic recession in the next few years could certainly upset and perhaps reverse the slow process of accommodation. Otherwise, the material from Brixton and similar areas suggests that the process of adaptation and acceptance will continue, facilitated by the relatively small numbers involved and by the fact that Britain has a unified and democratic social structure which permits of no formal differentiation of minority groups.

ANTHONY H. RICHMOND (University of Edinburgh)

APPLIED SOCIOLOGY AND PUBLIC POLICY CONCERNING RACIAL RELATIONS IN BRITAIN

This paper begins by considering some of the philosophical and methodological assumptions underlying the application of sociological knowledge to practical problems of public and social policy. The author is critical of Gunnar Myrdal's

suggestion that sociologists must take into account the "power co-efficients" of different value premises when making policy recommendations. It is argued that to do this is likely to reinforce the *status quo*. Value premises should be made explicit as Myrdal suggests, but they should be based upon the sociologist's own deepest convictions. As far as racial relations are concerned in many parts of the world today the values, which uphold the existing distribution of power between black and white, need to be challenged.

The author goes on to outline the main value premises underlying the researches and policy recommendations of most sociologists who have studied the race situation in Britain. He proceeds, in the light of these assumptions and the evidence from various researches, to list a series of measures which should be adopted in Britain if an effective public policy designed to reduce racial conflict and promote the assimilation and adjustment of recent coloured immigrants is to be achieved. These measures include a school and adult educational campaign, designed to reduce prejudice among the white population; legislation designed to restrict discrimination in the letting of property, and admission to public bars, dance halls, etc.; the expansion of existing welfare facilities for the coloured immigrants; and the pursuit by the government of policies designed to maintain full employment and reduce the present housing shortage, failure to do these two things having been responsible for the deterioration in racial relation in Britain which led to the disturbances in Nottingham and Notting Hill in 1958.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

THE Chairman, Professor Frazier, opened this section by reference to the papers and their contents. He drew attention to the fact that several authors had written in such a way as to suggest a convergence in patterns of race relations between the United States and Britain. Professor Frazier proposed that should make a subject for immediate discussion, and so Professor Lee and Mrs. Patterson, whose papers were most central to this problem, were asked to outline their respective points of view. The salient considerations that arose in this connection were as follows: Professor Lee suggested that for purposes of analysis Britain could be regarded as a class society, and the United States as a bi-racial society. Though not radically in disagreement with Professor Lee, Mrs. Patterson felt that Britain was perhaps becoming a multi-racial society. Both speakers, however, agreed ethnographically about the two situations and Mrs. Patterson also accepted Professor Lee's suggestion that there was one important variable upon which the future of race relations would hinge. In the United States, it would hinge on the question of housing and in Britain largely on the question of employment. On the other hand, Mrs. Patterson's formulation of the British situation as an immigrant problem complicated by colour was a provocative statement in the view of several members of the conference, and Professor Ira Reid, in particular, disagreed with the suggestion that West Indians in Britain could be compared with Puerto Ricans in New York. The latter group were different in language and culture from the local population as well as being economically very poor and rural in back-

ground. The relevance of this objection was not challenged by Mrs. Patterson.

A further interesting slant to this discussion was given by Dr. Collins who pointed out the considerable variation in local situations in Britain. Professor Lee's work was conducted in a local area and Mrs. Patterson's observations were also confined to a particular locality. Dr. Collins spoke from a more general background of fieldwork and study of the literature and so he felt that any comparison made with the United States must be made with care as it would inevitably involve a good deal of generalization. He, too, stressed the implications of the British social structure for this problem. Professor Reid seemed in agreement on this point and made the further suggestion that the phenomenon of 'colour-shock' should be taken into account in Britain.

It was not quite clear whether Professor Reid meant that British people suffered shock or West Indians, since it is possible that 'colour-shock' obtains in both cases. The light-skinned West Indian is shocked because his fairer complexion does not connote higher status as it does in the West Indies, and British people are sometimes shocked by the experience of Africans or West Indians, whom they had taken over the telephone for Englishmen, possessing black faces.

Another important question talked about was that of race consciousness—how it is created or diminished as the case may be. Professor Kuper's paper provided an important contribution to this matter but he was unfortunately unable to be present to elaborate his views. He had suggested a number of mechanisms whereby racial feeling was generated

- (a) by the classification of people according to race;
- (b) by making racial classification mandatory as a guide to conduct;
- (c) by instituting a system of rewards and punishments in respect of racial behaviour.

On the same subject Professor Blumer pointed out the significance of public discussion for racial alignments—that through public discussion, in the press and in other ways, groups were assisted to form conceptions of each other. Professor Blumer also considered that this was an area of research which would help to reveal the way in which racial attitudes were crystallized.

Mr. Fosbrooke took up the same point, drawing attention to the Central African Federation. There, the Northern Rhodesian Government had deliberately set up race relations committees with the object of holding relations between Africans and Europeans up for public review—an objective which was also fulfilled through the publication of debates in the legislature about this topic. Mr. Fosbrooke also

pointed out that British policy was reluctant to legislate for such matters, it being the government's argument that good race relationships cannot be created by law.

The Section had a contribution from Professor Klineberg on the same score. He spoke about the labelling of groups, but in this connection a number of speakers pointed out that 'labelling' need not necessarily have a deleterious effect: sometimes the result was positive.

The main part of the Section's discussion centred, however, on the wide and more controversial question of the meaning of race consciousness and of race relations as a subject of study.

In this connection, a good deal of doubt was expressed about the usefulness of existing formulations, and several speakers stressed that the existence of racially mixed communities did not necessarily connote racial tension, nor was there any necessary linkage with race consciousness. Professor Gosley pointed to the influence of the biological sciences on sociological thinking about race relations as did the Chairman, Professor Frazier, in his presidential paper. Professor Gosley, however, made the extra point that it was anxiety for scientific explanation which had tended historically to result in racial explanations of group behaviour. Another speaker suggested that Park's definition of race relations as 'the relations existing between peoples distinguished by marks of racial descent . . .' had tended to reinforce a rather limited interpretation of the subject.

In this connection, therefore, Professor Gosley went on to ask if the topic need be confined to groups actually different in race in the proper sense of the term; and other speakers raised a similar issue. It was pointed out, for example, that there were cultural rather than racial factors to distinguish such groups as Chinese, Indonesians, and Malays who were in close proximity with each other. Were we right, therefore, to restrict our attention to relations between black and white, when there were also considerable group tensions in Asia and elsewhere. Indeed, a few speakers were inclined to extend the area of discussion to relations between what were termed the 'merchant' or 'middle-class' Jewish, Lebanese and other similar groups with the large indigenous populations among whom such immigrants had settled.

From the wide nature of this discussion it may be gathered, as Mr. Jaspan pointed out, that there was some confusion over the term 'ethnic'—versus—'racial'. It was therefore suggested by at least one speaker that in considering these problems a more rigid categorization was necessary. It was necessary to separate the kind of problem which involved the attribution of hereditary traits of a biological kind to a group from the kind of problem which involved merely feelings of

national or cultural difference. In this connection, Professor Handlin, following Professor Gosley's historical point, stressed the relatively recent origin of 'racial' thinking, and the audience was also reminded that although religion and culture had been a basis for group antagonism and conflict from the earliest time, the racial factor as such probably did not provide such a basis until after the Middle Ages.

In a somewhat similar connection, several speakers also pointed out that there was a difference between race relations and colour relations. In the former case, a biological explanation of such relationships was postulated; in the latter case a social one. In this regard, the Chairman reminded the Section that colour had such a social connotation among certain strata of the American Negro community. This meant that although American Negroes did not discriminate *racially* against each other, there was sometimes discrimination on the grounds of social factors, such as wealth or education. Other speakers provided further illustrations of this phenomenon in Brazil and the West Indies. The Chairman also made his own point of view clear when he said that a racial situation exists when people think of themselves and of other groups in racial terms, and when the status of groups is similarly defined.

It seemed possible that some of the difficulties and confusions arising in these respects arose because of diffidence over use of the term 'race' itself, despite the fact that this matter has been threshed out by various UNESCO committees and their findings have been published.

A further slant was given to the discussion by reference to the possible relationship of certain personality types to race relations, it being suggested that the authoritarian personality is more prone to prejudice. These views met with the criticism that it is difficult to show how specific so-called psycho-genetic factors may be for prejudice. For example, what happens to this kind of personality in a country or a community providing no opportunity for racial prejudice? Dr. Klineberg expressed this objection pithily in the observation that there are certain individuals who are prepared to hate everybody "irrespective of race, colour, or creed."

Another related trend in the discussion included the comparison of racial relations with a number of other kinds of sociological situation. This point emerged specifically in the discussion of British race relations where, it was pointed out, the position of an African or a West Indian might be similar to that of a working-class person confronted with a 'middle-class' situation. The African or West Indian might complain that they never knew where they stood in British society, but this was also true of the working-class individual who, in the circumstances mentioned, might feel equally uneasy and uncertain of people's expectations of his behaviour.

Likewise, the phenomenon of xenophobia—fear or hatred of the stranger—although often quoted in explanation of racial tensions and difficulties—crops up in a wide variety of other social situations familiarly spoken of in terms of the In-group-Out-group relationship.

Thus, from the general nature of the discussion, including some of the demands made for a revision of customary formulations, it might seem as if students of so-called racial problems are turning methodologically in a somewhat different direction. Recognizing that the notion of racial and ethnic relations is scientifically of little use except as a 'blanket' expression, it may be that future students will concentrate their attention more upon social factors than upon the attitudes and sentiments previously held to influence the behaviour of groups towards each other.

Such a development would be in line with the Chairman's own claim that the study of race relations is progressing with the development of sociology itself as a social science discipline.

KENNETH LITTLE.

SECTION II(1)k
THE APPLICATION OF
SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO THE FAMILY

Chairman: Professor REUBEN HILL (University of Minnesota)

Rapporteur: M. JEAN-RENE TREANTON
(Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris)

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

PIERRE DE BIE et ROBERT HOEBAER (Université de Louvain)

*CONTRIBUTION D'UNE ÉTUDE RÉCENTE DES BUDGETS FAMILIAUX À
LA POLITIQUE FAMILIALE*

L'enquête budgétaire décrite a pour objet de comparer les données relatives à la couverture des besoins des enfants à charge de familles appartenant à trois milieux socio-professionnels distincts: ouvriers salariés, exploitants agricoles, fonctionnaires et employés des cadres.

En vue de répondre à cet objectif trois points ont été analysés: l'influence de la présence d'enfants sur le niveau de la consommation des biens et de l'utilisation des services, les restrictions éventuelles que s'imposent les ménages suite à la dégradation du niveau de vie causée par la présence d'enfants, et le coût de l'enfant à différents âges, coût établi en liaison étroite avec le mode de vie du milieu socio-professionnel considéré.

L'enquête porte également sur d'autres points: elle mesure de façon précise l'incidence qu'ont sur les comportements économiques des ménages le niveau des ressources, la résidence dans un milieu urbain, l'appartenance à un milieu socio-culturel wallon ou flamand.

La méthode de sélection des ménages a été dominée par le principe suivant: obtenir la collaboration de ménages différent entre eux par le nombre d'enfants à charge mais aussi homogènes que possible, à l'intérieur d'un milieu socio-professionnel déterminé, à l'égard des principaux facteurs pouvant influencer le montant et l'orientation des dépenses.

Afin de permettre une analyse portant sur des ménages présentant une homogénéité plus grande, des échantillons plus restreints, appelés échantillons expérimentaux, ont été créés à partir de l'échantillon obtenu en fin d'enquête.

La durée de l'enquête a été de 52 semaines dans les milieux d'ouvriers et d'agriculteurs, et de 14 semaines dans le milieu d'employés. La méthode du livre des comptes a été utilisée mais chez les employés cette méthode a été complétée par celle des interviews. Toutes les dépenses et toutes les consommations du ménage ont été incluses dans l'enquête; dans le milieu agricole les frais se rattachant à l'exploitation agricole ont bien entendu été exclus.

HAROLD T. CHRISTENSEN (Purdue University)

*AN ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL RELATIVISM AS APPLIED TO PREMARITAL
SEX NORMS*

In line with the theory of cultural relativity, it was hypothesized that premarital sex norms not only vary from society to society, but that *the more permissive societies tend to combine greater indulgence with fewer negative effects*—since in these cases intimate behavior is to a large extent compatible with the values held.

For a test of this hypothesis, premarital sex data were studied and compared among samples from three widely different cultures: Denmark, where norms are liberal and permissive; Utah, where they are conservative and restrictive; and Indiana, which holds something of a middle position between these two extremes. As expected, the Danish sample showed the highest rates of illegitimacy and of premarital conception followed by marriage, and the longest interval between conception and marriage for those who became pregnant prior to the wedding. In contrast, Utah rates of premarital conception were found to be the lowest of the three, and her average interval between conception and marriage, for premarital conceiver, the shortest. The divorce-rate-differential between premarital and post-marital conceivers was found to be considerably less in Denmark than in Indiana—though premarital pregnancy turned out to be somewhat associated with divorce in both of these cultures. (Utah data were unavailable for this last comparison).

Thus, as measured by incidence of premarital conception in these samples, permissive sex norms lead to greater premarital intimacy, but with this behavior having smaller consequences in terms of either speeding up the wedding or inducing divorce later on. In other words, premarital sex behavior and its consequences are to a considerable extent relative to the culture. There is a strong suggestion, however, that *not everything is relative*, as evidenced by the association of divorce with premarital pregnancy in both of the cultures studied on this point.

NELSON N. FOOTE (General Electric Company) and ROLF MEYERSOHN
(University of Chicago)

ALLOCATIONS OF TIME AMONG FAMILY ACTIVITIES

The field work of an exploratory study of the activities of forty-eight families in Tarrytown, New York, has been completed and the analysis begun. We ventured upon a study of time allocation in order to describe empirically a family's style of life, and in order to develop a way in which this material can be compared with accounts of how families spend their money. We also wanted to find out in a pilot effort what difficulties would be encountered in a study of time expenditures approaching the size of the major American consumer expenditure studies.

Formulation of a proper research question relevant to theory did not begin until we questioned the meaning of "allocation." Our descriptive study of time allocation gathered depth as we began to conceive of it as an index of the degree to which people do successfully manage their own activity.

Our principal method was to enlist families to keep diaries. The forty-eight families were selected so as to maximize variation by means of a quota-control sample; the quotas were set according to age of head, commuter status, tenure status (own or rent), and occupation. Over the course of one year five diaries were placed, one at a time, with the families, each for a different day of the week and a different season.

Each diary entry was treated as a sentence, and this grammatical assumption provided the basis for coding the diary materials. By coding family activities as sentences—units consisting of verb, object, and indirect object—we were able to organize our data for manipulation by machine sorting and for classification into a number of broad categories.

Activities are manifested through the medium of time; time can be considered the form and activity the content of behavior. We delineated five aspects of time: location, duration, organization, coordination, and allocation. The study was more successful in opening up these avenues for further investigation than in finding out whether people do indeed allocate their time with varying degrees of control.

In asking respondents to evaluate each activity, we found three questions which could help in the interpretation of the significance of the activity. Each activity should be designated (1) as initiated by self or other, (2) as routine or special, and (3) as enjoyed or disliked.

A GIRARD (Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques, Paris)
L'ETUDE DES BUDGETS DE FAMILLE EN FRANCE

Sans donner une liste exhaustive des études sur les budgets de famille en France, cette communication s'efforce de définir les objectifs principaux qui ont présidé aux recherches, surtout depuis la fin de la guerre. Préoccupation démographique d'abord : eu égard à la dénatalité antérieure, étude du niveau de vie selon le nombre des enfants, menée à la fois de manière théorique en comparant les ressources et les besoins, et pratiquée par observation directe. Préoccupation sanitaire et diététique, pour connaître la structure et la qualité de la ration alimentaire. Préoccupation économique, afin de suivre l'évolution du coût de la vie et celle de la consommation, actuelle ou prévisible, en fonction des changements intervenant dans le pouvoir d'achat.

Les travaux ont été rarement accomplis à la demande du sociologue, mais celui-ci pourrait profiter du matériel rassemblé pour élaborer une théorie de la sociologie de la famille. Les relations entre les personnes au sein de la famille, ou entre les groupes sociaux, étant étroitement liées au statut économique et aux disponibilités financières de chacun, une meilleure typologie de la famille pourrait être entreprise, en même temps qu'une analyse par milieu des fonctions de la famille, ou des changements provoqués dans les valeurs par des modifications du niveau de vie. Des expériences pourraient être conduites en faisant varier les ressources de familles dont les modes de dépenses seraient alors étudiés par référence à un groupe témoin. De toute manière, l'observation devrait être poursuivie dans le temps.

En un mot, la complexité de la vie moderne a provoqué un développement des recherches empiriques sur les budgets de famille, actuelles et prévisionnelles, qui se trouvent à la disposition du sociologue, pour élaborer, à partir du concret, un cadre théorique et conceptuel, notamment dans le domaine de la famille.

MIRRA KOMAROVSKY, H. JANE PHILIPS and DOROTHY WILLNER
(Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University)
CLASS DIFFERENCES IN MARRIAGE COMMUNICATION

The paper reports on one section of a larger study of sixty working class marriages based on intensive interviews with both husband and wife in an industrial community of 63,000. The families were predominantly Protestant, native born of native parents, semi-skilled or skilled workers, under 40 years of age, and all with children. In terms of these criteria, 41 were drawn from the city directory, and 19 came from church lists.

The focus of this report is on norms and behavior with regard to primacy and privacy of conjugal communication. It was hypothesized that the highschool graduates would be more likely than those with lesser education to express the ideal of close and exclusive communication between spouses. Two projective tests did support the hypothesis that the highschool graduates indorsed such ideals more frequently.

As to actual behavior, an attempt was made to ascertain whether each subject had a confidant, someone with whom he or she shared regularly personal matters of deepest concern in generally protected areas, at times even matters withheld from spouse. Three types were distinguished:

- A. The "Anomic" subjects, those whose marriage communication was seriously impaired, and who had no one else either.
- B. The Conjugal Dyad, those whose communication with spouse ranged from only fair to excellent, and who had no other confidant.
- C. Those who did have a confidant other than spouse.

Relative frequency of these three types is presented by sex and education. In both educational categories husbands are found to have fewer confidants than do the wives. The "anomic" type occurs more frequently in the less well educated groups and is more common among husbands than wives. On the other hand, highschool women had a confidant about as frequently as the less educated women. It appears, therefore, that women vary more in ideal norms than they do in actual behavior.

EUGENE LITWAK (The University of Michigan School of Social Work)

THE USE OF EXTENDED FAMILY GROUPS IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SOCIAL GOALS: SOME POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this paper is to show that modified extended family relations are used as generalized means for achieving most social goals and to discuss the consequent policy implications which follow. The argument is made that in a society dominated by technological innovation and the consequent social change, learning group tradition will not lead to the achievement of social values. As a consequence, attention should be directed to generalized means which permit individuals to operate in most situations—regardless of their novelty.

Unlike the classical extended family, the modern version does not demand geographical propinquity nor is it ruled by demands for occupational nepotism. At the same time it is argued that this modern extended family provides significant social aid to the nuclear family members.

In this connection the paper seeks to demonstrate that the modern extended family can maintain its relations despite differential occupational and geographical mobility among family members. Furthermore, this aid does not lead to a dominance of the nuclear family by the extended family, but rather to the achievement of nuclear family goals—as defined by the nuclear family. Nor does this aid lead to occupational nepotism.

From this analysis certain broad policy lines for family life are suggested. There is a need to sensitize individuals to the mechanisms by which family relations can be maintained over geographic and social distance. There is a need to sensitize individuals to the mechanisms by which aid can be given without social dominance. There is a need to sensitize individuals to the mechanisms by which family aid can be isolated from the occupational demands for appointment by merit.

LEOPOLD ROSENMAYR (Social Science Research Center, University of Vienna)

VALUES AND ROLES IN VIENNESE FAMILY LIFE: SOME RESEARCH EXAMPLES TO DEMONSTRATE THE INNER CONNECTION BETWEEN "PURE" AND "APPLIED" RESEARCH

The paper presents the hypothesis that any study of the *sociological aspect* of a human problem may result in findings meaningful for sociological theory as well as for practical decisions in social life (e.g., legislative and administrative measures, direct and indirect social action, regional planning, educational and therapeutic practices). The categories of "pure" and "applied" research in the traditional philosophy of science are convenient and justifiable only if they are regarded as

defining an emphasis in the elaboration and presentation of results, but not as a distinction of principle in the selection and classification of research topics or methods.

Findings from three empirical studies conducted by the author at the Social Science Research Laboratory of Vienna University are then reported and the attempt is made to show both their contribution to "middle range" theory formation and to areas of practical application.

One of the studies based on field research furnished evidence that the old people's desire to live together in one household with their adult children was relatively low. Only 29 per cent of a sample of 862 persons (men over 65, women over 60) wanted to live in households together with their families. Of those who actually lived with their adult children more than one third would actually have wished to dissolve this close, day by day association.

Our study demonstrated that the aged people desired regular social exchange and contacts, but, in a strong majority of cases, did not want to live in households with their families. From a theoretical point of view it was interesting to note that neither E. W. Burgess' concept of the dissolution of the multigenerational extended family nor the conclusions drawn from the studies of M. Young, P. Willmott and P. Townsend emphasizing the close intergenerational collaboration especially between mothers and daughters in London could be considered valid for the social reality in Vienna. We were thus led to the notion of an intimacy "*par distance*" to characterize the model of family contacts as old people in Vienna desire them.

Such results have implications also for design and planning of homes and neighborhoods and for the social administration renting the publicly built homes.

Data from a second research project on the role of the mother in Viennese family life gave evidence that despite a commonly observed relation between female labor on the one hand and fertility on the other there is no necessary connection between them. Although it seems to have some general validity to say that through the entry of the woman into the labor force some basic attitudes are changed and thereby also aspirations arise which inevitably affect their sex and family life, it may, as we hypothesized in order to explain one important type of mothers' labor in Vienna, occur that women go to work in order to lay the socio-economic foundation for a home with children.

Such a result leads to a series of consequences in regard to social action for the family. It demonstrates a certain socio-economic "necessity" of female labor and orients family-policy toward the amelioration of female labor and its adjustment to some basic aspects of the female role in marriage and the family rather than toward its negation.

The third part of the paper reported on leisure and the family in a rural area connected with Vienna through commuters who live there, and it demonstrated the range of application of the findings of a time budget study undertaken there.

ERWIN K. SCHEUCH (University of Cologne)

LEISURE AND THE FAMILY

Two basic and largely contradictory evaluations prevail in sociological literature on the effect of leisure on the family and the family on leisure in contemporary industrialized urban societies. While especially in the USA it is often maintained that with the reduction in family size and the loss of functions the family will also lose in importance for leisure, other authors think that the leisure function is of increasing importance for the family along with the general strengthening of affective functions. Material from studies by the Institute for Social Research at Cologne,

based on representative samples, is re-analyzed with reference to such and related theories, and compared with other German sources.

Some characteristic features of the Cologne studies are that not merely individual activities are studied successively, but also classes of such activities. Such dichotomies as activities inside versus outside the home, and family oriented versus non-family centered activities are employed. Furthermore, the content of conversations and the importance of primary contacts are evaluated. In explaining observed frequencies of categories for leisure behaviour, again not only individual factors are used, but also bundles of such factors defined by scaling methods, as well as abstract categories for groups of variables. Examples are: social status, authority structure of families, family type according to composition of membership, as well as activities by phases of the week and the year.

This analysis suggests that leisure even for urban populations is largely familial in character and centered inside the home, with characteristic deviations from this general pattern for subgroups and time periods. There is, however, ground for the suspicion that these studies, as well as most other material available, concentrate too much on husband-wife relationships and neglect interaction between the generations. Critical analysis also leads to the question, whether the pursuit of identical interests can implicitly be used—as it frequently is—as a yardstick in assessing integration and equilibrium in the family. Instead of the assumptions usually connected with the concept of the “companionship marriage,” it is recommended that the differences in functions of leisure due to the differentiation in instrumental roles between man and wife should be more consciously considered.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

LE PR. REUBEN HILL, président de la Commission, avait prévu une discussion en trois temps: brève présentation des communications, réponse aux éclaircissements demandés par l'assistance; à partir de ces exemples concrets, débat sur un problème plus général: quels principes, quelles méthodes, quelles précautions faut-il suivre pour passer de la recherche fondamentale à la recherche appliquée en matière de sociologie de la famille? En fait, les deux premières étapes ont été plus longues que prévu, et la troisième, faute de temps, a été pratiquement sacrifiée.

Nous résumons ici les principaux points sur lesquels ont porté les échanges de vues entre les auteurs des communications et les auditeurs: M. CHRISTENSEN a précisé la notion de *culture* telle qu'il l'a utilisée dans son étude: *Cultural Relativism and Premarital Sex Norms*. Il convient avec M. MOGEY (Gr.-Br.), qu'il serait artificiel de nier le caractère “culturel” des 3 variables (âge, occupation, caractère civil ou religieux du mariage) utilisées pour éclairer certaines différences entre “sous-groupes” à l'intérieur de chacune des 3 cultures qu'il a comparées. Toute classification prête à discussion, mais il semble légitime de considérer ces variables comme “subculturelles” et de les distinguer des autres variables qui définissent les cultures “globales”: ce qui permet de constater que leur influence, à l'intérieur des trois cultures, semble agir dans la même direction.

Sur la méthode qu'il a utilisée pour définir ces trois cultures et sur la nature exacte du facteur religieux dont il a tenu compte (questions posées par M. NOTO, Italie), il précise qu'il a recouru à l'observation participante étendue sur de nombreuses années (Utah et Indiana), à des enquêtes par questionnaires auprès des étudiants (Indiana), à des contacts directs avec la population et du dépouillement exhaustif des matériaux imprimés (Danemark). Il estime que ces procédés lui ont permis d'analyser de façon satisfaisante les différences culturelles entre les 3 pays. Dans l'Utah, la religion mormonne joue un rôle capital non seulement au niveau idéologique, mais aussi dans la vie quotidienne. L'accent est mis sur le "leadership" des laïcs dans la religion, et sur leur intense participation à la vie civique. 75 à 80% des habitants sont mormons, ce qui donne à l'Utah la plus grande homogénéité religieuse des Etats-Unis. Au Danemark aussi, prépondérance très nette d'une seule religion, mais le luthérianisme, sauf pour quelques individus, est religion *nominale* qui ne fournit pas un facteur de motivation aussi puissant, aussi présent dans la vie de tous les jours.

Les questions posées à M. KARLSSON, à la suite de sa communication sur : "Le choix du conjoint et la satisfaction maritale" (*Mate Selection and Marital Satisfaction*) portent également sur la méthode qu'il a suivie pour définir ses variables. Il a mesuré la satisfaction maritale en se servant d'une batterie de 5 questions : Etes-vous heureux ? Pensez-vous que vous seriez plus heureux avec un autre conjoint ?, etc. . . Il convient (pour répondre à une remarque de Miss VIOLA KLEIN, Gr.-Br.) que l'index ainsi obtenu peut prêter à certaines critiques ; mais les résultats obtenus, par d'autres chercheurs, à l'aide d'index beaucoup plus complets, vont dans le même sens que les siens. Quant au choix des conjoints, la tendance à se marier dans une classe supérieure, qu'il a constatée parmi les étudiants, vaut pour les deux sexes, et non pas simplement pour les hommes. Certes, dans les universités, la proportion de femmes de milieu supérieur est plus élevée que celles des hommes ; mais le choix du conjoint se fait souvent à l'*extérieur* du milieu universitaire,

Dans une brève intervention, M. ALAIN GIRARD (France) souligne l'intérêt des recherches comparatives sur *le choix du conjoint* : C'est un problème très large qui a des implications de tous ordres : il influe sur la stabilité du mariage, sur le niveau intellectuel des enfants, sur la fécondité des familles, sur la répartition des gènes dans la population, etc. On peut se demander si le choix du conjoint est aujourd'hui plus ouvert qu'il ne l'était autrefois ou qu'il ne l'est dans des sociétés moins mobiles que les nôtres. D'où l'intérêt des recherches sur les "isolats" (populations à l'intérieur desquelles le choix s'opère)¹. Ces ce qui compense les chances de chaque sexe de trouver des partenaires de milieu supérieur.

isolats ont-ils tendance à éclater? Ou, au contraire, des pressions sociales interviennent-elles pour limiter très fortement le choix du conjoint? Des études comparatives permettraient d'aboutir à des indices de distance (culturelle, géographique, sociale, etc. . . .) entre les conjoints; et de suivre l'évolution de ces indices dans les différentes sociétés et dans le temps.

M. IONASCO (Roumanie) attire l'attention sur les aspects juridiques du mariage et de la condition des époux. Dans la mesure où elle établit l'égalité des sexes la législation peut avoir un effet capital sur la liberté de choix du conjoint, et, indirectement, sur la stabilité du mariage.

Les questions qui sont posées à Mrs. KOMAROVSKY par M. GRUND-SETH (Norvège), par M. DE BIE (Belgique) et par M. ROSENMAYR (Autriche), lui donnent l'occasion de préciser quelques aspects de son étude sur: "Les types de communication dans les couples de milieu ouvrier" (*Communication Patterns in Working-Class Marriages*).² L'exploitation de l'enquête n'est pas encore complètement achevée; aussi les données qui suivent n'ont-elles que la valeur de simples impressions. Certes, les tests projectifs utilisés par les enquêteurs montrent que chacun des deux conjoints met les deux moitiés de sa famille (lignée du mari et lignée de la femme) sur un plan d'égalité en ce qui concerne par exemple les questions de d'aide et de soutien, de vacances, de célébration de la Nôel, etc. . . Mais, en fait, dans le comportement réel, il y a dissymétrie des relations en faveur de la lignée de la femme. Quant au mari, il entretient de son côté ses propres relations avec sa lignée. Au point où en est la recherche, il est impossible de savoir exactement le contenu de ses relations avec son père, son frère, sa soeur, etc. . . Mais il semble que ces liens soient beaucoup moins étroits que ceux qui existent avec la lignée de la femme. On a, d'autre part, l'impression que la mère ou les amies de la femme reçoivent, de celle-ci, beaucoup plus de confidences que le mari lui-même. Il serait vain d'affirmer, comme le font beaucoup de "text-books" sur la famille, que le relâchement des liens entre les époux et leurs parents est un signe de "maturité" conjugale. Le sociologue doit faire preuve de plus de relativisme, et se méfier de ces généralisations psychologiques présentées comme ayant une valeur universelle. Les liens avec les parents ont des implications qui varient selon les circonstances sociales. On peut évidemment concevoir que des familles d'un type moins conjugal offrent autant de maturité que des familles étroitement "conjugales".

M. ROSENMAYR précise, à la demande de Mme. STEIGENGA (Pays Bas) que la totalité de l'échantillon de 1.100 personnes étudiées dans sa recherche: *Values and Roles in Viennese Family Life* ne vivaient pas dans le secteur public du logement: il a donc pu faire des comparaisons entre les réponses du secteur public et les réponses du sec-

teur privé. La politique de la ville de Vienne n'est pas toujours bien définie en matière d'admission aux logements publics ; les plafonds de revenus sont assez variables. Aussi pense-t-il que ces critères d'admission n'introduisent pas de distorsion notable dans la répartition socio-économique de la population étudiée. L'enquête comporterait des renseignements sur les revenus, mais ils n'ont pas encore été utilisés dans l'exploitation des résultats.

Mme TALMON-GARBER (Israël) s'attache au problème des rapports entre la recherche fondamentale et la recherche appliquée, tel qu'il est évoqué dans la communication de M. ROSENMAYR et dans celle de M. HILL. Il lui paraît dangereux de rapprocher trop étroitement les deux types de recherche. La recherche fondamentale suppose qu'on dégage des principes analytiques, qu'on isole des variables et qu'on les mette en corrélation. La recherche appliquée met généralement le chercheur en présence de situations dont il ne contrôle pas la totalité des variables. Il peut avoir la tentation d'un compromis (*short-cut*) entre les deux types d'exigences méthodologiques. La recherche fondamentale peut en subir, dans sa rigueur, un contre-coup défavorable. D'autre part, résoudre un problème pratique signifie qu'on se trouve placé dans un contexte de valeurs et d'idéologies liées à la situation. Ces valeurs et ces idéologies marquent nécessairement le déroulement de la recherche. Une certaine "ségrégation" de la recherche fondamentale peut donc paraître nécessaire au respect des principes méthodologiques qui la conditionnent.

M. HILL souligne l'intérêt de ces remarques et manifeste l'espoir qu'elles seront reprises et commentées dans la discussion générale. Les communications présentées ont le mérite de porter sur des problèmes d'actualité, et de mettre en cause tous les niveaux de la réalité sociale.

La réunion de l'après-midi s'ouvre par la discussion de l'étude de M. BONAC sur : "Les possibilités d'utilisation pratique de la sociologie de la famille en Yougoslavie". En réponse aux questions de M. ROSENMAYR, il précise que l'enquête qu'il a présentée n'a qu'une valeur d'exemple : il a voulu donner une idée des recherches faites en Yougoslavie et de l'intérêt pratique qu'elles peuvent offrir. Les statistiques Yougoslaves (comme M. MILIC l'avait indiqué dans la matinée) sont désormais très complètes en matière de renseignements familiaux. Mais cette recherche a été faite avec peu de moyens matériels. Il a fallu recourir à l'aide de 4.000 instituteurs qui ont donné des renseignements sur un échantillon de 13.000 enfants représentatifs d'une population de 130.000. Les instituteurs ont jugé du progrès des enfants d'après leurs notes scolaires ; ce sont également eux qui ont décrit les conditions familiales des enfants (alcoolisme des parents, type de logement, etc....) conditions qu'ils sont généralement à même de très bien connaître. Les critères qu'ils ont utilisés peuvent

prêter à discussion ; mais on peut penser que la combinaison de plusieurs réponses (intérêt des parents pour le progrès scolaire des enfants, niveau d'instruction des parents, etc...) permet d'établir un index global satisfaisant du rapport entre le progrès scolaire et le milieu familial. Chaque instituteur n'avait à donner de renseignements que pour 3 ou 4 élèves choisis strictement au hasard d'après la date de naissance : on peut donc espérer qu'il y a mis le maximum de sérieux et d'objectivité.

Mme. TALMON-GARBER apporte une série d'éclaircissements sur son étude de : "La différenciation du rôle des sexes dans une société égalitaire" (*Sex-Role Differentiation in an Equalitarian Society*). Elle a comparé 3 niveaux de réalité sociale : l'idéologie officielle des "kibbutzim" qui met l'accent sur la parfaite égalité des rôles entre hommes et femmes ; les normes plus spécifiques qui se dégagent de la vie collective ; les comportements réels des individus. Plus les normes deviennent spécifiques, plus elles se rapprochent de la réalité, plus elles tranchent avec l'égalitarisme officiel du niveau n°I. Cette dégradation s'accomplice sous la pression de facteurs institutionnels, et non pas de facteurs idéologiques : l'idéologie reste en retrait et lutte même contre l'évolution des normes spécifiques et des comportements. Certes, comme l'a objecté M. ROSENMayr, on peut se demander si cette évolution n'est pas due à la résurgence d'anciennes habitudes, d'anciennes normes, intériorisées dans les sociétés d'origine, *avant* l'arrivée en Israël. On pourrait le savoir des analyses plus poussées qui comparerient les immigrés venus de milieux ethniques différents (russe, allemand, irakien, etc....). Ou en comparant, entre eux, des immigrés de même origine ethnique, mais de milieux sociaux ou de traditions culturelles suffisamment tranchés : par exemple, Juifs de Berlin, très cosmopolites, avec Juifs de petites communautés allemande traditionnalistes. Les recherches portant sur la seconde génération, né en Israël, semblent confirmer les résultats obtenus pour la première génération : pression irrésistible des institutions, en dépit de l'endoctrinement idéologique beaucoup plus forte subie par cette seconde génération. Toutefois, ces recherches sont trop peu avancées pour prêter à généralisation.

M. MOGEY (Gr.-Br.) attire l'attention sur le fait que les méthodes d'analyse des réseaux de relations sociales dans les familles doivent beaucoup aux ethnologues et aux anthropologues 3—and non pas seulement aux sociologues britanniques (Bott, Mogey, Townsend, Young) dont M. HILL et Mme. TALMON-GARBER ont signalé l'apport original. Autre remarque : il ne faut pas perdre de vue que les rôles familiaux varient dans le temps, en fonction des événements qui surviennent (changement résidentiel, naissance d'un nouvel enfant, etc.) Les études longitudinales (*panel studies*) mettent ce phénomène en lumière.

Melle. KLOSKOWSKA (Pologne) présente les résultats d'une étude

faite dans une usine textile de Lodz, auprès d'un échantillon d'ouvriers mariés et chargés de famille dont elle a cherché à connaître l'opinion sur le principe du travail professionnel de la femme. C'est un problème qui prend de plus en plus d'importance en Pologne à la suite de l'industrialisation. Les hommes interrogés se déclarent favorables au travail de la femme, et même de la femme mariée (sauf quand ses enfants sont encore très jeunes). Ils approuvent également l'égalité des salaires entre les deux sexes. Leurs opinions sont donc, à ce niveau, en parfaite conformité avec l'idéologie officielle telle qu'elle est répandue par la presse. Mais dès qu'il s'agit de leur propre femme, ils se révèlent généralement insatisfaits de la voir travailler. Quand l'enquêteur leur demande de choisir entre deux réformes concrètes : soit l'encouragement du travail féminin par la création de crèches, de cantines, etc. . . . , soit l'amélioration du salaire des maris qui dispenserait les femmes de travailler, la grande majorité se déclare en faveur de la solution n°2. La femme idéale, à leurs yeux ? La bonne ménagère. Cependant, s'il s'agit non plus de leur épouse mais de leur fille, leur attitude est beaucoup moins traditionaliste : ils acceptent que leur fille travaille (surtout dans une profession non-manuelle ou libérale : médecin, etc.). Le modèle de la famille patriarcale où le père garde une forte autorité sur ses enfants, semble ici en voie de disparition, peut-être sous l'influence de l'évolution des structures sociales dans la Pologne d'aujourd'hui.

M. CHOMBART de LAUWE (France) indique que cette recherche sur les attitudes relatives au travail de la femme a été entreprise, non seulement en Pologne, mais parallèlement en France et au Canada. L'exploitation de l'enquête française n'est pas encore terminé. Elle a porté sur quatre populations différentes : des familles ouvrières de Paris et de la banlieue, des familles de classes moyennes, des étudiants non mariés, et enfin des salariés de l'hôtellerie, secteur professionnel où la vie de famille est particulièrement difficile. A première vue, il semble que les résultats ne soient pas très différents de ceux recueillis en Pologne : opposition assez générale au travail de la femme, ou tout au moins volonté d'aboutir à des conditions sociales qui lui permettent un libre choix entre le travail et la non-activité. Le sociologue qui se fait l'interprète des aspirations de la population doit chercher les moyens de transformer les structures sociales en fonction de ces aspirations. Les recherches poursuivies en France sur les différences de comportement familial suivant les types de logement, intéressent par exemple les architectes et les urbanistes, et influencent leur action.

M. HILL définit brièvement les questions auxquelles doit répondre le chercheur qui veut transformer une recherche pure en recherche appliquée :

1. Quelles différences doit-il introduire dans la définition des termes du problème ?

2. Dans quelle mesure la situation de recherche diffère-t-elle de l'un à l'autre cas ? Qui participe à la recherche ? Qui intéresse-t-elle ? Le chercheur garde-t-il la même liberté d'investigation, la même liberté de publication de ses résultats ?
3. Dans quelle mesure les objectifs de la recherche varient-ils ? Par exemple, faut-il admettre qu'une recherche fondamentale est aussi valable quand elle n'aboutit à aucune possibilité d'action pratique ?
4. A quelles variables (dépendantes et indépendantes) faut-il arrêter son choix ?

M. HILL invite les participants à réfléchir sur ces problèmes et exprime son désir qu'ils puissent donner lieu à un échange de vues.

La séance du lendemain permet à Mme. JESSIE BERNARD (U.S.A.) d'attirer l'attention sur les grandes possibilités d'analyse qu'offre en sociologie de la famille, la théorie des jeux et des décisions statistiques (*Decision-Game Theory as Applied to Family Policy Formulation and Administration*) et à M. ROLF MEYERSON (U.S.A.) de présenter l'étude sur : "La répartition des activités familiales dans le temps" (*Allocation of Time among Family Activities*) qu'il a écrite en collaboration avec NELSON N. FOOTE. Il en précise quelques points. La notion de "contrôle" du temps est apparue en cours de recherche comme l'une des plus importantes : elle permet d'indiquer si l'activité du sujet est mise en mouvement par lui-même ou par autrui. L'exploitation de l'enquête n'est pas encore assez avancée pour montrer dans quelle mesure ce critère différencie les familles étudiées.

Les communications présentées par MM. GIRARD (France) et DE BIE (Belgique) portent sur l'étude des budgets familiaux, dans leurs deux pays. Si l'on possédait, dit M. GIRARD, des études de budgets familiaux complètes et parfaites, on ne serait pas très loin de connaître le tout de l'organisation et du fonctionnement des familles. Mais on est très loin de la perfection dans ce genre de recherches. La plupart des pays disposent de documents, d'informations plus ou moins éparses, recueillies généralement avec des objectifs étroits et sans la collaboration des sociologues. Cette collaboration serait cependant nécessaire pour formuler des hypothèses théoriques qu'on mettrait à l'épreuve des faits. De telles recherches permettraient de répondre à certaines préoccupations non seulement des démographes (influence du niveau de vie sur le nombre d'enfants, répercussions sanitaires et diététiques, etc. . .), mais aussi des économistes, soucieux d'analyser l'influence des aspirations et des modes de vie sur la consommation. Elles aideraient à préciser la typologie des familles et des groupes sociaux.

M. ROSENMAYR et M. CARTER (U.S.A.) expriment l'opinion que les études de comportements budgétaires ne se suffisent pas à elles-

mêmes, et que des recherches—au besoin par des méthodes d'approche indirecte (tests projectifs, etc.) sur les opinions et les attitudes sont indispensables pour éclairer les comportements. M. GIRARD est le premier à en convenir.

M. DE BIE et M. HOEBAER (Belgique) mettent l'accent sur l'intérêt d'étudier dans les faits (et non pas seulement par des analyses *a priori*) la progression des dépenses en fonction du nombre d'enfants. La hiérarchie des besoins familiaux (par exemple, en matière de loisirs) varie dans le temps sous l'influence de l'élévation du niveau de vie: le sociologue doit en tenir compte.

MM. KHARCHEV et ARAB-OGRY (U.R.S.S.) soulèvent la question des mesures administratives et sociales qui permettent d'éliminer les discriminations, de droit et de fait, entre les familles de dimension ou de niveau économique différents. Les communications présentées au cours de ces séances les ont vivement intéressés dans la mesure où elles témoignent d'un effort de recherche empirique sur les problèmes familiaux.

JEAN-RENE TREANTON.

¹ Voir : SUTTER et TABAH : "Les notions d'isolat et de population minimum" *Population* 1951, No. 3, 481-89.

² en collaboration avec H. JANE PHILLIPS et DOROTHY WILLNER.

³ spécialement grâce à leurs recherches sur les interrelations des structures familiales et des structures de parenté. Voir par exemple : LEACH, E. R. "The Structural implications of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage", *J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, 81 (1 & 2) 1951, pp. 23-55.

SECTION II(1)

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO LEISURE

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ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

J. DUMAZEDIER (Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris)

TENDANCE DE LA SOCIOLOGIE DU LOISIR

Si depuis VEBLEN, les recherches sur les loisirs ont été nombreuses, elles ne permettent pas de répondre aux problèmes que pose aujourd'hui la sociologie du loisir. Nous nous trouvons aujourd'hui, devant une masse énorme d'observations sur l'emploi du cinéma, de la radio, de la presse etc. . . . mais *le problème général que constitue le loisir dans la civilisation contemporaine est mal posé.*

Le loisir a été étudié comme un fait socio-culturel, plutôt déterminé que déterminant. Les essais d'orientation ou d'organisation du loisir dans les différentes directions du progrès social ou culturel, malgré quelques essais 'évaluation, n'ont pas fait, jusqu'à ce jour, l'objet d'une véritable recherche à la mesure des besoins. Il s'agit avant tout, *de formuler les bases d'une problématique.*

Celle-ci doit favoriser l'étude systématique des relations incidentes ou provoquées du loisir avec les autres éléments de la société globale, en particulier permettre d'estimer l'importance du loisir en tant que facteur de participation ou d'évasion sociale dans les différents contextes socio-culturels de la civilisation industrielle. Dans cette perspective dynamique, la sociologie du loisir se constitue comme une "recherche active," c'est-à-dire une recherche sur une situation dont les éléments favorables ou défavorables *du point de vue des besoins toujours étudiée par rapport à l'action réalisée ou potentielle* destinée à mieux satisfaire ces derniers. *La problématique de la Recherche Active appelle une méthodologie appropriée.* Les enquêtes doivent traiter des questions communes à la recherche et à l'action. A cet égard, *la sociologie du loisir s'oriente de plus en plus vers l'étude expérimentale des conditions et des processus de l'élévation des niveaux culturels du loisir.* Le chercheur doit assimiler la connaissance intuitive que les hommes d'action ont des besoins qu'ils se proposent de satisfaire et des résultats qu'ils obtiennent ou croient obtenir. Ce sont ces données concrètes que le chercheur doit soumettre à la réflexion sociologique et vérifier par des enquêtes d'exploration.

Sur ces bases, il peut construire des modèles théoriques pour l'observation, l'explication et la transformation de la situation.

Corrélativement, ces modèles seront descriptifs, explicatifs et expérimentaux. *Les modèles descriptifs* doivent permettre

1. De dégager des types culturels et d'évaluer des niveaux de culture. La sociologie est à cet égard structuraliste.
2. D'étudier la situation culturelle dans ses processus d'évolution. La sociologie cherche à être prévisionnelle et tendancielle.
3. De connaître les besoins manifestes et latents des sociétés, des groupes, des individus novateurs et conformistes.

Les modèles explicatifs accordent une attention particulière:

1. Aux forces qui influent directement sur le loisir (grands moyens d'information, institutions ou associations de loisir culturels ou récréatifs, relations sociales du temps libre).
2. Aux réalisations novatrices provoquées par les groupes pour l'élevation des niveaux culturels du loisir. A cet égard, la situation du loisir est traitée comme un résultat.

Enfin *les modèles expérimentaux* sont des dispositifs de contrôle mis en place par le sociologue chaque fois qu'un changement survient dans une situation, dans un sens négatif ou positif.

Certains dispositifs d'action contrôlée peuvent dans ces conditions devenir des dispositifs de recherche permanents.

Dans ces perspectives, la sociologie du loisir doit accorder le plus grand intérêt au progrès *des sciences de la planification* et d'une façon plus générale de la *Recherche opérationnelle* qui tend à mettre dans le champ de la science non seulement l'information mais la décision.

ROLF MEYERSOHN (University of Chicago)

QUELQUES CONSEQUENCES D'UN CHANGEMENT DANS LES HABITUDES DE TRAVAIL ET DE LOISIR

En janvier 1958, une manufacture d'une petite ville de Californie changeait le rythme de ses horaires de travail, sans en réduire la durée: une semaine, les employés n'avaient qu'un seul jour de repos, la semaine suivante, ils disposaient de trois jours de repos consécutifs.

Cette modification dans le rythme du travail offrait au Centre d'Etudes du Loisir, l'occasion unique de traiter deux problèmes importants: celui des rapports du travail et du loisir, et celui des attitudes à l'égard du loisir.

Deux semaines après le premier week-end de trois jours, un questionnaire fut administré aux 465 employés de l'usine (parmi lesquels on compte 20 per cent de femmes) dans lequel on leur demandait leur avis sur le nouveau calendrier, ce qu'ils faisaient pendant leur week-end, ce qu'ils se proposaient de faire dans les prochains week-ends, s'ils aimaient leur travail et diverses questions sur leur identité. Six mois après, en juillet, ce même questionnaire fut présenté une seconde fois. On désirait ainsi comparer la modification ou la persistance des attitudes à six mois d'intervalle. Il faut dire que l'année 1958 a été pour les Etats Unis, une année de récession. Dans cette usine, de janvier à juillet, 277 employés ont été licenciés. Il était donc difficile de mettre en rapport les attitudes exprimées en janvier et celles exprimées en juillet puisque l'échantillon de départ avait été considérablement réduit. De plus, à cette époque, les employés interrogés se souciaient moins d'occuper leur week-end que de garder leur travail.

En janvier, une grosse majorité des réponses furent favorables au nouveau calendrier. La plupart alléguait que cette nouvelle formule leur permettrait à la fois de prendre du repos et de remplir les diverses corvées domestiques pour lesquelles il ne leur restait jamais assez de temps. Ils espéraient en outre faire des voyages, de courte durée, en compagnie de leur famille.

En juillet, au contraire, les réponses favorables furent réduites de moitié par rapport à janvier. Les femmes surtout se plaignaient. Elles trouvaient épuisant de passer tout leur dimanche à des corvées domestiques, la semaine où le week-end était inexistant.

D'autre part, les hommes s'ennuyaient à la maison, le lundi de liberté, puisque souvent la femme travaillait de son côté et les enfants étaient à l'école. Quant aux

petits voyages de week-end, les ressources du ménage dans la plupart des cas ne permettaient pas ces dépenses.

Deux raisons peuvent expliquer ce glissement des attitudes de janvier à juillet: d'une part l'effet du climat d'insécurité engendré par la récession, d'autre part l'effet de l'expérience. En effet on avait répondu au premier questionnaire par anticipation. A la première passation, on entrevoyait surtout les avantages des trois jours de liberté. A la seconde passation on ressentait surtout les désagréments d'une durée de travail de 10 jours coupée seulement par un dimanche de repos. Seuls ceux qui avaient fait des projets pour passer leur week-end, penchaient encore pour le nouveau calendrier. Pour les autres, le lundi de liberté n'était pas considéré comme un jour de non-travail, mais, un jour où il fallait assumer les charges domestiques ou s'ennuyer dans une maison solitaire. Au lieu de juger le nouveau calendrier sous l'angle du loisir, les employés l'ont jugé sous l'angle du travail. Finalement en novembre, après un vote négatif, le nouveau calendrier a été supprimé.

S. NOWAKOWSKI (University of Warsaw)
LEISURE TIME SOCIOLOGY IN POLAND

Leisure time and the ways of spending it are elements of culture of a given society and of its structure. Polish pre-war patterns and ways of spending leisure time are now changing rapidly following the violent transformations caused by the war and the subsequent social revolution. These changes are, first of all, reflected in great social mobility, both horizontal and vertical, in the transformation of culture of entire Polish society. Among these changes the principal ones are changes in the structure and functions of the family, rapid urbanization and industrialization, social and cultural promotion of large social groups, changes in the structure and role of local communities, conflict of generations, etc.

The state, in its endeavour to carry the social revolution, gives those changes a strong support. In particular, the cultural policy of the state, driving towards democratization and building an egalitarian society, markedly affects the ways of spending leisure time. Houses of culture, clubs and libraries, the wide spreading of reading habits, a number of institutions popularizing science among the widest strata of society, and special institutions set up to organize holidays of the working people—all these are important elements in the formation of new ways and patterns of spending leisure time.

In spite of Polish sociologists' interest in all these transformations, the leisure time problem was not covered by research in the way it has been done in the West. Research was rather concentrated on the various elements of social and cultural changes, some of them of course very important for the leisure time issues too. It is only of late that research on the leisure time problem, in the strict sense of the term, has been started.

LOUIS H. ORZACK and EUGENE A. FRIEDMANN (University of Wisconsin)
WORK AND LEISURE INTERRELATIONSHIPS

1. Every society institutionalizes the specified amounts of time allotted by its members to each of their different social roles: work, family, religion, community, education, and recreation. The transition in industrial societies from production to consumption phases of organization and values has been characterized by a re-definition in the amounts of time permitted to the individual for each of these social roles.

2. As these changes have occurred in the United States and in other advanced, industrial countries, there has been a decrease in the amounts of time allotted to

work roles, and hence an increase in the amounts of time available for other roles. These time allotment changes have resulted for members of the labor force from the following: (a) the shortening of the work life by reduction in retirement age and increase in entry age; (b) the shortening of the work week; and (c) the sanctioning of released time periods (e.g., vacations, sick leave) during the work year.

3. The increasing discussion of the "problems" of leisure in advanced industrial countries indicates that the allocation of released work time to other social roles has not been readily accomplished by the individual. Value problems exist in the ways in which this extra time is made available and is used by the individual in his other continuing roles. His priority decisions for the assignment of time left over from work to other roles are changing.

4. The reduction in work time has not been equal in all occupational and social class groups. In the United States, there has been an inversion of the historic patterns of released work time available to members of professions as contrasted with industrial workers. Data collected by the authors on several occupational groups will be presented in support of this point. Our empirical studies also demonstrate the inversion of traditional occupational and social class values concerning relationships between work and non-work roles.

ASHER TROPP (London School of Economics and Political Science)

The paper contained an account of the factors which have influenced the study by sociologists of popular leisure and popular culture in Great Britain. The tendency to treat leisure as a "problem" and to concentrate on the more pathological aspects (e.g., betting, gambling, drinking and sexual delinquency) still persists especially in studies of the leisure pursuits of youth.

In recent years various inquiries have been carried out into popular leisure ranging from social histories of various forms of leisure (e.g., music, reading, holidays) to purely contemporary descriptions of the organization and audiences for cricket, football, the cinema, reading matter and the radio. There have also been a series of investigations into the effects of the cinema, radio and television on participants while Government commissions and committees have reported on the press, broadcasting, betting, adult education and the public library system. Most local social surveys contain incidental information on leisure. Much work has been done on the leisure activities of youth although such work often lacks both theoretical and methodological sophistication.

Recently, the problem of leisure has attracted much attention from the younger politicians of both the main political parties. Both the Conservative Political Centre and the Labour Party published statements on leisure before the general election of 1959. They agreed on the need for more national and local government support for sport and art.

As far as future research is concerned what is needed is not so much more crude data collection as more sophisticated analyses based on a theory of the social and psychological functions of different forms of leisure. The growth of leisure needs to be related to the evolving social structures of industrialised urban societies and the conditions of life and values of the new social classes. The extent to which leisure habits can be changed by education, persuasion or legislation is still unknown. With a continued expansion of the national income, the problems of popular leisure and popular culture will certainly demand more attention from social scientists.

The paper contained a bibliography of some 350 items on leisure.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

Monsieur BAUER ouvre la séance. Il prie les participants d'ajouter à leur rapport toutes les informations qu'ils jugeront susceptibles d'aider le public à situer leurs différents travaux dans leur contexte social respectif. Il souligne l'importance particulière des discussions sur le loisir dans lequel il voit pour le sociologue l'occasion de renouveler le problème de la liberté.

Nous aurons à distinguer deux groupes d'interventions : Celles qui ont apporté un complément d'information sur les travaux poursuivis dans les différents pays et celles qui ont posé ou discuté un problème concernant la sociologie du loisir¹.

I.—COMPLEMENTS D'INFORMATION

MEYERSOHN (U.S.A.) Aux U.S.A. le problème des loisirs est dominé par l'augmentation rapide des niveaux de vie et par le développement de l'industrie des loisirs. Le Centre d'Etude du Loisir que dirige Mr. MEYERSOHN à CHICAGO, s'intéresse surtout à deux types de recherche : —la répartition du temps libre dans les différentes catégories sociales et utilisation que font les gens de ce temps libre—L'étude des fonctions et de causes de ces activités. Quels sont les degrés de satisfaction qu'elles engendrent chez les gens ou les compensations qu'elles assurent? Sont-elles motivées par des facteurs économiques, ou résultent-elles d'un choix individuel?

M. TEN HAVE (Hollande)—fait remarquer que les recherches sociologiques sur le loisir sont déjà avancées en Hollande. La Hollande compte 90 Instituts de Sociologie ou de Psychologie Sociale et parmi eux 30 au moins ont traité de loin ou de près, le problème du Loisir.

Ces recherches ont surtout été suscitées par les problèmes posés par les migrations rurales et l'industrialisation. Certains sont terminées. Rapports récents ont été présentés—notamment sur les relations entre 9 volumes ont déjà été publiés sur les résultats de ces enquêtes, et 7 le loisir et les milieux sociaux et sur les attitudes des gens inscrits dans les Associations de Loisir. Un des problèmes spécialement étudié est celui des loisirs des jeunes.

M. JENSEN (Danemark)—A Slagelse (20.000) une enquête a été menée sur les loisirs d'un échantillon au hasard de 790 et d'un échantillon raisonné de 1.500 personnes qui fréquentent les activités d'éducation des adultes. M. JENSEN souligne qu'une forte corrélation positive a pu être établie entre la longueur des études scolaires et la qualité des pratiques de lecture, enfin entre les pratiques de lecture et les autres activités culturelles—le noyau des jeunes qui pratiquent des loisirs actifs est très faible. M. JENSEN a distingué 2 types prin-

ciaux : ceux qui ont une part active dans la vie syndicale sociale politique et ceux qui ont une part active dans la vie culturelle de la ville.

Mme GUILLITTE (Belgique)—En Belgique une enquête sur le loisir est intégrée à un survey régional portant sur un groupe de 68 communes groupées dans le Sud de la Belgique. L'étude de l'équipement socio-culturel a été fait en relation avec un sondage sur quatre cents chef de ménage.

Mr NOWAKOWSKI (Pologne)—décrit le climat dans lequel s'est développé la recherche sur le Loisir en Pologne—Dans les dix premières années qui ont suivi l'installation du socialisme en Pologne, le Gouvernement a essayé d'organiser le Loisir des travailleurs en les incitant à participer à des activités collectives. (Cette action liée à la promotion d'une nouvelle éducation, a donné des résultats intéressants, par exemple en augmentant la vente des livres et des journaux.) Cependant depuis la Révolution d'Octobre, le Loisir a pris des formes plus individualistes.

Le Gouvernement est désormais favorable au développement des Sciences Sociales. Il accorde des subventions. Déjà plusieurs recherches sur le Loisir ont été entreprises, notamment sur les rapports du loisir et de l'urbanisation dans une petite communauté industrielle de 4.000 Habitants. De même des recherches ont été conduites sur l'utilisation de la radio et de la Télévision.

Mr AHTIK (Yougoslavie)—Souligne les différences culturelles—et socio-économiques de la Yougoslavie par rapport aux autres pays occidentaux.

En Yougoslavie, les horaires du travail professionnel se situent entre 6 heures du matin et 2 heures de l'après-midi. Il reste donc théoriquement un laps de temps libre assez considérable pour le loisir ou d'autres travaux.

D'autre part les organisations de loisir sont ordinairement intégrées aux autres organisations sociales, afin de faciliter le travail d'éducation. Ces activités dites de loisir sont prises sur le temps de travail, il en résulte une certaine pression sur les individus qui ne peuvent guère se soustraire à ces activités collectives sans être passibles de réprobation sociale. (Les activités de loisir ne reflètent pas toujours les intérêts individuels.)

Les ressources individuelles disponibles pour les loisirs sont assez égales pour les différentes catégories sociales. L'argent ici n'a pas la même fonction que dans les pays occidentaux. Les équipements collectifs sont mis à la disposition de tous et peuvent renforcer l'intérêt pour les activités de loisir.

Enfin la relation du travailleur à l'entreprise est originale, puisque 25% des ouvriers sont impliqués dans l'activité gestionnaire de l'entreprise, ayant participé ou participant, aux Conseils Ouvriers. Il n'existe donc pas, une rupture entre loisir et travail, aussi nette que dans les entreprises d'autres pays.

Mr. HENNION (UNESCO)—donne une information sur la naissance et l'Historique du Groupe International des Sciences Sociales du loisir.

Il est né il y a quelques années d'une rencontre de certains éducateurs des adultes et des Sociologues à un moment où l'on s'interrogeait en Europe sur les conséquences du développement du loisir du point de vue de l'Education Populaire.

La première rencontre avait eu lieu à VEGIMONT en Belgique (1954) la seconde à ANNECY en France en 1957. Un projet de recherche interdisciplinaire a ainsi été élaboré, groupant des chercheurs de plusieurs pays européens. Le projet proposait d'étudier dans chaque pays, les comportements de loisir en partant de bases historiques, dans une communauté d'importance moyenne et en voie d'évolution rapide. Il est prévu en outre de compléter ce travail par une étude sur les communautés rurales et par une sorte de Survey Général sur l'évolution des organisations de loisir et des standards culturels dans chacun des pays étudiés.

Ce travail implique une recherche coordonnée afin de rendre possible les comparaisons entre pays. Un certain nombre d'enquêtes sont en préparations ou en cours. En Allemagne, Autriche, Belgique, Danemark, Finlande, France, Grande-Bretagne, Hollande, Israël, Italie, Pologne, Suisse, Yougoslavie, elles sont soutenus par le département des Sciences Sociales de l' UNESCO.

—L'Institut UNESCO des Sciences Sociales (Cologne)

—L'Institut UNESCO de la Jeunesse (Gauting)

—L'Institut UNESCO pour l'Education (Hambourg)

Un bulletin de liaison assure la coordination entre les différents membres du Groupe.

II.—DISCUSSION DES PROBLEMES

Sur l'invitation du Président, Mr. DUMAZEDIER (France) engage la discussion sur trois problèmes qu'il a développé dans sa communication sur les tendances de la Sociologie du Loisir.

1.—*La définition du concept de Loisir*—Le concept de loisir est pris ordinairement dans un sens trop large. Le loisir couvrirait toute la zone de temps non occupée par le travail professionnel. L'analyse de la vie concrète montre que dans cette zone se situent d'une part toutes les obligations extra-professionnelles, familiales et sociales,

d'autre part, les activités mixtes qui, acceptées de plein gré par les individus ne sont pas entièrement détachées des obligations professionnelles familiales et sociales, telles que le bricolage, le jardinage, la participation au jeu des enfants. L'orateur propose d'appeler l'ensemble de ces dernières : Semi-Loisir, et " Loisir " l'ensemble des occupations auxquelles l'individu peut s'adonner de plein gré soit pour se reposer, soit pour se divertir soit pour développer son information ou sa formation désintéressée, sa participation sociale volontaire après s'être libéré de ses obligations professionnelles familiales et sociales.

2.—*Problématique Générale du loisir*—Les problèmes du loisir sont trop souvent posés uniquement à partir des problèmes du travail. Ceux-ci ont une importance première mais Mr. DUMAZEDIER pense qu'aujourd'hui le progrès de la sociologie du loisir est conditionné par une problématique plus complète posée en fonction de la dynamique sociale et culturelle des sociétés.

3. *Rapport de la Planification et de la Sociologie du Loisir.*

Les loisirs se développent dans des sociétés pourvues de plus en plus, de systèmes d'organisation et de planification, libéraux au autoritaires. Aujourd'hui une étude des loisirs devrait se situer par rapport aux types de changements incidents ou provoqués dans l'évolution sociale et culturelle. Elle devrait donc accorder une plus grande importance au contrôle des résultats positifs ou négatifs du mode d'intervention de l'Etat, de la société et des groupes sociaux sur l'évolution du loisir.

Des trois points proposés par Mr. DUMAZEDIER, seuls les deux premiers ont été discutés et c'est surtout la définition du loisir qui a retenu l'attention des participants.

Nous regrouperons donc les interventions sous deux rubriques : premièrement, La Définition du loisir, deuxièmement La Problématique du loisir.

Une matinée supplémentaire ayant été consacrée à une discussion sur les méthodes—notre troisième point concernera la méthodologie des loisirs.

A.—LA DEFINITION DU CONCEPT DE LOISIR

Mr. ASHER TROPP (Royaume Uni)—reproche à la définition de Mr. DUMAZEDIER d'être trop subjective. Se libérer des obligations professionnelles, familiales, et sociales est une question qu'il appartient à l'individu de résoudre. Il faudrait trouver une définition plus objective en reliant le problème du loisir à celui des valeurs sociales et familiales aux problèmes de classes sociales et d'une manière générale en replaçant le problème du loisir dans le problème plus large de la culture.

A cette thèse s'oppose celle de Mr. DIENA (Italie) qui refuse de fonder le concept de loisir sur une distinction entre loisir et obligation, loisir et non travail. Son argument, c'est d'une part que l'individu se donne lui même des obligations pendant son temps libre, d'autre part que la situation dans laquelle s'insère le travail est dominée par la contrainte alors que le loisir se déploie dans un contexte de liberté qui est sa raison même. En conséquence il propose de choisir comme critère de définition la possibilité qui revient à l'individu de choisir ses activités.

Mr. LABOR (Italie)—refuse lui aussi la distinction entre travail et loisir. Il s'appuie sur l'exemple des régions sous-développées où les individus n'ont pas en général la possibilité de se dégager des activités professionnelles. La définition de Mr. DUMAZEDIER conduit à l'exclusion du champ de la recherche de tous les individus qui n'ont pas de loisir. Il estime qu'une définition préalable du loisir ne peut aider à comprendre les individus. Selon lui il faut d'abord étudier la vie concrète pour aboutir ensuite à la définition.

D'autre part, Mr. LABOR, soutient la thèse de Mr. DIENA qui fonde le loisir sur le concept de liberté.

Il refuse d'appeler loisirs, les activités qui sont organisés par un Etat dirigiste ou par les entreprises des pays néo-capitalistes qui incitent les individus à une participation passive ou même au refus de tout engagement. Pour lui le "véritable" loisir—son but et son contenu—c'est la participation active de l'homme à tous les niveaux sociaux et culturels.

On peut également rapprocher de la thèse de Mr. DIENA, celle de Mr. MEYERSON (U.S.A.). Lui aussi insiste pour que l'on insère dans la définition du loisir la notion d'un choix—contrôle ("Self-control"). La faculté d'organiser son temps, en prévoyant et en choisissant ses activités dépend des individus. Mr. MEYERSON tend à éliminer de son vocabulaire les notions de loisir et d'obligations, car dit-il elles ne sont pas utiles pour ses recherches.

En effet les individus ne semblent pas percevoir cette dichotomie entre loisir et non-travail. Il propose qu'a la notion d'activité, on ajoute celle d'un engagement individuel ("commitment").

Mr. N. ANDERSON (U.S.A.)—fait remarquer que la conscience que les individus ont de leur liberté dans le choix de leurs activités et la satisfaction qu'ils en éprouvent est indépendante du contexte de loisir et du travail.

Une méthode pour sonder ce sentiment de liberté serait de mesurer par les échelles d'attitudes, les satisfactions que les individus retirent de leurs activités. En réponse aux thèses faisant appel à la notion de

choix s'inscrit l'intervention de Mr. ANCONA (Italie). Psychologue, il a essayé de définir la structure temporelle en partant des motivations individuelles, mais il n'a pas réussi dans cette voie—Il dénonce l'impassé dans laquelle on s'engage lorsqu'on dichotomise au départ les notions psychologiques et sociologiques de la liberté. Il faut au contraire tenir compte de ces 2 aspects—Mr. ANCONA, souhaite que psychologues et sociologues collaborent à la solution de ce problème. Mr. DUMAZEDIER—rappelle que la définition qu'il propose résulte d'une enquête faite en FRANCE sur la représentation que les ouvriers et employés (environ 1.000) se font de leurs loisirs. Les gens conçoivent les loisirs par rapport aux obligations professionnelles, familiales et sociales. Il refuse de définir le loisir avec des critères subjectifs qui laissent de côté les déterminants sociaux globaux qui pèsent sur le loisir. Parmi ceux-ci il accorde une place privilégié aux obligations — Il précise cette notion d'obligation—Il distingue deux types d'obligations—Les obligations inter-personnelles et les obligations *institutionnelles*—C'est par rapport aux obligations institutionnelles de base que la société et l'individu situent le loisir. Mr. DUMAZEDIER appelle obligations institutionnelles de base l'ensemble des responsabilités (Statuts et rôles) que dans chaque période, la société impose légalement ou moralement aux individus, à l'égard ses institutions fondamentales, professionnelles, familiales, politiques, spirituelles. Ces obligations institutionnelles débordent évidemment le cadre du travail. C'est pourquoi l'orateur croit aussi insuffisante une définition qui opposerait purement et simplement travail et loisir (identifié à non-travail).

B.—LA NOTION DE SEMI-LOISIR

Mr. CALO (Italie)—après avoir remarqué que l'introduction de choix libre dans la définition du loisir n'est pas déterminante, souligne l'importance de la notion de *semi-loisir*, qui permet de classer toutes les activités qui sans être imposées par la contrainte ne sont pourtant pas totalement dégagées des obligations professionnelles familiales et sociales. Or ce type d'activités ira croissant à mesure que les progrès de l'automation rendent les individus disponibles pour d'autres occupations que le travail professionnel. Le temps ainsi libéré ne saurait être consacré uniquement à des loisirs purs.

De son coté M. MEYERSON (U.S.A.) voit dans la notion de semi-loisir une possibilité de résoudre les difficultés propres à la situation Américaine où sous l'effet du développement de l'industrialisation, l'opposition entre travail et non-travail s'amenuise.

M. MEYERSON tire partie de ce fait pour souligner la part de moins en moins importante qu'il attache dans ses travaux à la nature des activités obligatoires ou libres, pour s'interessier surtout à la façon dont les gens dominent la totalité de leur temps. Par ce biais il réintroduit la notion d'engagement qui lui paraît décisive.

M. LITTUNEN (Finlande) pense que la controverse théorique sur les notions de travail-loisir, obligation-liberté pourrait être résolue en précisant la base méthodologique de ces concepts.

Si on admet que les activités obligatoires de semi-loisir et de loisir forment un continuum, nous pouvons ramener ce problème à un problème de motivations et graduer les motivations selon une échelle d'intensité de type GUTTMAN. Si on place en ordonnée les intensités et en abscisses les différentes notions, on obtiendra une parabole quelques soient les notions considérées à la base.

En outre, Mr. LITTUNEN suggère d'utiliser les récents travaux de GUTTMAN et SUCHMAN, sur les analyses d'intensité pour étudier l'impact du semi-loisir sur la personnalité, car l'aire zéro d'intensité implique habituellement certains caractéristiques motivationnelles spécifiques.

C.—LE LOISIR EN TANT QU'ACTIVITE DE DEVELOPPEMENT —

Mr. LUKIC (Yougoslavie) attache quant à lui une importance particulière à la notion de développement proposée par Mr. DUMAZEDIER. Mr. LUKIC constate que l'effort impliqué en général dans une situation de travail, donc associé à l'idée de contrainte peut s'installer progressivement dans les situations de loisir, lesquelles sont dégagées des contraintes. Mr. LUKIC pense que c'est dans cet effort que réside essentiellement la fonction d'humanisation que l'on attribue traditionnellement au travail. Par ce transfert de l'effort, d'une situation de travail à une situation de loisir le loisir tendrait progressivement à remplacer en partie le travail dans sa fonction d'humanisation.

Mr. LABOR (Italie) fait remarquer que cette notion de développement impliquée dans le loisir est de plus en plus prise en considération par les éducateurs qui se proposent d'élever le niveau culturel des individus. Les éducateurs ne se soucient plus seulement de chercher à insérer les individus dans des groupes préfabriqués de culture populaire. Ils veulent connaître les attentes des individus auxquels ils s'adressent. En ce sens, ils n'attendent pas seulement des Sociologues qu'ils photographient la réalité, mais qu'ils découvrent les besoins latents des individus et qu'il considèrent leur profession comme un engagement social au même titre que l'éducateur. Selon lui la sociologie des loisirs doit promouvoir la participation sociale des individus.

Dans le même ordre d'idées, Mr. CALO (Italie) voit dans l'extension du temps libre, une possibilité offerte aux individus de se perfectionner pendant leur loisir. Ainsi le cadre du loisir pourra être celui de "l'humanisme universel".

D.—PROBLEMATIQUE DU LOISIR

Les thèmes concernant la problématique du loisir, sans avoir fait l'objet d'une discussion approfondie, ont été cependant abordés et nous les regrouperons sous différentes rubriques.

1.—LOISIR ET TRAVAIL

Mr. DUMAZEDIER préconise une problématique global du loisir, qui inclue et dépasse celle des relations du travail et du loisir. Une expérience faite aux U.S.A. et rapportée par Mr. MEYERSON peut être présentée à l'appui de ce point de vue. Dans une usine résidant près de CHICAGO, on a alterné sur un mois les jours de repos, en donnant 1 fois tous les quinze jours une seule journée de repos, et 1 fois tous les quinze jours, trois jours consécutifs. On a étudié les changements d'attitudes et d'activités des ouvriers. Ce changement a influencé leur comportement au travail, mais l'étude n'a pas apporté de solution aux problèmes de la satisfaction que les gens retirent de leur loisir. Cette étude exige une analyse en profondeur. D'après Mr. MEYERSON la satisfaction serait liée avant tout à la compétence avec laquelle on exécute une activité quelle qu'elle soit.

Mr. NOWAKOWSKI (Pologne) pense que dans son pays les problèmes du loisir doivent être posés en rapport avec une structure Sociale, désintégrée par la Révolution Socialiste. Son compatriote, Mr. ZAJAKOWSKI va plus loin encore—Pour lui ce n'est pas dans le travail, mais dans le loisir que se forment des structures les plus spontanées et les plus originales, puisque ce secteur échappe davantage aux contraintes sociales et reste en dehors de la planification sociale. Pour étudier la naissance et le développement des mouvements spontanées c'est du loisir et non pas du travail qu'il faut partir.

2. FAMILLE ET LOISIR

Mr. TEN HAVE (Hollande)—souligne l'importance des rapports des loisirs et de la famille surtout en ce qui concerne les jeunes adolescents.

Mr. ASHER TROPP (Royaume Uni) envisage ce problème sous l'angle des valeurs. La famille, en tant qu'elle est source et gardienne de valeurs, influe sur les formes de loisir. Il serait urgent de pousser très loin l'étude de ce phénomène.

3. LOISIR ET CULTURE

Mr. ASHER TROPP insiste pour que le problème du loisir soit inséré dans ce problème général de la culture. Par culture il entend à la fois la haute culture et la culture populaire. Mais c'est surtout

cette dernière qui l'intéresse. Il y voit deux problèmes : la différenciation des formes de loisir en fonction des classes sociales et le rôle des *mass media* sur la vie populaire.

Mr. BREMOND (France) envisage aussi le problème des *mass media* dans leur rapport avec les individus qui les utilisent. Jusqu'ici on a surtout parlé de l'influence aboutissante des *mass media* qui ne transmettent généralement qu'une culture dégradée. Mais déjà on commence à considérer les *mass media* dans leur aspect positif. On cherche moins à soustraire les individus à l'influence des *mass media*, qu'à les intéresser par ce moyen à des formes nouvelles de culture. Le problème se pose désormais de cette manière : comment éléver simultanément le niveau culturel des *mass media* et le niveau d'exigences des masses consommatrices. Le sociologue du loisir doit savoir que par l'intermédiaire des *mass media*, c'est une véritable civilisation de masse qui se crée.

A cet argument Mr. DIENA (Italie) réplique que le but des *mass media* ce n'est pas de niveler la culture, mais d'être d'un moyen technique de transmission. Il évoque l'exemple des paysans du Sud de l'Italie, qui tout en étant éloignés des centres culturels sont malgré tout grâce à la Télévision en contact avec la culture. Toutefois, cette importation de la culture peut avoir des effets de désintégration sur la vie paysanne.

A cet égard il mentionne l'ouvrage de l'américain HANDLIN *The Uprooted* qui traite des problèmes du déracinement des émigrés italiens, mis brusquement en contact avec la culture américaine.

4. EFFETS DES DETERMINANTS SOCIAUX GLOBAUX SUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT DU LOISIR.

Mr. DELCOURT (Belgique) estime nécessaire de ne pas se borner à l'étude des loisirs du point de vue des individus qui les pratiquent. Il faut distinguer la demande qui dérive des besoins et l'offre qui tend les créer. Le centre de Sociologie à soi à répondre à des besoins soit Religieuse de Belgique a ainsi inscrit à son programme un certain nombre de problèmes concernant le loisir considérés sous l'angle de l'offre.

1.—Le recensement des institutions et des personnes qui contrôlent l'offre en matière de loisir.

2.—La distribution spéciale des différentes formes de loisir et les facteurs qui les déterminent.

3.—Le développement et la rentabilité des différents secteurs de la production des biens et services destinés aux loisirs et l'effet de la publicité sur ce développement.

4.—L'importance du critère de rentabilité économique sur le développement des loisirs. (Mr. DELCOURT prend l'exemple de l'application de prix différents pour l'achat des terrains qui aboutit à une séparation regrettable des activités culturelles et sportives.)

5.—Les formes de loisir qui se développent en marge de la société organisée ; par exemple les jeux de hasard, les gangs, la prostitution, ou les substituts offerts par la Société à des formes de loisir qu'elle condamne.

E.—METHODOLOGIE DU LOISIR

Mr. DUMAZEDIER, considère que ses orientations méthodologiques sont dominées par le rapport entre la Recherche et l'action. Recherche sur une situation sociale, Action pour changer notre situation. C'est ainsi qu'il désigne sous le nom de "Recherche Active", cette recherche menée *pour l'action, sur l'action et le plus possible par l'action*.

La Recherche Active se situe aux trois niveaux, de l'observation, de l'explication, de l'expérimentation. Elle se distingue de l'Action Research (K. Lewin) qui ne couvre que le domaine de l'expérimentation. Elle se distingue également de la Recherche appliquée qui est seulement guidée par des objectifs pratiques souvent extérieurs à la recherche elle-même.

La Recherche Active tour à tour critique et constructive, étudie une situation du point de vue des résultats positifs ou négatifs obtenus par une action passée et des besoins manifestes ou latents à satisfaire par une action future. Elle doit permettre une recherche permanente sur les besoins d'une situation sociale, sur les processus incidents ou provoqués de satisfaction de ces besoins et sur les résultats objectifs de ces processus.

Cette définition de la Recherche Active aboutit à l'aménagement de modèles théoriques et opératoires pour les descriptions, l'explication et l'expérimentation.

Mr. AHTIK (Yougoslavie) distingue deux approches aux problèmes du loisir, l'approche empirique et l'approche théorique—la première approche, suppose qu'on adopte des cadres de référence pour situer le contenu du loisir, pour délimiter les segments de population et les segments de temps que l'on veut étudier. Il s'agit là d'un problème de fidélité ou de validité, ou des problèmes relatifs à l'observation des phénomènes.

D'après lui, ce ne sont pas là les problèmes méthodologiques les plus importants.

Ce qui importe c'est de former des concepts, d'expliquer. A cet égard on doit préciser le niveau d'explication auquel on se place.

Est-il Economique, Sociologique ou psychologique ? Il faut trouver le lien entre la méthode et la théorie. Sinon on risque de figer graduellement les méthodes, les concepts et les pratiques qui en découlent.

Dans le cadre précis de l'enquête Internationale sur le loisir, le problème le plus urgent, c'est l'adoption, d'un cadre de référence conceptuel commun.

Au contraire certains participants ont paru gêné par le choix d'une définition préalable à la recherche qu'ils jugeaient difficilement convenable à toutes les situations sociales. (Mr. NOWAKOWSKI, Mr. ZAJAKOWSKI).

Mr. MEYERSOHN distingue deux approches : d'une part, l'enquête sur les activités des gens et leurs attitudes dans ces activités. D'autre part, l'étude des motivations et des fonctions des divers modes de comportements, leur degré de rigidité et d'élasticité et les implications individuelles qu'elles supposent.

Il craint qu'attaquer le problème du loisir par la notion d'activité ne réduise la recherche à n'être qu'une étude de marché ou un sondage d'opinion.

Mr. DUMAZEDIER est d'accord avec Mr. MEYERSOHN. La Sociologie doit favoriser le passage du niveau descriptif au niveau explicatif par l'établissement de types et de niveaux. Selon lui c'est par les recherches correlationnelles de structure que l'on pourrait valoriser le niveau descriptif.

Mr. LITTUNEN constate que nous décrivons la réalité à plusieurs niveaux et que le calcul des corrélations peut s'appliquer à chacun de ces niveaux. La corrélation explique un niveau concret d'étude, mais lorsque nous atteignons les niveaux les plus abstraits d'explication c'est sur leur valeur prédictive que l'on peut juger de leur adéquation à la réalité.

Pour faire des théories, il faut bien travailler sur les niveaux les plus abstraits—Mr. LITTUNEN, préconise l'introduction des techniques plus fines de description et d'explication. Par exemple l'emploi des échelles et de l'analyse factorielle pour analyser et recomposer le concept du loisir.

Mr. ASHER TROPP a surtout pris comme point de départ de ses recherches l'évolution historique des loisirs dans différentes couches sociales.

A cet égard il soutient que l'établissement d'une bibliographie sur une base historique pourrait donner lieu à des confrontations utiles entre pays.

Mr. DUMAZEDIER répond aux différentes remarques qu'avaient susci-

té sa communication et se félicite du vigoureux développement de la sociologie du loisir depuis le dernier congrès mondial de sociologie (1956).

Enfin le Président BAUER remercie les participants de leur active contribution aux discussions de notre section. Il s'interdit de tirer des conclusions générales. Il souhaite que chacun développe sa recherche dans sa propre voie. La sociologie du loisir ne peut que s'enrichir de cette diversité.

J. DUMAZEDIER.

¹ Afin de faciliter la lecture de ce rapport, nous présentons les interventions dans un ordre, non pas chronologique mais logique.

SECTION II(1)m

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE TO MEDICINE

Chairman: Dr. GEORGE G. READER
(The New York Hospital—Cornell Medical Center)

Rapporteur: Dr. MARY E. W. GOSS
(The New York Hospital—Cornell Medical Center)

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

JOSEPH BEN-DAVID (The Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

DEFINITIONS OF ROLES AND INNOVATIONS IN MEDICINE

Two hypotheses were formulated about the possible effects of the professionalization of science and its differentiation from practice in the fields connected with medicine: (I) that professionalization would have restrictive effects on scientific innovation, and (II) that the development of empirical methods of inquiry has created means which can ensure the emergence of new ideas as well as more efficient research, and, therefore, whatever the merits of the "outsider theory" may be for the explanation of historical cases, it does not apply to modern professional science.

The cases for the exploration of these hypotheses were selected with a view to find situations where there was the greatest likelihood that outsiders (i.e. not professional scientists, but medical practitioners) should play a decisive role in the process of innovation. Two cases, the beginnings of bacteriology and of psychoanalysis were found suitable.

Analysis of the cases lends limited support to hypothesis I. Two role types played distinctive parts in the innovations:

1. People working in frameworks where research was only rudimentarily differentiated from practice;
2. People who were trained as professional scientists, but became interested in practical problems which were at the time outside the scope of scientific interest. The abrupt change from theoretical research to applied science is well established in the biographies of Pasteur and Freud. As far as the structure of such "fundamental marginal innovations" is concerned it seems therefore plausible to hypothesize (1) that they tend to be established in situations of "role hybridization," i.e. where scientists set themselves to solve practical problems which fall outside the scope of scientific interest; and (2) that they are attended (or, perhaps, preceded) by the pioneering work of "practitioner-scientists."

If this is the case then, indeed, practice may continue to play an important part in introducing a greater variability of problems and ideas into research. This raises the question, how can research be professionalized in a way to make it possible for scientists to engage in such marginal problems without endangering their status beyond the risk taken by every innovator. This is to a large extent identical with the question of the reception of such innovations within various scientific systems.

If this analysis is correct then one would expect such "closed" academic systems as existed in Germany to lose some of their efficiency due to resistance to fundamental marginal innovations. But once the innovation is sufficiently established in

another system, it may be taken up by the closed one and developed there rapidly (this is what in fact happened with bacteriology).

It seems, however, that the closure of the scientific reference groups is not an inevitable consequence of the differentiation and professionalization of scientific roles. The kind of professional structure which emerged in the U.S. contains elements which made possible the differentiation of scientific roles yet prevented the creation of a cleavage between the outlook of the academic and practising sectors of the profession.

Medical "professionalism," which consciously aims at maintaining a balance between the development of medical sciences and practice, can be regarded as a sequel to the establishment of research as a separate institution during the 19th century. It represents a phase of growing integration between science and practice following the differentiation of academic research in the medical field. The growth of professionalization in an increasing number of disciplines suggests that the developments observed in medicine may have parallels in other fields.

HARLEY D. FRANK (Fairdene and Netherne Hospitals, Coulsdon, U.K.)

CREATING NEW ROLES IN SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY

The growing interest of sociologists and social psychologists in the field of social psychiatry has resulted in increasing numbers of such persons coming into this field recently.

The entry of these professional, but non-medically trained persons into hospitals in particular, poses the question of what roles they are to play in such settings, e.g. non-participant research worker, policy advisor, policy maker, or therapist for patients or staff.

Factors to consider in creating roles for sociologists and social psychologists in this field, and selection of problems for social investigation are discussed.

An account is also given of the role performed by the writer while engaged in an empirical study of medical and nursing administration in a large English mental hospital.

I. GADOUREK (University of Groningen)

DEVELOPMENT AND PROSPECTS OF MEDICAL SOCIOLOGY IN THE NETHERLANDS

In the Netherlands, the high perfection of the existing health services made the promoters of public health look for new branches of special science to integrate into medicine. One realized that new sources of knowledge had to be tapped should the already low mortality rate be further cut down.

Medical sociology that arose from these trends owes its origin to the protagonists of social medicine as well as to the individual research workers who dealt with medical problems by applying sociological methods and techniques.

Out of the 9,000 medical practitioners in the country, about 1,400 work as employees of the government, school-boards, factories and firms; a new curriculum, including methodology of sociology was demanded for these new "specialists" by the recently appointed professors in social medicine.

As to research, several projects have been launched: studies of food-habits; of

the doctor-patient relationship; of the functional analysis of a doctor's assistant-nurse; of the adjustment of nurses in the hospitals; of the attitude of the public towards magnetic healing, and others.

There is a growing tendency towards institutionalization of service and research. The Department of Mental Health of the Netherlands Institute for Preventive Medicine, for instance, engaged in several research projects that have been carried out by sociologists. Other medical institutions try to build in sociology in their research- or diagnostic teams.

Characteristic of the present state of medical sociology in the country is the fact that an entire issue of the *Sociologische Gids* (edited by Dr. J. A. A. van Doorn) has been dedicated to the subject. Here, for the first time, some theoretical problems of the new specialized branch of sociology have been discussed before the Dutch reading public.

The promising beginnings of the medical sociology should not make us blind for its foibles and difficulties. The communication between the physicians and the sociologists working in the field is often hampered by (1) the diversity of training (sociologists being chiefly trained for research and sharing a generalizing attitude, physicians being trained for practice and used to casuistry, the study of individual cases); (2) the emphasis on professional secrets rooted in the vested interests of the members of free professions.

As to the future prospects of the discipline, a backward integration with the earlier "social pathology," "social disorganization" or "social problems" should be considered. Next to the studies of suicide, alcoholism, "personal disorganization" and the like, psycho-somatic medicine could form another bridge to the study of social ecology of dangerous situations: stress, anomie, inner loneliness and isolation, inter-personal tensions.

As to the sociology of medicine, the evaluation of the medical enlightenment and safety propaganda and of the efficiency of the medical service seems to be a promising field in Holland.

We should like to conclude the summary of this paper by a tactical device for the area: since the sociology of medicine is not yet accepted as an established special science, one could lean upon the more developed and accepted branches of study such as industrial and religious sociologies and approach the problem of health by way of study of industrial absenteeism and of denominational organizational problems in the field of public health.

OSWALD HALL (University of Toronto)

THE SALARIED DOCTOR: HALF MEDICAL MAN, HALF ADMINISTRATOR

This paper attempted to explore some of the hazards faced by the doctor who has turned administrator, by contrasting the typical demands made on the administrator with the typical training undertaken by the doctor. Four areas of strain were discussed.

The initial training of doctors tends to isolate them so that they come mainly in contact with fellow students, doctors, and clients; hence they have very limited acquaintance with work institutions, which are the prime concern of successful administrators. The importance of colleague relationships to doctors tends to blind the latter to the complex web of positions which make up a work organization. The emphasis attached to the professional-client bond tends to deflect the attention

of the doctor from the general area of organizational bonds. The image of the doctor in the larger society tends to strengthen these orientations on the part of the doctor.

Doctors are not unique in finding that their professional training handicaps them as administrators; similar hazards face any occupation that has become heavily professionalized.

GUSTAV JAHODA (Glasgow University)

SOCIAL CHANGE AND INDIVIDUAL TENSIONS IN GHANA

The transformation of the social structure in Ghana began about half a century ago, but it has greatly accelerated since the war. The traditional tribal way of life, whose central organizing principle was the co-operative relationship of kin within small rural communities, is giving way to an urban competitive system in which social class differentiation of a western type is developing. In the present period of transition, conflicting norms exist side by side, so that individuals often lack a firm guide for their conduct in various situations. Moreover, people are led to adopt new goals, often difficult to achieve, and this is liable to generate anxiety and discontent.

Whilst this broad pattern is well-known, few attempts have been made to investigate its impact on individuals. The present report, forming part of a wider study in this sphere, is particularly concerned with the consequences in terms of mental health. First, a selection of cases dealt with by traditional healers was investigated, in order to discover how far these reflect the effects of current social pressures. Second, some material was collected about a new type of institution, evolved to meet the needs of the newly literate section of the population; it represents a blend of traditional supernatural belief with religious and occult notions imported from the West. Lastly, case-histories of patients at the Government Mental Hospital were examined. From this material, taken as a whole, a clear picture emerges of the ways in which social stresses produce severe tensions in many individuals, and may lead to breakdowns in some.

GEORGE A. SILVER and ELIOT FREIDSON (Montefiore Hospital and the City College of New York)

THE USE OF SOCIOLOGY IN A MEDICAL CARE RESEARCH PROGRAM

The Family Health Maintenance Demonstration of Montefiore Hospital was an experiment in organizing medical care on a preventive basis. During its life, (1950-1958) it served 150 families and observed them as well as 150 control families. The study families were served by specially organized working teams of doctor, public health nurse, and psychiatric social worker, with access to a variety of other specialists, medical and non-medical.

In serving the study families, special emphasis was placed on preventive care for both physical and emotional problems. This emphasis was manifested not only in attempts at early diagnosis, but as well necessarily, in encouraging the patients to utilize the professional services more freely than is usual in conventional American medical practice.

The basic problems studied by the sociologist attached to the Demonstration were two-fold: first, how the interprofessional team functioned; second, what

factors lay behind patient utilization of services. The problems of interprofessional team practice were seen to stem from overlapping and competing claims of professional jurisdiction and authority, and from the impact on those claims of the patients' actual choice of professional worker for specific services and authoritative advice. The pattern of the patients' selective utilization of professional workers was seen to stem from the way the organization of those professional services fitted into the organized culture of neighborhood life.

Since the Demonstration was in part a controlled experiment, it could not be changed to conform with these findings. However, a new program of medical care is described that will, among other things, test the utility of these findings.

GEORGE A. SILVER and ELIOT FREIDSON (Montefiore Hospital and the City College of New York)

SOCIAL SCIENCE IN AN EXPERIMENTAL MEDICAL PROGRAM

The work of a social scientist in a program involving a controlled experiment on the effect of the organization of medical care on health was discussed. Using the concept of interpersonal influence in the flow of information and decisions, analysis was made of patients' use of the services of the social workers in the program, and of "outside" physicians who practiced independently of the program. The concept of lay referral system was formulated in order to embrace both the lay culture involved in evaluating medical problems and the network of influential lay consultants that supports and channels the seeking of help. On the basis of this study, specific hypotheses were formulated about the conditions under which maximum utilization of the services of a medical program could be expected.

MARGRET TÖNNESMANN (University of Cologne)

SOME ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION IN MEDICAL SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY IN GERMANY: A TREND REPORT

This paper showing the contemporary trends of medical sociology and social psychology in Germany is based on a collection of all available material published since 1945 and also on recent unpublished research work.

I was able to find three main trends: Firstly, a small amount of work—mainly theoretical publications—done by sociologists; secondly, some research work on a small scale done by medically trained people interested in problems of medical sociology and also some theoretically orientated publications; thirdly, a lot of material which showed an increasing interest in medico-sociological questions but lacking any scientific background.

On this basis I met the problem that, at the moment, it is not possible to speak of a special field of medical sociology in Germany in a strict sense.

Nevertheless, I was able to demonstrate that there is a base on which more properly scientific research can be done in future. First steps were taken recently when two general discussions took place between sociologists and medically trained people. One discussion was centered on the point whether it is possible at all to do team work research and also whether it is advisable for sociologists to do research work in the field of "sociology in medicine." Furthermore it dealt with problems of the definitions of illness and patient, seen in different ways by different authors. The other discussion arose in connection with a meeting of sociologists, psychologists,

statistically trained people and medically trained people, originally arranged to discuss one of the recent medico-sociological research projects in the United States. They agreed that it would be desirable to do team work research. Both the discussions gave an indication of the opportunities as well as of the difficulties which will arise when future research work starts.

Mainly based on the third part of my collected material I was able to analyse on the one hand the difficulties which will arise when medically trained people and the medical institution as a whole have to integrate the findings of medico-sociological research in their field. On the other hand I could define the particular questions which need early answers by properly scientific research.

JEAN-PAUL VALABREGA (Centre national de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris)
QUELQUES FACTEURS DE L'ÉVOLUTION DE LA RELATION MÉDICALE

Les sociologues d'une part et les psychanalystes de l'autre ont été des pionniers dans l'étude de la relation médicale.

Le concept de *relation* est considéré encore comme nouveau en médecine. On étudie trois facteurs principaux de l'évolution de la relation médicale: le progrès technique et la spécialisation, l'adjonction de données psychologiques, l'adjonction de données socio-économiques.

On examine et critique la *thèse technologique* qui attribue au progrès un changement intrinsèque dans la nature de l'acte et de la relation médicale. On s'appuie en particulier sur les recherches effectuées par M. BALINT à la Tavistock Clinic.

L'évolution de la relation médicale tend à substituer un rapport *soigné-soignant* au rapport *malade-médecin* classique. Cette évolution s'accomplice selon un double mouvement:

Psychologisation de la relation (apparition de la Psychosomatique)

Sociologisation de la relation. Un phénomène caractéristique est le passage du *besoin d'aide* au *droit aux soins*.

Ce passage ne s'effectue pas sans conflits sociaux qui sont même parfois politisés.

On note enfin l'apparition d'attitudes revendicatives, souvent secondaires et qui posent à leur tour de nombreux problèmes psychomédico-sociaux.

SUB-SECTION ON MENTAL HEALTH
CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTORY PAPER

ARNOLD M. ROSE (University of Minnesota)
A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY OF NEUROSIS

A partial theory of the causation of neurosis is set forth in terms of the intervening variable of a negative, depreciated, or "mutilated" conception of one's self. This interactionist theory holds that a significant and persistent pattern of self-depreciation—either reflecting accurately the negative evaluations from others or reflecting a distorted selection of "blows" from the social environment—manifests itself in (a) an inability to internalize strongly-held values; and (b) an inability to act effectively to attain those values or goals that one does have. These manifest themselves behaviorally as neurosis, which can range from mild ineffectiveness to something bordering on the mental disorder known as involutional melancholia. If the

self-deprecation is repressed, the neurosis will probably take a compulsive or hysterical form rather than the more direct form of anxiety.

This hypothesis is based on a more general theory of social psychology known as symbolic-interactionism, whose founders were Charles H. Cooley and George H. Mead. It is an essential element of Cooley's "looking glass self" concept and of Mead's concept of the "me" that part of the self is a reflection—albeit sometimes distorted—of other people's reactions toward the person in question. If the reaction of others is generally negative, and the individual gets a correct perception of this negative reaction, and if he accepts this negative evaluation regularly, our proposition is that the individual becomes neurotic. In other words, an element in the chain of causes leading to neurosis is held to be the social psychological factor of psychological self-mutilation. The psychoanalyst Carl Jung recognised this in speaking of a sense of "loss of significance" as a major factor in adult neurosis. A depreciated or "mutilated" self is a major factor in the development of a neurosis, we hypothesize, because an individual's ability to accept strongly-held values of any kind and to act effectively to achieve those values is a function of his conception of himself—a conception that he is an adequate, worthwhile, effective and appreciated person. At the extreme, the mental state is similar to that of the person who commits what Durkheim calls "egoistic" suicide. The difference lies solely in that the individual either retains a compunction against suicide or else is not sufficiently organized to engage in the act of suicide.

Rejection and devaluation by others is probably the most important cause of devaluation of self, provided the individual is not so psychotic or psychopathic that he cannot accurately perceive the opinions of others. Of course, an accurately perceived negative evaluation from others may be rejected by the individual concerned, but in such a case the individual generally has accepted what is for him the higher, more-valued opinion of a small, select group—perhaps even a group not in immediate social contact with him. The "looking glass self" is not a mere reflection, it involves selection and evaluation, and hence the resulting self-image is far from being the image of the individual as seen by others with whom the individual interacts.

This selective and evaluative process can also give rise to a second type of self-disparagement—that in which the individual selects the negative reactions of others, and gives them prime importance among the wide range of others' reactions to build his conception of himself. Persons who do this have a perfectionist attitude, and even the slight blows to their egos are accorded a subjective importance out of all proportion to their objective importance (in the eyes of a neutral observer). Such a perfectionist or "over-sensitive" attitude probably grows out of a certain childhood experiences of a harsh nature, and hence may be thought of as psycho-genic. At any rate, the tendency to over-rate the negative reactions of others serves to inflict regular blows on one's conception of self. Over the course of time, our hypothesis holds, this is a link in the chain of causes that produce neurosis.

It is to be noted that at first these two types of neurotics are able to communicate with, and receive communications from, others, as well as non-neurotic people can. There is no immediate interruption of communication such as is generally associated with psychosis. In fact, it is in the process of communication that the neuroses develop. However, if the self-deprecation persists and becomes greatly exaggerated, communication becomes interrupted and/or distorted. The disturbed individual concentrates his attention on himself to the partial exclusion of all other external stimuli. His very preoccupation with the unworthiness, uselessness and hopelessness of his self tends to restrict communication with others. Others no longer have to

carry on their depreciation from the outside—although they may tend to as the individual fails to conform to their social pressures—for the self-deprecatory process comes to be reinforced by itself. The individual's obvious unhappiness which makes him unattractive to others, and his own concentration of attention on himself, tend to isolate him. Thus there are certain tendencies toward an interruption of communication and a withdrawal from reality which are productive of a psychosis on the border of neurosis—usually called "involitional melancholia," at least in its milder form. On the other hand, unless the individual withdraws himself physically from social relations, the usual stimuli of everyday life intrude on his attention and keep him in some touch with reality. Thus the neurotic is only partly out of touch with reality, in so far as he over-selects the negative responses of others to the relative exclusion of the positive ones and in so far as his attention is concentrated on himself to the partial exclusion of some external stimuli. But if the neurotic further withdraws himself from society and broods almost exclusively on his unhappy self and its psychic pains, an involitional process with melancholia as its external manifestation will result.

The more extreme form of neurosis occurs most frequently in Western society when the major and highly valued life roles—occupational for men and child-rearing for women—automatically disappear, usually at around the age 60–65 for men and 40–50 for women. Unless new life roles are satisfactorily substituted, the individual finds himself feeling persistently lost, worthless, unappreciated. Our culture does not automatically provide new life roles, but they may be found or developed. If not, the persistent negative attitude toward the self results in neurosis. Loss of major life roles is not the only source of self-deprecation, of course, but it may well be the most frequent source of persistent self-deprecation, and hence—if our theory is correct—of neurosis.

The suggested therapy deducible from this theory involves either (a) getting the individual into a new life-situation (including helping him develop new roles) so that the reaction from others will be more positive, or (b) helping the individual to redefine himself in relation to others and to perceive more accurately the positive evaluations of himself coming from others, if there are such positive evaluations. If neither is possible, it may be that "adjustment" can be achieved only by losing contact with some of the negative reactions of others; self-delusion may be the only alternative to complete apathy and depression or suicide.

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

JOHN A. CLAUSEN (National Institute of Mental Health)

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIPS PRIOR TO HOSPITALIZATION FOR MENTAL ILLNESS

Mental illness manifests itself in the person's failure to meet his own or other persons' expectations. Patients whose illness was first manifest as illness after several years of marriage have, to a considerable degree, achieved stable adult roles and a reasonably satisfactory complementarity of expectations with their spouses. The disruption of complementarity by mental illness affords a basis for research on the perception of deviance and on alternative ways of attempting to cope with deviance in a marital partner.

Interviews conducted with spouses of a number of psychotic patients soon after the patients' hospitalization inquired into the nature of the marital relationship

antecedent to symptomatic manifestations and the events and interpersonal vicissitudes intervening between the initial perception of "something wrong" and the patient's hospitalization. In most instances there was a marked weakening of affectional ties prior to the spouse's recognition that the patient had a severe emotional problem.

The nature of the symptomatic behavior first perceived by the spouse varies with the spouse's characterization of the previously existing marital relationship. Both of these variables in turn influence the nature and amount of communication centered on the problematic behavior (failure of complementarity). Eventual recognition that the patient's deviance was attributable to mental illness frequently had the latent function of reconstituting the spouse's commitment to the marriage.

HERRE A. HALBERTSMA (Amsterdam)

NEIGHBORHOOD NORMS AND THE RECOGNITION OF ABNORMAL BEHAVIOR

A common practice in current research work is, to consider social structure as a complex of classes, and income as the main status determinant. This conceptual model corresponds only in a very general way to status distinctions as made in reality. Experiences in new neighborhoods in Amsterdam suggest, not only that other factors besides the material one influence status distinctions, but also that different people attribute a different value to each factor. As a first step towards the development of a multi-dimensional status concept, a number of old neighborhoods in Amsterdam are being studied.

In the analysis of the data, a distinction is made between positive and negative adjustment to neighborhood norms, no adjustment meaning that the individual functions so much outside the social structure of the neighborhood in question, that his behavior is practically irrelevant to it. In the same way a distinction is made between positive and negative ambition to leave the neighborhood, no ambition meaning indifference in this respect. For purposes of interpretation the concept of personality orientation is used, different types of finalistic, formalistic, and materialistic orientations being distinguished. The distinctions between these types are further refined by introducing the concepts of extremeness and rigidity of orientation.

In different neighborhoods a different relationship was observed between type of orientation and neighborhood norms, the same type of orientation being connected with positive adjustment in one, negative adjustment in another neighborhood. In each neighborhood a complicated relationship was observed between extremeness and rigid orientation and adjustment to neighborhood norms, the same extreme and rigid orientation being connected with a high degree of positive adjustment in one, negative adjustment in another neighborhood. In each neighborhood an inverse relationship was observed between ambition to leave the neighborhood and adjustment to neighborhood norms, positive adjustment being connected with negative ambition, negative adjustment with positive ambition to leave the neighborhood.

The conclusion is that the recognition of the behavior of an individual as being abnormal is a function, not only of his personality structure, but also of the norms of the neighborhood in which he lives. This point of view gives an added interest to data of abnormal behavior, scarce recognition of certain types of abnormal behavior pointing to the possibility of institutionalization of these types of behavior.

in the neighborhood in question. Further research concentrates on the principle of role differentiation in small groups, that counteracts the principle of selective migration between neighborhoods.

ANNE PARSONS (USA)

SOME COMPARATIVE OBSERVATIONS ON WARD SOCIAL STRUCTURES

The speaker presented some comparative observations made in the course of her research activities in public psychiatric hospitals in the United States and Southern Italy. It was felt that between the Provincial Hospital of Naples and many state hospitals in the United States and other countries where there are no active socially oriented treatment programs, there is an important contrast: namely, in Naples one does not encounter nearly as great a degree of breakdown of normal channels of social interaction, e.g., in that the majority of patients can respond actively and integrally to casual social contact. It was proposed that this difference can be explained with reference to certain features of the social structure and value system of Southern Italy as opposed to those of highly industrialized societies. These include the degree to which social interaction centers on family ties which are frequently preserved even when there is long term hospitalization and the cultural value emphasis placed on the expression of transitory feeling states in the immediate, a type of social action which can be carried on inside a mental hospital as well as outside. On the other hand the situation of psychiatric hospitalization can be seen as more traumatic and potentially more disorganizing in its consequences in any society in which purposeful long-term life planning is socially enjoined and in which many significant social ties are extremely vulnerable to rupture in situations of strain. In addition some statistical material was presented on discharge patterns in order to test the hypothesis that such a hospital situation should be less conducive to chronicity among schizophrenics. Adequate material was not available for precise comparative analysis, but it was felt that there was more chronicity than expected. Thus it is necessary to consider both social and other factors which in Naples may act so as to keep the patient in the hospital as well as those noted which appear to lessen the degree of potential personal and social deterioration.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

THIS report summarizes the proceedings of the discussion section on the Sociology of Medicine held at the Villa delle Azalee, Stresa, on September 9-10, 1959. Part I lists the names of those who participated in the discussion and Part II describes the general arrangement of the meetings. Part III outlines the major topics and problems that received attention from the discussion group.

I. PARTICIPANTS

Chairman, G. G. Reader (U.S.A.); Rapporteur, M. E. W. Goss (U.S.A.); V. Aubert (Norway); J. Ben-David (Israel); K. Bowden (England); G. W. Brown (England); T. E. Chester (England); J. A. Clausen (U.S.A.); J. V. R. Douglas (England); H. D. Frank (England); E. Freidson (U.S.A.); I. Gadourek (Holland); N. I. Grashchenkov (U.S.S.R.); E. Gronseth (Norway); O. Hall (Canada); H. A. Halbertsma (Holland); G. Jahoda (Scotland); M. Jeffreys

(England); P. L. Kendall (U.S.A.); P. F. Lazarsfeld (U.S.A.); J. B. Loudon (England); J. Margot-Duclot (France); R. K. Merton (U.S.A.); A. Parsons (U.S.A.); M. Pitzurra (Italy); A. M. Rose (U.S.A.); K. Rudfeld (Denmark); G. A. Silver (U.S.A.); N. Simon (U.S.A.); S. S. Spivack (U.S.A.); M. Tonnesmann (Germany); A. Ullmann (U.S.A.).

II. GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS

Three discussion sessions were scheduled and held. For all sessions the Section on Public Health joined the Section on Medicine, through mutual agreement between their respective chairmen, Professor Grashchenkov and Professor Reader. Professor Pitzurra, rapporteur for the Section on Public Health, therefore agreed to submit a brief report which would be merged with the present account.

Professor Reader presided over the two sessions held on September 9. At the prior invitation of Professor Reader, Professor Rose organized and presided over the third session, held on September 10 and devoted particularly to the Sociology of Mental Health. All sessions were well attended.

In order to provide starting points for discussion, Drs. Reader, Ben-David, Gadourek, Hall, Kendall, Silver, Tonnesman, and Grashchenkov gave resumes of their prepared papers at the September 9 sessions, as did Drs. Rose, Frank Jahoda, Halbertsma, Clausen, and Parsons at the session on September 10. Abstracts of these papers will be found on pages 245-254 above.

III. DISCUSSION TOPICS

On September 9 both prepared papers and discussions focused on three inter-related topics: the nature and current status of medical sociology; some procedural difficulties sociologists may face in carrying out research in this field; and the significance of selected types of empirical studies for understanding problems of mutual concern to sociologists and medical personnel.

The September 10 session was devoted primarily to papers and discussion bearing on the relation of various social factors to mental illness. Distinguishing characteristics of the sociology of mental health and illness were also considered.

Nature and Status of Medical Sociology

Participants here emphasized certain matters which have salience not only for the definition of the field of medical sociology but for its future as an international research area as well.

If medical sociology be viewed as comprising systematic study of

the social etiology and ecology of disease, social components of therapy, medical care as a social institution, and medical education as a social process, then it is clear that the field is not equally accepted and developed in all countries. For reasons which bear exploration, research on these problems appears to have gone forward somewhat more rapidly and extensively in the United States than elsewhere. Acceptance of medical sociology as a distinct field for inquiry would also seem to occur more commonly in the United States. Nevertheless, the field is on the way toward gaining recognition as a profitable area for theoretical analysis and empirical study in other countries as well. This was effectively exemplified by reports on the current state of medical sociology in the Netherlands and in Germany, and also by the range of research in Great Britain described by participants. Soviet studies in public health and preventive medicine evidently emphasize the importance of social conditions in promoting health and preventing disease, but whether medical sociologists have any role in conducting such studies was not noted.

In this connection, the problem of accurately classifying some of the ongoing work in the various nations deserves attention. Many investigations undertaken by medical researchers under the labels of social medicine, public health, or preventive medicine also represent studies in medical sociology, though they are not always viewed as such. Thus it is easy to underestimate the extent of current research on subjects germane to medical sociology, particularly for purposes of international comparison. It is also easy to underestimate the potential role of medical sociologists in the future. Participants noted that in many realms of common research interest, sociologists and physicians might well pool their knowledge and skills in the execution of co-operative projects, rather than continue to attempt parallel but independent studies. This would mean, of course, the institutionalization of interdisciplinary research teams to a far greater extent than is now the case.

Some Procedural Problems

For the present, however, the difficulties that tend to confront sociologists when they undertake research on medical subjects should not be minimized. The experience of some sociologists who are members of interdisciplinary research teams suggests, for example, that at least initially, collaboration with medical colleagues can pose frustrating problems. By and large, physicians have received less training in research techniques; moreover, they are likely to be oriented toward the individual patient as a clinical problem. Their approach to the proposed joint research may, therefore, differ markedly from that of the sociologist. It was also observed that sociologists are often still "marginal men" in medicine, with uncertain status and few prerogatives. They find that they cannot conveniently enter a medical

setting or study phenomena in that setting without approval from medical authorities ; they are sometimes asked to advise on medical research projects only after the study design has been formulated and the data collected. Apparently these and related experiences are not confined to sociologists in any one country. Rather, in some measure they tend to occur wherever sociologists begin to work with or around medically-trained personnel.

Yet the research path of the medical sociologist is not inevitably studded with difficulties. Instances of productive collaboration between sociologists and members of the medical disciplines are known to exist, which would suggest that it is possible to minimize or eliminate various sources of strain under appropriate conditions. Instead of abstractly discussing potential problems and ideal solutions, medical sociologists might do well to determine the nature of such propitious conditions through identification and systematic analysis of a series of known cases of successful collaboration. The experience of some sociologists suggests, for example, that entrée to hospitals for sociological research purposes is facilitated if the hospital is undergoing directed change in its arrangements, and that physicians involved in effecting innovations in medical schools may be more appreciative of sociology as a scientific discipline than are members of the medical profession generally. These impressions are based on only a few cases, however ; their generality should be explored through examination of additional instances.

Contributions to the understanding of Substantive Problems.

It is perhaps too early to speak of widespread "applications" of sociology to medicine. But there are clear indications that sociological research in medicine has much to contribute to the understanding of a variety of medical—as well as sociological—problems.

The organization and administration of hospitals is a case in point. Those whose task is to insure that hospitals provide effective, efficient, and economical care for patients have long expressed concern about the stressful relationships that frequently exist between a hospital's administrative officers and its professional medical staff, on the assumption that such disharmony impedes achievement of hospital objectives. Sociologists have also been concerned with this problem, but primarily because it offers an opportunity to investigate significant questions in the sociology of complex formal organization as well as in the sociology of occupations and professions.

Analytical and empirical studies described by participants in the discussion suggested that resolution of conflict between administrative and professional staff is a more complex matter than some administrators imagine, in part because the likelihood of conflict is rooted in the different types of orientation and training each group receives

as well as in their unequal social status in the hospital hierarchy. Nevertheless, through exposing students of hospital administration to some of the training medical students undergo, an interesting British experiment reported by Chester is attempting to lessen the disparity in training and, by increasing administrative salaries, to raise the prestige of hospital administrators. Whether such procedures necessarily result in more satisfactory relationships between administrators and professional staff members was considered open to question by some participants, who indicated that an alternative and perhaps more effective procedure might consist of giving physicians training in administration and placing them in hospital administrative posts. Even without formal administrative training some physicians manage to be quite effective administrators ; the distaste for administrative work which these men often express may be mainly for the benefit of their medical colleagues who, by and large, tend to compare administrative work unfavourably with patient care.

One of the general questions at issue here, of course, is whether a bureaucratic organization with a professional staff is better administered by professionals or non-professionals. The preliminary analyses of this subject have been enlightening with respect to the formulation of hypotheses, but before the question can be answered adequately additional empirical research focused on the situation of physicians and other professionals who work in bureaucratic settings is required.

Another problem of interest to both sociologists and physicians concerns the extent to which the social relationships of patients affect their use of medical services. As suggested in one of the papers presented as well as in the discussion, physicians tend to assume that a comprehensively insured patient who is in need of medical care will automatically use the services made available to him, and they are puzzled when not all patients do so. Sociologists are inclined to view such behaviour as a possible instance in which individuals are subjected to cross-pressure of a social nature while making important personal decisions, and thus as an interesting problem in the social psychology of decision-making. The cross-pressure identified by Silver and Freidson in their study of patients in a health maintenance demonstration project consisted of a "lay referral system" on the one hand, and of the traditional "professional referral system" on the other hand. Recommendations made within the professional referral system were found to be subject to scrutiny in the lay referral system : if a patient's friends and relatives expressed doubt about particular professional recommendations, the patient appeared more likely to seek further professional advice from doctors outside the project. Also, the observed under-utilization of the services of the project's social worker appeared to be at least partly due to the fact that per-

sons in the lay referral system generally had no clear-cut image of the social worker's role. Discussants stressed the possibility of regional and national differences in assessing the importance of lay referral systems as they may affect patient's behaviour, and emphasized the need for comparative studies which would explore this phenomenon under various types of health insurance plans.

The realm of medical education represents still another area in which sociological and medical interests coalesce to the apparent profit of both. Within the last several years various patient-oriented changes have been made in the curricula of a number of American medical schools, and medical educators have been eager to know whether the changes have any demonstrable, positive effect on medical students' attitudes, values, and behaviour. Sociologists have welcomed the opportunity to aid in the empirical evaluation of such educational innovations, since at the same time they have a valuable chance to apply and extend sociological theory regarding the social processes through which a lay person becomes a professional. At the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University, longitudinal studies are underway which systematically explore the experiences and relationships of medical students with their families, their student peers, the patients whom they see, and the faculty members who are their teachers. All these relationships—as well as the student's relationship to himself (his "self-image")—were initially believed to play a role in the student's professional development, and the findings available thus far bear out this belief. Medical students whose father are doctors, for example, are likely to intend to specialize in the same area of medicine chosen by their fathers; students who think that patients view them as doctors rather than students tend to see themselves as doctors also. Not all the findings could have been as easily anticipated as these examples suggests, however, as illustrated by the fact that at one medical school, comparison of certain patient-oriented values of faculty members with those held by students showed that the two were not entirely in accord. Periodically-administered questionnaires constitute a major source of data for the studies described, but personal interviews, systematic observations, and diaries kept by students have also been utilized. Thus cross-checking of information is possible.

The same group of researchers is just beginning an investigation of how professional attitudes, values, skills, and behaviour further develop during the internship and residency period. The investigation includes follow-up of students previously studied during their fours years of undergraduate medical education as well as a cross-sectional survey of interns and residents in a representative sample of hospitals in the United States.

Information from comparable studies in other countries was

solicited. One participant noted, however, that duplication of studies of medical education such as those described would not be feasible in all countries, e.g., Italy; curriculum arrangements of medical schools differ, especially with respect to the contact students have with patients.

*Sociology of Mental Health and Illness : General Considerations**

Returning from the specific to the general, participants discussed the sociology of mental health and illness ("psychiatric sociology") in terms of its distinctive features. Psychiatric sociology has a longer history of theory and research than have most other sub-fields in medical sociology, and from the beginning work in this area has involved concepts and problems that are central to sociology as a whole. It was suggested further that the public plays a greater role in defining mental illness as compared with physical illness, and therefore that the categories of mental illness are more subject to change. Some participants took issue with this point of view by emphasizing the common social and professional context in which definitions of both physical and mental illness are formulated at any given time.

Another approach to distinguishing the field of psychiatric sociology from other branches is to list the study areas it involves. These include investigations of personality formation and malformation, epidemiology and etiology of mental disorder, relationships between mental illness and socio-cultural variables institutional arrangements for therapy, public attitudes toward mental disorder, associations between mental and social problems, the mental patient's social setting, and mental health as a social movement.

Social Factors and Mental Illness

The study areas are of course closely interrelated, as participants exemplified in their discussion and prepared reports. Given particular attention was the potential significance of social change, mental hospital organization, and negative self-conceptions as causative agents in mental illness. Variations in social norms as they affect recognition of mental disorder were also considered.

Social change may be an important factor in causing mental illness, since it frequently entails conflicting social norms to which individuals must make new adjustments. The role of the healer in helping people to make such adjustments—as well as in relieving other kinds of tensions—should not be underestimated, however. And the question of whether social change necessarily produces more tensions than do the strains encountered in ordinary living is open to further research ; available evidence at present is somewhat equivocal.

* See the Chairman's Introductory paper for the Sub-section on Mental Health, page 250 above.

The relationship of hospital organization to therapeutic success or failure in the care of mental patients also requires further study. Case studies of patients in two mental hospitals, one in England and the other in Southern Italy, provide further evidence for the general proposition that the social structure of hospitals may be an important factor in promoting or hindering recovery from mental illness. But they also underscore the necessity for additional investigations of a systematic, cross-cultural nature.

As part of a social psychological theory of neurosis, based on the concept of traumatic self-devaluation, the possible effect of negative self-conceptions on the development of mental ill health received attention. Some participants acknowledged the potential significance of negative self-images in leading to mental ill health, but emphasized their belief that a pluralistic theory of causation which also took into account neurophysiological and genetic factors might be more acceptable. In addition, it was noted that perhaps too little information is yet available to permit formulation of a satisfactory "global" theory of neurosis or psychosis development.

Finally, the importance of variations in social norms and affective ties as they affect recognition of abnormal behaviour was illustrated by an analysis of Amsterdam neighbourhoods and a study of American family settings in which mental breakdown had occurred.

MARY E. W. GOSS.

SECTION II (2)

Sociological Aspects of Social Planning

SECTION II (2)
PLENARY SESSION ON
SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL PLANNING

Chairman: Professor C. PELLIZZI
(University of Florence)

*Main Papers**: Professor GUNNAR MYRDAL (Sweden)
Professor C. BETTELHEIM (University of Paris)
Professor S. OSSOWSKI (University of Warsaw)

Prepared Discussants: PAUL A. BARAN (USA)
SURENDRA PATEL (India)
G. DE RITA (Italy)

Rapporteurs: J. GOUDSBLOM (University of Amsterdam)
A. PIZZORNO (Centro Nazionale di Difesa e Prevenzione Sociale, Milan)
N. BIRNBAUM (Nuffield College, Oxford)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

THE session opened with Professor OSSOWSKI's presentation of his paper. There followed prepared remarks by three invited discussants: BARAN (USA), PATEL (India), DE RITA (Italy). BARAN criticised MYRDAL's characterisation of western economies as subject to at least limited planning under Welfare State regimes which had attained full employment. On the contrary, he argued, the US economy (1) depended upon a reserve army of unemployed, (2) was dominated by monopolistic and oligopolistic market conditions, (3) utilised "compensatory" government spending on arms to keep structural unemployment in the system under some control, (4) displayed considerable waste and irrationality in the composition of its product, which failed to meet obvious domestic and foreign cultural and economic needs. Finally, BARAN said, "genuine economic and social planning" entailed conscious social decision about the principal determinant of society's existence.

PATEL dealt with the "vicious circle of poverty" cited by MYRDAL: the process by which industrially less-developed countries are unable to increase investment because too much of their current production is exhausted by current consumption and no saving is possible without severe decreases in the latter, decreases which in the nature of the case are both socially unacceptable and must have a quickly attainable limit. The Indian and especially the Chinese experience, were adduced by PATEL to disprove this view. Increases in investment and consumption

* These papers were published in Volume II of the *Transactions*. Professor Myrdal was not able to attend the Congress.

there were directly correlated, and efforts at greater investment in similar circumstances need not be deterred by the fear of the consequences for consumption. "There appears to be no necessary absolute connection between the current rate of saving and the potential rate of growth; given adequate policies, economic growth can be financed as a draft on future expansion of resources." Growth rates of 8-10 per cent per annum for most countries are therefore possible and within a half century the present gap between rich and poor countries could be closed. Investment and consumption are inversely correlated in a static situation and directly in a dynamic one.

DE RITA (Italy) proposed to define social planning as the "programming of the social and cultural changes connected with a developmental process and as coordination of the intervention designed to carry out these changes." The evolution of social structures and cultural patterns should not be treated simply as a consequence of economic changes, but should be approached as an autonomous process which could introduce new values appropriate to contemporary needs. A policy of social and cultural change for undeveloped countries must be based on the assumption that most are at "a stage of backwardness which does not require a radical transformation of the economic and social structures, but only certain improvements in living conditions (health, education of a managerial class, agricultural productivity, etc.). Once this pre-developmental stage has been reached and its problems solved, it becomes possible to adopt a policy involving changes in structure which will be more closely connected with the transformation of farms, the setting up of new industrial enterprises, and the overall evolution of the developing society." The social agencies responsible for change are far more differentiated in developed countries. Intervention leading to changes in underdeveloped countries is "complex and delicate" and should not, therefore, be rigidly planned by the government. "The latter should act as a stimulating factor giving the agents a sharper realisation and clearer conception of their objectives" and intervene to coordinate the work of these agents only occasionally.

DUMAZEDIER (France) held that it was necessary to distinguish between scientific planning and dogmatic planning. The problem of a typology of planning entails a distinction between authoritarian planning and "*planification indicative*." Sociology must utilise experimental models applicable to the tasks of planning and utilise historical sociology in the same way, to study deliberately induced social changes. Further, we have to study society as a whole, simple researches into opinions and behaviour are insufficient. Our most important task is to study needs, but this requires an integration of descriptive with interpretative models. A sociology of planning has to deal with (and obtain) the modification of cultural attitudes, and this means that we cannot be bound, ourselves, to the past.

CHOMBART DE LAUWE (France) said that we must distinguish two aspects of planning. One was the technical development of certain countries to adapt them to the models of other, advanced countries; the other was a response to needs and here was the major import of a sociology of planning. Sociology as the study of human values, for the sake of human values, was a sociology of liberty. The sociologist had to describe the contradictions between the systems being imposed on societies and the aspirations seeking expression. Even where it appeared that there were no aspirations, there were such—the sociologist could not simply accept the technical problems posed by the planners.

Mrs. ABADAN (Turkey) characterised the ideological aspect of planning as organised *prévoyance*. Organisation can lead to an excess of bureaucratisation, and we have to provide for flexible control systems. Internal controls are insufficient and external ones must be used (governmental powers, executive, legislative, and judicial and especially public opinion). Voluntary participation and not coercion should be the guiding principle, and planning has to be made compatible with needs and motives as well as with the goal of economic equality. In Turkey, voluntary planning had been achieved.

ROSE (USA) sought to defend MYRDAL's views and to challenge some of BARAN's observations on the USA. There was planning in America, but it was diversified and not centralised; influenced by group pressures, subject to change and not controlled by ideology. As with the United Kingdom and Scandinavia, the values directing planning came from society as it is. It was incorrect of BARAN, further, to ascribe unemployment to manipulation of the economy; unemployment in America was confined to marginal groups of workers. The determination of values occurs all the time in a democratic society, where it is open to all groups. Finally, Rose held that planning in underdeveloped countries should try to avoid the mistakes made in developed ones.

SOEDER (German Democratic Republic) challenged the view he ascribed to some thinkers, including OSSOWSKI, that a planned economy implied the dictatorship of a small minority. Planning could not be carried out by a small group, because the entire population had to participate. In the German Democratic Republic, in accordance with this fundamental principle of socialist planning, all plans are submitted to the people and proposals come from the enterprises and the workers (through their unions) before ratification by the People's Chamber.

HAMON (France) described the contradictions entailed by planning. In regimes characterised by a multiplicity of parties and pressure group activity, planning entailed the politicisation of the economic sector. But precisely because the conflict of group interests entails a certain *immobilisme* in politics, the public can become depoliticised. The

necessity to introduce a certain *élan* in economic decision, then, may require a certain authoritarianism. The remedy is to develop polycentric rather than monocentric planning. Further, planning deals with the allocation of scarce resources and this inevitably entails conflict, an irreducible fact obscured by utopianism.

Academician V. NEMCHINOV (USSR) in his contribution discussed the "Sociological Aspect of Planning" with particular respect to the Soviet experience. He began by considering the new plan for education in his country; this, he pointed out, required the provision of scholarships and the rearrangement of working time. Further, social agencies which supplement family care of the young and old entail "very tangible changes" in the family and although it remains the "primary cell of society" sociology has to analyse these processes of change to make practical planning recommendations. He noted that in the USSR the social services cost one-sixth of the national income and set these expenditures in their social framework by discussing the way in which the problem of "ascension up the social ladder" changes under conditions of socialist economic organisation.

Among the problems still to be solved by sociology in the Soviet Union is that of leisure time under conditions of increasing productivity and shortened working hours. The USSR in its new Seven Year Plan expects to shorten the working week to 40 hours by 1965. Another problem given by the plan is that of the rational provision of housing facilities and their optimum location. Among the basic sociological problems of the planned economy is that of the determination of the structure and inner dynamics of the consumption capacity of the society and the investigation of the social productivity of labour, which also has its own laws of development.

Finally Academician NEMCHINOV contrasted the economies of planning with those of the market. Economic calculation and pre-*vision* in the latter did not have the same theoretical and practical status as in the former; under planning the entirety of economic relationships was subsumed under control. Whilst under market conditions there could in fact be no such control. Planning in market economies was therefore qualitatively different from planning in the socialist economy.

NAVILLE (France) said that in some countries not belonging to the Soviet bloc, there were at least some elements of planning which had at least suggestive value for more global planning enterprises. The contrast of centralised to decentralised planning has to take into account the coordination of planning in one country with that in another, for instance, Bulgarian planning had to take account of Soviet planning. We are unable to envisage, within the present limits of our knowledge, the development of a social system except in very general

terms. It suffices to recall that the movement of certain planned economies had been modified recently not alone by public discussion but by more serious conflicts which even took the form of armed conflict.

S. M. MILLER (USA) held that planning could be inserted in a number of different social contexts. Decentralisation can be introduced into socialist contexts. It is social goals which determine economic means and the failure to differentiate political factors in planning leads to monolithic, simple conceptions of planning. It is necessary to study the sociology of organisation.

S. M. LIPSET (USA) found it a hopeful sign that an American could criticise his society and an eastern European his social system. He pointed to the political context of sociology: some 80-90 per cent of sociologists from non-communist countries at the Congress were socialists. Marx himself has said that he could not predict the structure of the future socialist society. In reality there were two types of planning: (1) Horizontal, in underdeveloped countries where orders were handed down for all sectors and (2) vertical, decisions taken at the top based on certain political criteria, as the need to reduce the rate of unemployment. The costs of a planning goal will vary from society to society and will include costs which, at times, many people would be unwilling to pay. There are no utopias and utopia cannot serve as a basis of analysis.

WIATR (Poland) discussed what he termed a paradox: in the socialist countries a great deal of planning had been done, but until recently they had not developed the science of conducting sociological surveys. He noted a new tendency in these countries towards more empirical sociological research. Sociological theory, in his view, had an important role in the solution of practical problems, for instance, in the assessment of the role of the state as the promoter of planned change and as the guarantor of freedom.

KRAHL (German Democratic Republic) insisted on the identity of socialism and social planning, an identity found in the work of the early utopian socialists. Scientific socialism is essentially the idea of a society planned in all of its forms. In our times, the idea of planning has been taken up by capitalist countries, but there planning is not real social planning for it lacks an all-embracing scope. The entire people must be involved in all three stages of social planning: drafting, execution, control. Execution can take place by coercion, or by economic stimuli, or by appealing to the social conscience of all members of a society. The use of force is applicable only in the first stage of socialism—the goal is the latter stage. Certain objective proportions must be considered by all planners. Disproportionate effects may arise, due to human fallibility, even though the principles are right.

NEURATH (USA) pointed to an instance of the unanticipated consequences of planning he had observed in India. Groups originally convened to hear radio suggestions, in villages, had defined themselves as political action groups. The speaker thought it necessary to assign trained observers to the *locii* of change to anticipate these processes.

DROR (Israel) held that we ought to be uneasy about our limited knowledge of planning and our inability to define the term "social" in the concept of social planning.

BICANIC (Yugoslavia) described planning as too serious to be left to the economists, especially if it is to be given a humanistic content. The Yugoslav example of decentralised competitive planning with workers' control merited attention. Planning could mean a structure imposed on the workers; if the German Democratic Republic had the full participation SOEDER described why did they not give the workers a role in the direction of the enterprise? In any case, the different types of planning problem had to be differentiated.

GOLDSCHMIDT (German Federal Republic) held that the choice before us all was limited and that a certain evolution in the direction of socialism, due to social and historical constraints, was inevitable; in the capitalist countries, the public pressures on capitalistic forces was strong.

CHESTER (UK) intimated that he hoped to separate ideology from science in his contribution. Planning entailed a host of problems; an exchange of views between different countries with different experiences would be very useful. He noted that according to Professor NEMCHINOV, the USSR spent exactly what the UK did on the social services, namely one-sixth of the national income. The British experience, which also showed that full employment brought its own problems, suggested that we needed a hierarchy of control; but the allocation of resources was difficult. Finally, the speaker said that in view of the overwhelming amount of literature on these problems, ISA might publish yearly assessments of it, and it might, further, sponsor international research projects.

BARAN (USA) suggested that in the discussion "planning" had not been defined consistently or well. He meant by planning the conscious determination of the level and composition of the social product. Planning in the US aimed at avoiding catastrophe but not at the attainment of a fuller and better culture. He did not believe in "muddling through" based on false conceptions of practicality. Moreover, it was false to oppose the interests of present to future generations in planning. It was necessary to distinguish between mistakes in application of the principles and the validity of the principles of planning.

BETTELHEIM (France) said that in his paper he confined himself to

socialist societies since only there did social planning take the form of conscious collective action to transform society as a whole. Coherence between the ends and means of planning could not be attained by juxtaposing several partial plans but could be evaluated only from a central position. The problem of social participation in planning was indeed an important one and its modes required study. But in certain interventions the effects of planning itself had been insufficiently distinguished from the effects (certain phenomena of coercion, certain forms of conflict and of tension) of an accelerated development—effects which were now tending to diminish. A sociology of needs would become the point of departure for a sociology of planning at the moment at which the countries with planning attained the standard of living of the free market countries. At present, the latter served the former as models with respect to certain forms of life style. But in the future, the countries with planning would have to invent a new style of life.

Professor OSSOWSKI (Poland) remarked that it was his devotion to the ideal of planning which had prompted his remarks on some structural difficulties with planning in practice. He thought that the countries with planned economies had already overcome the pathology of commercialised culture, so prominent in the free market societies. It remained to solve the problem of the reconciliation of a polycentric style of life with centralised planning, and this challenge to shape a new social order had to be taken up by the intellectuals.

N. BIRNBAUM
J. GOUDSBLOM
A. PIZZORNO

SECTION III

Plenary Session

SECTION III

PLENARY SESSION ON DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIOLOGICAL METHODS

Chairman: Professor A. N. J. DEN HOLLANDER (Netherlands)

*Main Papers**: Professor PAUL LAZARSFELD (USA)

Professor JEAN STOETZEL (France)

Professor RENÉ KÖNIG (German Federal Republic)

Rapporteurs: Mr. J. D. REYNAUD (France)

Dr. R. DAHRENDORF (German Federal Republic)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

MONSIEUR KÖNIG fait un bref résumé des trois rapports principaux et retire leur accord sur trois points: la méthodologie ne se réduit pas à l'énumération des techniques de recherche; l'analyse du contexte et généralement les méthodes d'interprétation des résultats montrent la nécessité d'une intégration théorique; il faut distinguer la théorie sociologique et ce qui, sous le nom de théorie, est en réalité une évaluation et une critique sociale.

La séance est consacrée ensuite à la discussion de trois thèmes fondamentaux. Chacun d'eux est introduit par l'auteur d'un des rapports principaux; les deux autres présentent leurs commentaires et la parole est ensuite donnée aux participants.

Le premier sujet est introduit par M. STOETZEL: les effets de l'organisation de la recherche sur l'exercice de la sociologie. Les ouvrages de méthodologie posent rarement le problème de manière explicite. Cependant, l'usage de moyens matériels importants, la collaboration de différents spécialistes, l'organisation administrative exigée mériteraient d'être étudiés.

Quelles sont les principales conséquences de cette organisation de la sociologie?

Tout d'abord une institutionalisation de la recherche sociologique elle-même: le rôle du sociologue est un rôle mieux défini (qui se différencie de l'intérêt général pour les "problèmes sociaux") et par conséquent mieux accepté en public.

Ensuite, le contenu même et les subdivisions de la recherche sociologique se transforment. On ne cherche plus à saisir des aspects "essentiels" de la société (psychologie des peuples, institutions cérémoniales). Les divisions se fondent soit sur des domaines concrets d'application (sociologie rurale, industrielle, urbaine) soit sur une méthodologie qui

* These papers were published in Volume II of the *Transactions*.

a pris la place d'une simple conceptualisation (stratification sociale, étude des petits groupes).

Enfin, le contenu des préoccupations méthodologiques se transforme. Autrefois, discussion philosophique sur la nature des faits sociaux (le meilleur exemple en est donné par les *Règles de la méthode sociologique* de Durkheim), elles sont aujourd'hui tournées vers les techniques de recherche.

On a souvent reproché à cette évolution d'aboutir, avec la standardisation des techniques, à une sorte d'automatisation de la recherche qui la conduit à l'insignifiance. Reproche peut-être justifié; mais qui néglige la transformation du rôle du sociologue. On ne forme plus des disciples, mais des professionnels et le premier exigence à leur égard est qu'ils maîtrisent les instruments de leur discipline.

Il est vrai aussi que la limitation des moyens matériels de recherche conduit, à des degrés divers selon les pays, à se concentrer sur les objets les plus faciles, c'est à dire, qui donnent le plus de résultats pour les dépenses engagées. Ainsi s'explique en partie la floraison d'études sur les petits groupes. Mais l'intérêt théorique d'une étude ne se mesure pas à l'urgence immédiate des problèmes abordés.

M. LAZARSFELD fait trois remarques critiques: (1) il n'est pas exact que ce problème ait été négligé. Il a fait l'objet de nombreuses discussions et d'importants travaux aux Etats Unis, ce qui ne signifie certes pas qu'il soit résolu. (2) Il faut tenir compte des différences d'organisation selon les pays. Si dans beaucoup de cas aux Etats Unis, l'organisation est fortement coordonné et peut-être rigide, c'est le contraire qui lui paraît dominant dans l'organisation française. Le Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques juxtapose un grand nombre de recherches sans lien entre elles et le problème serait plutôt la manque de coordination. (3) Dans quels cadres les instituts de recherche doivent-ils se développer? Est-ce nécessairement dans les universités? La question n'est pas tranchée. En Yougoslavie, par exemple, la recherche s'organise, non comme une série d'entreprises individuelles (c'était le cas des Etats Unis), mais par des subventions directes de l'Etat qui n'empruntent pas le canal universitaire pour des raisons pratiques.

L'institutionnalisation de la recherche, comme toute transformation, a des aspects disfonctionnels. Il se peut qu'elle diminue parfois la créativité et la liberté individuelles. Mais le vrai problème est de trouver le moyen de corriger ses défauts en gardant ses avantages. L'étude des organisations de recherche et particulièrement de l'administration de la recherche peut y contribuer.

M. KÖNIG retire qu'aucune formation appropriée ne prépare à l'administration de la recherche. Où apprend-on, en Europe, à faire le plan d'une recherche, à en établir le budget, à en fixer le calendrier? Les chercheurs apprennent par essais et erreurs, et généralement avec

beaucoup d'erreurs. Le coût de ces erreurs est assez élevé pour qu'il vaille la peine de faire figurer l'administration de la recherche dans la formation méthodologique.

M. GOLDMANN (Paris) retire l'omission d'un point important: l'institutionnalisation de la recherche la rend plus vulnérable aux pressions des grands organismes qui détiennent l'argent nécessaire. Il faudrait étudier comment et à quel degré, dans différents pays, peut subsister une sociologie non-conformiste.

Le second thème est présenté par M. LAZARSFELD: quelles sont les différences entre Europe et Etats-Unis dans la recherche empirique ou si l'on préfère dans les méthodes sociographiques? On en énonce généralement trois: les Européens s'attachent à des problèmes dont l'importance sociale est plus grande; ils donnent à leur recherche une dimension historique; leur conceptualisation est plus raffinée. S'il s'agit d'état d'esprit, on peut admettre cette opposition. Mais se traduit-elle dans la recherche elle-même?

Problèmes plus importants? C'est surtout vrai à cause du contexte social des travaux. Dans des pays où les changements sociaux sont spectaculaires comme la Pologne presque tout a une signification importante. Dans un pays comme les Etats-Unis, pays, malgré les apparences, fort traditionnel, où il y a peu de changements sociaux brutaux, et où il y a peu d'intervention de l'Etat dans la vie sociale, c'est le contraire.

Un seul exemple: une étude française sur une manufacture des tabacs met en cause, comme le montre son titre même, la politique de l'administration publique. La même étude aux Etats-Unis aurait un intérêt limité et serait volontiers caractérisée par les Européens comme purement commerciale. Une étude de petit ampleur paraît insignifiante aux Etats-Unis et hautement significative en France.

Dimension historique? L'étude de STOETZEL sur le Japon montre bien l'intérêt d'une interprétation historique d'une enquête d'opinion publique. Mais c'est l'interprétation qui est historique, non la méthodologie qui est celle des sondages. Souvent même, l'intérêt historique semble surtout une affirmation d'intention: telle étude sur la famille à Vienne commence par un exposé historique sur l'évolution de la famille depuis l'Antiquité. Puis elle donne des chiffres fort intéressants sur la situation actuelle à Vienne—mais sans rapport étroit avec le cadre historique esquisonné.

Conceptualisation plus fine? Il est vrai que certains travaux médiocres aux Etats-Unis usent d'une conceptualisation grossière et surtout verbale. Il est vrai aussi que les Européens mettent quelque coquetterie à analyser les notions. Dans une étude française, par exemple, on est frappé de la finesse des distinctions établies entre les différentes formes

de loisir. Mais l'étude qui suit ne donne pas à ces concepts une forme opératoire. Et les données ne sont pas recueillies avec la même finesse phénoménologique.

Du point de vue méthodologique il est donc permis de conclure que les différences invoquées restent à l'état d'intention: elle n'ont pas, jusqu'ici au moins, trouvé à se réaliser dans des études empiriques.

Il faut considérer aussi, ajoute M. KÖNIG le retard de l'information entre les deux continents malgré le développement des échanges. On discute PARETO, SIMMEL, MAX WEBER, et DURKHEIM aux Etats-Unis et d'importantes publications ont salué le centenaire de ces deux derniers (alors qu'il n'était célébré ni en Allemagne ni en France). Réciproquement, on traduit en allemand Elton Mayo mais on connaît souvent mal en Europe les développements de la sociologie industrielle aux Etats-Unis aujourd'hui.

Pour M. STOETZEL une partie de la différence s'explique par le nombre de chercheurs employés de part et d'autre, par les moyens qu'ils ont à leur disposition et aussi par le soin mis aux Etats-Unis à la présentation des travaux.

M. CATLIN (Canada) retire que la situation des sociologues est une situation inférieure en Europe. La structure universitaire, donnant le pouvoir aux philosophes ou aux juristes, tire les sociologues vers la morale, vers l'histoire ou vers d'autres sciences. Les sociologues sont une classe déprimée, sinon opprimée.

J. D. REYNAUD

In introducing the third topic of discussion Professor R. KÖNIG (German Federal Republic) posed the question: Can we grasp the entire depth of social life with empirical research? Professor KÖNIG answered this question in the negative. Although GURVITCH has recently (and by contrast to his earlier writings) claimed that by what he calls "hyper-empiricism" we may be able to comprehend the totality of society, there are in fact two fundamentally different types of social theory. There is, first, "sociological theory," i.e. a set of specific propositions oriented towards and testable by empirical research. There are, secondly, "theories of society," i.e. sets of statements about social life that are too general to be of immediate relevance to findings of empirical research. Both these types of theory are legitimate, but they bear witness to two different concerns. Propositions of sociological theory have a cognitive function. They are scientific statements which, although they merely enable us to comprehend sectors of social reality, can be controlled by empirical research and communicated to other scholars. Theories of society, on the other hand, serve a largely expressive function. Being philosophical statements about the totality of

social life, they have an ideological character and cannot directly be checked by empirical research. Professor KÖNIG made it clear that he himself favoured sociological theories of the middle range which are testable by empirical research, even though these may not enable us to grasp the entire depth of social life.

In his comment on Professor KÖNIG's statement, Professor STOETZEL (France) noted that there are two conceptions of the role of the sociologist. According to the first, it is the sociologist's task to analyze particular social facts in a scientific manner: according to the second, total comprehension of social life is the concern of sociology. According to Professor STOETZEL, it is largely a matter of temperament which conception the individual sociologist chooses for himself. Tolerance demands that we accept them both as legitimate. Professor LAZARSFELD (USA) taking a more definite stand, argued that in a methodological discussion the primary question was always the meaning of different types of propositions and theories. In his opinion, it seemed doubtful whether what Professor KÖNIG called the "theory of society" was methodologically sensible.

The ensuing discussion, most of the participants in which concerned themselves with Professor KÖNIG's distinction, brought out three main positions with respect to this problem. (1) There were speakers who, from a non-Marxist point of view, emphasized the feasibility and necessity of a general theory of society. (2) Other speakers defended this totalitarian approach from a more or less rigidly Marxist point of view. (3) A third group of speakers professed general agreement with Professor KÖNIG's position while criticizing it in detail.

Professor JANNE (Belgium) who opened the discussion, dissociated himself pointedly from Professor KÖNIG by stating that a general theory of society based on empirical observation was not only possible, but absolutely necessary for sociological analysis. Instead of Professor KÖNIG's distinction between sociological theory and theories of society he distinguished between microsociology and macrosociology. While he considered it important to undertake profound microsociological research on particular facts and problems, he thought it more urgent for sociologists to create a general orientation of a macrosociological kind. In analogy to economic theories of national economies we need theories of total societies which make use of statistical and survey data and are, in this sense, based on empirical observation. In a rather more philosophical sense this position was also taken by Dr. BAUMANN (Poland), Professor RYBICKI (Poland) and Dr. TOURAIN (France). Dr. BAUMANN laid special emphasis on the moral concern with improving society which can be satisfied only if we have a critical general sociology that answers the questions of the character of total societies and the place of the individual in them. With reference to Aristotle's *Politics*, Professor RYBICKI claimed that no critical effort and indeed

no meaningful empirical research was possible without an image of total societies. As Aristotle had the image of the "polis," so we have to develop a general theory of our own societies. Dr. TOURAIN reinterpreted the contrast between sociological theory and theories of society as one between a "sociology of social relations" and a "critical sociology." Each of these was concerned with the same subject, but in a significantly different frame of reference. Thus, what appeared as "moral of the enterprise" in the first, was the "worker's consciousness" in the latter type of sociology. He felt that, far from abandoning the latter concern, a new emphasis was needed on the general theory of social dynamics which marks the foundation of critical sociology.

The more strictly Marxist position was taken first by Dr. GOLDMANN (France), who claimed that the very way in which Professor KÖNIG had posed the problem betrayed an ideological bias. There was no real alternative between a positivistic and a totalitarian approach to the understanding of particular social phenomena. Whatever the problem, we would have to take into account the totality of social facts, among them above all the position of the sociologist himself. This position was expanded considerably by Professor FRANZEV (USSR) who stressed the extreme importance of methodological considerations along the lines of a sociology of sociology. In our investigations, we would have to abandon the isolation of particular events and processes, and try to gain an over-all view of society. In order to do so, however, it was necessary to avoid the arbitrary choice of subjects of research. Only when these subjects are dictated by the social and political problems of our society can we hope to combine empirical research with a general social theory. Professor FRANZEV then proceeded to illustrate this position by reference to an empirical study of metal workers in the Ural undertaken by Soviet sociologists. Dr. HEYDE (German Democratic Republic) and Professor SROVNAL (Czechoslovakia) both pleaded for Marxism as an appropriate general theory of society which provides us with "objective general laws" for the understanding of historical development.

More specific criticisms on the basis of general methodological agreement with Professor KÖNIG's statement were offered by Professor PARSONS (USA), Professor BECKER (USA) and Dr. NOWAK (Poland). Professor PARSONS doubted that the distinction between theories of the middle range and theories of total societies introduced by Professor KÖNIG is of any real significance. Scientific theories always consist of an intricate web of generalizations on all levels, and they eventually aim at statements on the highest level of generality. The level of generality of statements is independent of their applicability to empirical research. In this sense it is wrong to say that statements become less scientific to the extent to which they become more general. Professor BECKER, who agreed with this criticism, added to it a plea for an explicit statement of the epistemological premises underlying the research and

the general statements of sociologists. Dr. NOWAK followed along these lines by re-stating the methodological principles of scientific enquiry of any kind. He reminded his audience that isolation of individual facts and was an inevitable prerequisite of scientific research, even though from a practical point of view it was evident that societies were total phenomena. Thus there are in fact two types of systematization of knowledge: theoretical systematization such as role theory, reference group theory, etc., which is the task of the empirical science of sociology, and practical systematization for purposes of political and moral action.

The discussion which—as this report shows—was of a largely “expressive” character, was nevertheless not without its merits. Although it remained inconclusive with respect to the methodological issues raised, it served to clarify certain basic attitudes to sociological analysis which are present in most countries of the world today.

R. DAHRENDORF

SECTION III
Seminars

SECTION III
SEMINAR ON EXPERIMENTAL METHOD

Chairman: Dr. DENNIS CHAPMAN (UK)

Rapporteur: Dr. GEORGE HELLING (USA)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

In his introductory paper Dr. F. STUART CHAPIN (USA) delineated the area for discussion by the seminar on the Experimental Method in the following terms:

"In sharp contrast to . . . laboratory controls of observation there remains the problem, largely untouched, of applying experimental method in the natural community situation to measure the effects of treatment of some influence which seems to be changing psychological patterns or social structures. For too many years we have been content to rely on uncontrolled observations of such phenomena despite the fact that large sums of money continue to be spent in the *belief* that our chosen means of rehabilitation actually *do* achieve the purposes for which they were applied. Yet we continue to invest tax moneys in public housing, in programs to prevent juvenile delinquency, to assist needy persons toward rehabilitation, etc.

"With these considerations in mind, it is the purpose of the Seminar to focus attention on an analysis and description of how to apply appropriate "adaptations" of experimental method in the evaluation of such programs. . . . The problems involved in community experiments constitute a more difficult assignment (than laboratory experimentation), but one which is worth study because of its importance to democratic control of group life.

"It is also an intellectual challenge of no mean proportions. We begin with the proposition that the essential logic of experimental method applied in the community situation is to make observations of changes or events in group life under conditions of control of the more salient variables which appear in human behaviour *in situ*."

Although, due to illness, CHAPIN was prevented from attending the Congress, his influence on the seminar was considerable. Dr. DENNIS CHAPMAN (UK) who assumed the role of chairman in his absence, retained the format that CHAPIN had suggested in his introductory paper, based on the following five topics:

1. Obstacles to randomization in experiments on human subjects: how some obstacles may be overcome.
2. Control of variables by matching: limitations and advantages.
3. Objective methods of analysis of variables in experimentally obtained data.

4. Ex post facto experiments and probability.
5. Salvaging defective experimental designs.

CHAPMAN also summarized CHAPIN'S statement of the present status of experimental methodology as a starting point for the contributions of the invited discussants.

In the first of these, a short paper primarily concerned with ex post facto experiments (topic 5 above), Dr. GEORGE HELLING (USA) illustrated a difficulty that arises in laboratory experimentation by showing how certain generalizations long accepted in biology textbooks (i.e. lizards are "cold-blooded" animals) had stemmed from observations that were valid only in the specialized environment of the laboratory where they had been obtained and represent a highly misleading description of the animal in its typical natural situation (where lizards maintain a temperature comparable to that of mammals by basking and other instinctive behaviors) and concluded:

"The solution the laboratory provides to problems of controlling extraneous factors that are so persistently troublesome in the community situation is simply to exclude them. But this is a deceptively simple solution for as it seems likely that human behavioral responses are infinitely more plastic than those of lizards, the danger of results that are "unreal" (falsely predictive outside the laboratory) is profound. This is not to disparage the brilliant work in such areas as small group leadership and morale, industrial sociology, child development, and collective behavior that has won for laboratory experimenters such a large share of the initiative in sociological research in recent years. Quite the contrary, it seems that they have often been successful despite an approach that embodies problems of control that are both pervasive and subtle. At any rate, as the successful laboratory experiment does not provide conclusions that can be assumed to apply in the community situation (but merely especially well-grounded hypotheses) the growing mastery of techniques for the study of human social behavior in laboratory settings does not allow us to bypass experimentation *in situ* but instead adds urgency to the need for solutions to the outstanding problems in that approach.

"Experimental method is the most rigorous technique of research available to the social scientist and commands itself to our attention in the laboratory or in the field. It would seem that the strongest argument for choosing community rather than laboratory settings for carrying out sociological research by experimental design is that the measure of control obtained by matching or statistical techniques does not eliminate in advance the possibility of new discoveries beyond those hypothesized and built into the situation. This would seem to be particularly important in cross cultural research where a

priori judgments of the researcher may be wide of the mark.

" This advantage, however, appears to have a corresponding disadvantage and both were cast in sharp relief by the investigator's research into the impact of social and technical change on the peasant village in Turkey. An ex post facto design had been employed. Two Turkish villages were matched in regard to population size, ethnic and religious characteristics, natural setting, and the prerequisites of agricultural production in climate, soil, water, etc., but located so that the first (the control village) had been largely insulated from the Westernizing changes of the last three decades in Turkey, the second (the experimental village) very strongly exposed. Differences in social organization were not eliminated by matching and statistical techniques of control left them untouched, raising the question whether techniques that have built in nominalistic assumptions can be made to take into account qualities of the " whole " that are not summed up by collecting measures of individuals."

In the discussion period BRUUN expressed doubt that so broad and complex a condition as " Westernization " could be called a variable and asked if it were not indeed made up of several factors. HELLING responded that it certainly is but to separate out one factor from the bundle (i.e. better roads) would be unjustified in our present state of knowledge. Contending that nearly all sociological variables turn out to be " bundles of factors " in the perspective of later research, HELLING argued against premature refinement of the terms of analysis in cross cultural study (a fault of some assessments of economic aid programs, in his opinion) in favor of more long term " funnel shaped " approach which attacks the same problems again and again making ever more penetrating discriminations.

Among the practical obstacles to randomization in experiments with human subjects (topic 1 above) CHAPIN had stressed those that result from deeply entrenched administrative and philosophical objections typical of service-oriented officials through whom the sociological investigator often must work in research situations (i.e. " need " rather than " chance " should determine eligibility for presumed beneficial treatment according to norms of social work administrators). He had therefore suggested that safeguards of scientific effectiveness should be incorporated in the original research design and that cooperation of administrative officials be fostered by assisting them in understanding the needs and benefits of research. An effective approach involves showing how random selection of cases is consistent with human principles of service (i.e. selection " by lot " eliminates favoritism).

CHAPMAN, in a paper titled " Some Field Work Problems of the Experimental Method " approached a series of related problems from the perspective of his own community research experience and singled out the following difficulties for special emphasis:

"Citizens' advisory committees: This has the defect that the sociologist must modify his study to meet the wishes of his committee or add to his inquiry topics of interest to them. . . . Many topics of study are neglected for fear of the social consequences to the investigator or the institution which supports him.

"Sex of respondent: Responses of women and children are modified in deference to the expected views of the male head of the household or differ according to the degree of confidentiality that is guaranteed. Male dominance may also control the kind of information available within the family, thus it is not uncommon to find wives who have inadequate information about their husbands' earnings and expenditure.

"An unrecognized source of bias: In industrial studies it was found hard to gain access to large bureaucratically controlled industries and to small family firms, but relatively easy to work in medium size plants with young professional managers whose training and skills had factors in common with those of the sociologist. . . . Firms owned or managed by Quakers dominated studies in industrial psychology and personnel management in Britain and in the immediate post war period studies in Britain were made in medium size firms where managers and owners had taken up a quasi religious-political-psychoanalytic faith in 'Human Relations.' Thus academic industrial studies, as contrasted to commercial industrial studies have been greatly controlled by social factors to which little attention has been given, and in Britain some major industries have hardly been studied at all.

"'Feedback,' cause and control: In any social system the actors (participants) will use any social change to assist their own adjustment. This will be independent of the aims of the experimenter although he may, if he recognises the situation, induce in the subject changes in his motivation to inhibit such behaviour; or if the data permit he may measure and control the influence of such action in his analysis.

"Perhaps because the questions to be raised are so complex, many investigators content themselves with a few routines, trusting that the social situation will be undisturbed or adopt methods which ensure that change will take place in a particular way."

The atmosphere of the discussion period was informal and CHAPMAN drew laughter when he explained his rather unique difficulty in one factory where workers have acquired such confidence that improved conditions will follow his visits that whatever he suggests brings an increase in production.

In regard to the second topic (above) CHAPIN had indicated his own

position by the statement: "When obstacles to randomization cannot be overcome the alternative is matching." Reasons that he regards matching as an inferior solution to randomization as a means of control include the inevitable loss of cases that cannot be matched, and the fact that powerful statistical tools cannot be used legitimately. (Statistical tests may be used "analogically" however.) An example of matching perhaps unprecedented in scope was described in the second of two studies reported by PEKKA KUUSI and KETTIL BRUUN in "Some Comments on the Use of Experimental Methods in Finnish Alcohol Research." The study, actually carried out by Dr. K. E. LANU, matched two experimental groups of Finnish "misusers" of alcohol who had been subjected to a surveillance program to two control groups of "misusers" who had not. The effectiveness of buyer surveillance in Finland was under sharp dispute—did its results in curbing misuse justify the imposition of restrictions and administrative control over all drinkers? LANU sought to isolate the effects of the program by matching the individuals of his groups on the following variables: sex, place of residence, place of birth, marital status, education, age, occupation and professional status, age when first intoxicated, age when first loss of memory in connection with drinking occurred, age of first hangover drink, frequency of drinking in 1949, frequency of drunkenness in 1949, frequency of loss of memory in connection with drinking in 1949. As a result he saw his groups shrink from 1,338 to 110 in the first of his experimental groups and from 470 to 82 in the corresponding control group. It is the contention of BRUUN and KUUSI that the extensive matching failed as a method of assuring the soundness of the results. As they say:

"In this experiment, as in many others, the experimental treatment was not randomized. If every individual with reported misuses had been brought under the buyer surveillance, there would have been no control group of misusers. The very existence of the control group composed of misusers means that there were individuals free of surveillance in spite of their recognized misuse of alcohol. People who enforced the buyer surveillance program certainly did not apply the sanctions at random. It is thus justifiable to assume that there were hidden differences between misusers in the experimental groups and those in the control group. If these differences remained also after matching, then the purpose of the matching was defeated. If these hidden differences had been eliminated and the misusers in the experimental groups and those in the control group had been made more comparable, the remaining subjects would have been even fewer and less representative of the population before matching. This would have then further impaired the generalizability of the experiment."

The results of the LANU experiment gave no support for the continuance of the surveillance program.

The other experiment described by KUUSI and BRUUN was carried out on a large scale.

"In three towns where no alcoholic beverages whatsoever had been sold up to that time, the Finnish State Alcohol Monopoly opened up beer and wine shops for the purpose of experiment. The study was performed in close collaboration with the Alcohol Monopoly, which also financed it. What the experiment was supposed to do was to show what changes the sale of beer and wine in a rural population center brings about in the consumption of alcoholic beverages by the local inhabitants. The hypotheses regarding the expected changes were formulated in such a way that the most fundamental—and often contradictory—arguments publicly presented could be put to test in the study. The choice of the test localities had to be made strictly on practical grounds on account of legislative restrictions. The control localities were chosen by matching with the test localities. In both the test and control localities, the measurements of alcohol consumption were made twice, i.e. before and after the opening of the experimental shops. The four measurements thus obtained were essential for each experimental shop in discerning the net result of the experiment by eliminating the initial differences between the test and control localities and differential effects of external factors introduced during the course of the experiment from the gross changes observed."

They state:

"All in all, the study served to show quite an abundance of statistically significant net changes. To be specific, the frequency of drinking increased, but not among those persons who had not used alcoholic beverages before. Radical changes took place in the structure of consumption. That is, as the use of beer and wine increased that of hard liquor and illicit beverages decreased, with certain exceptions. It is noteworthy that in the consumption of alcoholic beverages to the point of intoxication no changes could be observed. Drunkenness proved to be a variable independent not only of the proximity of liquor store but also of the degree of urbanization of community. Trips to town—i.e. trips to purchase alcoholic beverages—decreased greatly in number, particularly among the heavy users. Opinions with regard to beer and wine shops became somewhat more favorable among those who had initially opposed their establishment."

It would appear that CHAPIN's plea for the use of experimental studies as the foundation for social policy decisions has been heard at least in Finland for KUUSI and BRUUN state:

"The favorable results achieved in Finland during the last one decade in the sphere of experimental alcohol studies have led to an

acceptance of the experimental method as a normal procedure in formulating and administrating policies of the Alcohol Monopoly."

In the discussion period GADOUREK asked BRUUN, "Are there not some intervening variables in the design? Is this not the trouble with all experiment—that a single variable cannot be isolated?" BRUUN responded, "We are not seeking laws—one must distinguish between cause and prediction and prediction is enough for policy determination." CHAPMAN suggested the formulation of Braithwaite, British philosopher of science, might reconcile the views. Braithwaite accepts reliable prediction as the aim but with a progressive intellectualization of the component elements. GADOUREK objected that this reduces his question to a matter of terminology—he wonders whether there *are* unitary causes in sociology or only complex ones.

It happened that the paper by Dr. IVAN GADOUREK (Netherlands) which concluded the contributions of the invited discussants bears upon the solution of the very problem raised by the matching difficulties in the LANU study. Despite his title, "A Substitute for Randomization Designs in Sociological Research," GADOUREK is of the opinion that there is "no real substitute for randomization." He continues, however, to state:

"There is, on the other hand, no reason for defeatism. The choice is not between the 'pure,' isolated causes and naive, indiscriminate correlations passed for causation, but rather between the infinitely conditional and definitely conditional hypotheses."

Attacking a problem of matching he says:

"The experimental method consists of testing out a strategic hypothesis under the condition of strict control of all relevant variables. (However, though we have in randomization a technique for controlling unknown, presumed causes) we cannot determine the strategic value of the association to be tested, without previous knowledge. Neither can we distinguish the 'other relevant' causes that have to be consciously kept under control."

Distinguishing these other relevant causes is a pertinent problem at the present time and the objective technique available—factor analysis—is both ill adapted to sociological data and too laborious to provide an adequate solution. In the absence of a suitable technique, sociologists are likely to resort to deliberate subjective choice of control variables or to assume, uncritically, that in controlling "sex, marital status, occupational status, age, educational level, social status, and religious affiliation" the crucial variables have been taken care of, poor substitutes for objectivity in either case.

"Our solution to the problem has been a relatively simple one. About a decade ago, we were struck by the ingenious method that

Festinger and his associates from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology found for the identification of cliques in matrix of sociometric choices. . . . In our adaptation the persons had to be replaced by abstract concepts, those of causal factors.

" This is what we actually have done in a number of studies that dealt with such different subjects as a structural analysis of a Dutch community, the attitudes of workers in steel-works towards technological changes, attitudes of workers in a semi-agricultural region to a firm in monopoly position, and social factors in drinking and smoking habits. In all these studies, both ' basic variables ' and the variables we are interested in are put into a matrix of relationships. . . . When we square the matrix, we obtain in the cells corresponding to those contributing a positive value in the basic matrix a number of all potentially intervening variables in our design. (Note: For a detailed description, illustrated on a matrix containing 34 variables, see I. Gadourek, *A Dutch Community*. Leiden, 1956, Part II, pp. 330-343.) The intervening variables can then be identified by a search of the basic (unsquared) matrix.

" It is not difficult to grasp the significance and the instrumental nature of this technique for other methods of social sciences. In social experiments, the identified ' potential intervening variables ' can with success be employed as the controls that the research worker consciously introduces into his designs. They do not represent an exhaustive list of such variables; in addition to the obvious limitation due to the omission of possible relevant causes in the basic matrix, there is another limitation due to the variables that work in opposite direction and cancel each other to the effect that no significant association appears in the basic matrix.

" Of much higher value is the technique in the cases where randomization does not seem possible. Here the above-mentioned limitation does not apply, as there is no danger that the research worker will pass an association for causation that did not appear in the basic matrix. He is, on the other hand, warned not to causally interpret an association before examining the influence of any one of the possible intervening variables that have been identified. This examination consists, in the most simple cases, of the inspection of the direction of associations."

In the solution of the problem of discovering the "other relevant" variables:

" Matrix-identification also can be of good service to an ex post facto study that stands on its own; the variables that are identified as potential intervening variables (are the ones that) should be used as controls in the process of matching."

The concluding discussion ranged over all of the topics that had been presented with questions raised by KINT (Belgium) and NOVAK (Poland) as well as the panel members. The largest contribution from the floor came from J. DUMAZEDIER (France) who suggested a reanalysis of the problem of models for research in terms of a system of levels (ideal, initial, projected, attained) which he described as "action research" models. He stressed a need for surveying latent needs and expectations and expressed his opinion that evaluation categories should be determined *a priori* rather than *a posteriori*.

The seminar had early moved to send good wishes and thanks to CHAPIN, and CHAPMAN reiterated these in his final remarks. Despite unresolved problems and differing interpretations of the proper mission of experimental investigation, he looked forward to growing influence for the experimental approach in social science research.

G. HELLING.

SECTION III

SEMINAR ON OBSERVATIONAL METHODS

Chairman: Dr. P. CHOMBART DE LAUWE (France)

Prepared Discussants: Professor T. CAPLOW (USA)

Dr. H. HIMMELWEIT (UK)

Professor J. SZCZEPANSKI (Poland)

Rapporteur: Professor KURT B. MAYER (USA)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

THE CHAIRMAN, P. CHOMBART DE LAUWE (France), opened the proceedings with a resumé of a paper on the role of observation in sociology which had been circulated to prepared discussants but not generally distributed. Tracing first the historical development of observational methods, the speaker pointed up several dangers inherent in observational methods: (1) an illusory objectivity, caused by hidden hypotheses underlying the research, (2) the contrary tendency to prove preconceived theories through selective observations, (3) the artificiality of observations derived from laboratory groups outside the larger social context.

Defining observation as including both direct and indirect observation he outlined the objectives of the method as follows: (a) observation of individuals and groups, (b) observation of the social milieu, including space and time, (c) observation of social change. In trying to meet these objectives there arise problems of measurement, of objectivity and control, and of technique in establishing rapport with the subjects of observations. The most basis of these problems is that of control, the absolute need to ensure the objectivity of the observer and the reliability and validity of the data. In accordance with this definition, the speaker included among the observational techniques not only participant observation and the observations made by genuine members of the subject groups, the value of which he particularly emphasized, but also interviews, questionnaires, group discussions, tests, content analysis, etc.

The speaker finally listed some of the most complex aspects of observation as a basis for discussion: (1) the intimate connection between observation and experimentation, (2) the need for basic research in the face of mounting demands for applied studies, (3) the necessity to link micro- with macro-sociology, (4) Observation must also include attitudes and beliefs in addition to behaviour, (5) it must be supplemented by case studies, and (6) lead to the establishment of typologies. (7) New techniques of observation need to be developed, including aerial photography, films, etc. (8) Hypotheses must be stated explicitly. Finally, (9) problems of professional ethics loom large in observation and must be clarified.

Commenting on the remarks of the Chairman, J. SZCZEPANSKI (Poland) stressed the importance of epistemological and psychological considerations which are basic to methodological questions. Observation cannot be opposed to other research methods since it forms part of every other method. Its underlying problems are psychological, they stem from the personality and the experience of the observer which filters and selects the facts perceived by him. The most essential need, therefore, is the development of standardized techniques of observation which eliminate the personal influences and psychological distortions and permit replication by other observers.

Speaking from the point of view of a social psychologist, H. HIMMELWEIT (UK) deplored the existence of a prestige hierarchy among observational techniques some of which are considered superior, while others are held to be inferior. In reality, all techniques are equally valuable, and research personnel should not be specialized in merely one or the other method but get training in all of them. One solution lies in the conduct of research programs rather than individual researches which permits the shifting from one technique to another because of their continuity. Commenting on the problem of observer bias, the speaker proposed the use of several observers of different persuasions for the observation of the same phenomenon.

T. CAPLOW (USA) took issue with the Chairman's definition. He felt that the term "observation" should be distinguished from other methods of collecting data and should refer merely to participant observation. In weighing the advantages and disadvantages of participant observation, the speaker listed four main difficulties: (1) the limited scope of the observer, (2) observer bias, (3) the difficulties of proper recording, and (4) the problem of codability of the data for comparative analysis. He reported on attempts made to overcome or minimize these difficulties in a recent study of "skid row" in Minneapolis.

V. MILIC (Yugoslavia) stressed the task of sociology which is to study society as a whole. Results of detailed analytical studies must be synthesized. Sociology can learn from other social sciences engaged in such endeavours, especially economics. Global studies of society need an adequate theoretical framework, which is not yet fully developed in sociology but several models are already available for synthesis: (a) social stratification and mobility, (b) social organization, (c) ecological and morphological models. A lot of official statistics are available, presently unused by sociologists, but they need to be correlated for the purpose of building sociological models.

R. MERTON (USA) again raised the problem of definition. One must distinguish between observation and other methods of collecting sociological data. If observation is defined narrowly as the direct use of eyes and ears in observing actual behavior it then becomes possible

to discuss how observation can be combined with other research procedures. When does one use observation rather than other techniques? The speaker suggested that the answer to this question lies in the characteristic *functions* of observation as compared with the functions of other techniques. Can observation provide a greater fund of new ideas than other methods? Observation can act as a check on other data. This raises the problem of what to do in case of conflicting results. Finally, can observation confirm or disconfirm an hypothesis?

In considering these questions the speaker stressed the desirability of interweaving various types of data by combining direct observation with other methods. He reported on a large-scale study of medical schools in which multiple sources of data were collected on the same phenomenon by a combined use of observation, interviews and questionnaires.

K. MAYER (USA) reported on a pilot study of small businessmen being conducted in Providence, R.I., which involves the combination of interviewing with non-participant observation by the same research personnel.

By contrast L. DIENA (Italy) employed two separate teams of researchers in a study of the resettlement of internal migrants from underdeveloped regions. One team interviewed, the other merely observed. However, it turned out that this division of labor created resistance among the subjects who accept interviews voluntarily but dislike being observed by non-participant and silent observers.

Replying to MERTON and other speakers, P. CHOMBART DE LAUWE (France) felt that a very narrow definition of the term observation is unsatisfactory. If one deals with 100 or 200 subjects in depth it is not possible for every member of the team to use his own sense organs exclusively, yet this still represents direct observation. He also stressed the point that the very presence of observers inevitably changes the behavior of the observed group.

This same point was again made by D. GOLDSCHMIDT (German Federal Republic) who further emphasized the fact that the sociologist never abandons his role as a sociologist in participant observation, although his objectivity lessens as he comes to understand his subjects more intimately. The speaker further argues that a sociologist who has not had previous experience in some other professional role is not capable of adequate insight into the social life of different groups.

H. HIMMELWEIT (UK) pointed out in connection with definitional questions that there exists a considerable literature in the field of child-development which provides well-defined categories for observational procedures. It should also be kept in mind that behavior changes over time, which raises the problem whether the period of observation used gives a typical picture of behavior or not.

T. CAPLOW (USA) remarked that there is no single best way of observing. The crucial problem is to employ a method which can be demonstrated valid and reliable.

V. MALINSKI (Rumania) drew attention to the economic aspects of social behavior. In observing the life of communities account must be taken of the primary importance of the socio-economic structure. This primordial factor is not adequately taken into consideration by the theories of multiple causation which seem to prevail in sociological research and which minimize the importance of economic factors. The speaker asserted that historical materialism provides a more adequate conceptual framework.

W. BLYTH (UK), speaking as an educational sociologist, pointed out the peculiar role of the teacher as an observer. The teacher can observe children's behavior and keep fairly systematic records without causing any change in their behavior because he is accepted in the social situation. On the other hand his commitment to the educational institution is a drawback and his opportunities for analytical work are limited.

P. ATTESLANDER (Switzerland) felt that the difference between participant observers and observing participants, stressed by the chairman, is unimportant. What matters is the comparability of the data. He also commented on the problem of professional ethics, asserting that sociologists engaged in industrial field-work should not translate their findings into lay terms directly, useful to either management or trade unions but should preserve their scientific neutrality by sticking strictly to sociological terminology.

The last speaker, G. VEGA (Colombia), emphasized that many difficulties of observation are caused by the impact of differences in the environment and experience of the observer and the observed. This is particularly evident in the culture clash which occurs when observers with a Western background work in primitive societies, but it also applies to members of the same society with different class backgrounds.

KURT B. MAYER

SECTION III

SEMINAR ON SURVEY METHODS

Chairman: Dr. M. ABRAMS (UK)

Prepared Discussants: Dr. R. LIKERT (USA)
Mr. G. TODD (UK)
Mr. L. MOSS (UK)
Miss S. STAR (USA)
Dr. J. DOUGLAS (UK)

Rapporteur: Mr. C. A. MOSER (UK)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

THE Seminar was opened with some remarks from the Chairman, Dr. M. ABRAMS (UK), on the development of survey methodology over the last few decades. He spoke of the early work on different methods for obtaining information from respondents, the later dramatic developments in the theory and application of sampling, and, yet more recently, the increasing attention paid to errors of a non-sampling nature, on the one hand, and to problems in the analysis and interpretation of survey data, on the other.

He explained that the Seminar discussion had been planned around certain aspects of survey methodology which were of special concern to practitioners at the present time. In the first place, as surveys were often used to predict economic and social behaviour, there would be a paper dealing with the prediction of consumer spending. Turning in the opposite time direction, there would follow a paper on the reliability of memory, an important topic in view of the preoccupation of many surveys with past events. The discussion would then broaden to include other sources of error in survey data, particularly in family budget studies. After this, the Seminar would turn to some problems encountered in programme evaluation studies, that is studies designed to evaluate the effects of action programmes of one kind or another. Finally, there would be a discussion of longitudinal surveys, their problems and special advantages.

The first paper, by R. LIKERT and E. MUELLER (USA), dealt with the use of surveys in understanding and predicting consumer behaviour. Dr. LIKERT began by pointing out that consumers are increasingly able to alter significantly their rate of buying consumer durable goods and that the level of purchasing such goods has an appreciable influence on the total level of the economy. It is therefore of utmost importance to know what changes the consumer sector is going to make in its expenditure on durables and the reasons for these changes. Such knowledge,

if reliable, would be of obvious significance to government and other agencies concerned with economic policy measures. Dr. LIKERT's remarks were devoted to showing how sample surveys can be used to produce data on consumers' capacity, willingness or motivation to buy.

That sample surveys can be used effectively in studying capacity to buy, in the sense of consumer incomes, assets, indebtedness, etc., has been well demonstrated by the Surveys of Consumer Finances in the United States, and comparable surveys elsewhere. The more difficult task is the measurement of the willingness or motivation of consumers to buy, and Dr. LIKERT confined himself principally to this. Two survey approaches are possible: one can either ask straight questions about buying intentions, or one can measure consumer sentiment directly by asking people about their financial welfare, their worries and uncertainties, the news they have heard, their expectations for the future, and their attitudes towards prices and market conditions. In the surveys conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan both approaches are used. Dr. LIKERT stressed that there is no attempt to measure the *absolute* level of the various motivational forces, but rather the changes which occur in them.

The surveys described by Dr. LIKERT have been going on over the last nine years, so that there is some basis for examining the relation between the data on consumer attitudes and the fluctuations in consumer purchases. An Index of Consumer Attitudes is constructed from eight questions. Two of these measure people's attitudes towards their personal financial situations, two measure their expectations as to business conditions, two relate to attitudes towards market conditions and prices, and two deal with buying intentions for houses and automobiles. The eight components are given equal weight in the scoring. Optimistic replies to a question receive a score of 2, pessimistic replies a score of 0; divided, undecided, the "same," answers are scored 1. A person's score can vary from 0 to 16. Dr. LIKERT presented data on the course of the Index over the period 1952-1959, together with the Department of Commerce series for personal disposable income and durable goods sales to consumers. Whilst the longer-run trend in these sales is best explained by the rising trend of personal income, the various fluctuations are matched better by the Attitude Index than by fluctuations in the growth of personal incomes. In terms of time-series correlation, the multiple correlation between durable goods expenditures, on the one hand, and disposable personal income and the Index of Consumer Attitudes, on the other, was .94. If sales are related to income only, that is if the Index of Attitudes is omitted, the correlation drops to .64. Thus, over the period 1952-1959, attitudinal data did make a substantial contribution to the short-term forecasting equation. Dr. LIKERT's evidence showed that of the two parts of the Index—attitudinal series proper (with a weight of $\frac{3}{4}$) and buying intentions (with a weight of $\frac{1}{4}$)—the former had a more valid forecasting record.

than the latter. On the other hand, the buying intentions component has been based on only two items, houses and cars, and its value could probably be enhanced by adding other major household items.

Dr. LIKERT continued with some general remarks on the use of surveys of consumer sentiment for forecasting, and on the interpretation of the Index of Attitudes and its various components. He discussed in particular the light such surveys can throw on attitudes to, and reactions in the face of, price inflation. He ended by stressing that surveys designed for these purposes were still in a relatively early stage, but that results to date indicate that they can yield information of importance for economic theory as well as data of value for policy and operating decisions.

In the discussion that followed, speakers (NEURATH, STREIB and Moss) underlined the importance of consumer behaviour surveys for government agencies concerned with fiscal measures, stressed the importance of further methodological research and asked for clarification regarding the type of sample used.

The Seminar next heard a paper from Mr. G. TODD (UK) on some experimental work on the reliability of memory, taken from the field of tobacco smoking.

A completely accurate statement about a past event involves three components: accurate observation of the event, accurate recollection of this original observation, and accurate description of the recollection. So-called memory error can be due to error in any of these components. Since facts about smoking are not difficult to describe accurately, the third component is likely to be minimised in this field. Furthermore, Mr. TODD argued, it is a field in which casual observation of one's past or current smoking habits might be expected to reach a relatively high level of accuracy. As a research topic, it has the advantage that since the total tobacco smoked in the UK is known, the accuracy of casual observations of the quantities currently smoked can be checked.

The experiments described by Mr. TODD were two-stage studies in which respondents interviewed about their smoking habits (among other things) at one period were re-interviewed at a later date. The first "Memory Enquiry" was based on re-interviews, in 1952, of some 400 men and women originally interviewed in each of the years 1948, 1949 and 1950 consumer surveys. Questions were asked about the respondents' smoking habits at the time of the re-interview and at the time of the original interview. A second Memory Enquiry, in 1957, was based on re-interviews with 400 men originally interviewed in 1955 or 1956, and there were further re-interviews (making a third interview) with over 200 men who had originally been interviewed in 1948, 1949 or 1950 and already re-interviewed in the first Memory Enquiry. In this second Memory Enquiry, those interviewed were asked about their

smoking habits in 1957, and were also asked to recall their normal smoking habits at each time on which there had been an earlier interview. Fairly substantial non-response was encountered in the two memory enquiries, but the evidence suggests that the non-respondents differed little from the respondents in relevant respects.

The first results given by Mr. TODD related to the recollection of *current* smoking habits and were aimed to show how accurate the memory was in recalling events that took place on an average 24 hours previously. When the survey results were "blown up" for comparison with the known national aggregates, there was an over-statement of 6 per cent and 12 per cent in 1948 and 1949, and understatements of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, $16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and 15 per cent in 1950, 1955 and 1956, respectively. The overstatement in the first two years is thought to have been due to technical reasons which were eliminated from later surveys. From 1952 on, consumer surveys such as these gave an under-statement of cigarette consumption of 10–15 per cent. The results became remarkably consistent. On close examination, however, the error was found to be not essentially due to memory. It seems that smokers did not attempt to recall each cigarette smoked the preceding day, but rather to describe the broad mental picture they have of themselves as a smoker. A person thinks of himself as a "20 cigarettes a day" man, and this image, rather than attempted accurate recall, is the general basis of the answers. This conclusion was supported by various pieces of evidence. Answers in round numbers were more common than expected. Questions about "normal" smoking habits yielded very much the same answers as those relating to smoking on the previous day. In terms of brands smoked, there was evidence that people answered in terms of the best-known and conventionalised brands, rather than the actual brands smoked.

Mr. TODD then turned to evidence concerning recall over intervals varying from 6 months to 9 years previously. Though the ranges into which cigarette smoking were classified were broad (0–4 cigarettes a day, 5–14, 15–24 and 25+), after a lapse of only 6 months, 23 per cent of the smokers reported a level of cigarette consumption that fell into a different range from their original report. After 18 months, the percentage was $34\frac{1}{2}$, after 5 years 37 and after 7–9 years, 48. In discussing these findings, Mr. TODD suggested that what smokers did in answering the question was to start with the picture they had of themselves as smokers at the present time, and then to work backwards. Since the *changes* in their smoking habits were frequently unperceived or forgotten, the picture they gave of themselves as smokers was very similar to the picture they had of themselves at the present time. If the smoker's habits had not changed much during the period in question, the answers given were usually fairly accurate. If the habits had changed, on the other hand, there was likely to be considerable forgetting of the previous usual brand and level of consumption. Mr.

TODD concluded that "there is much in the statements about their past smoking habits made by men and women who have changed their levels of consumption to confirm Sir Frederick Bartlett's more general conclusion that 'accurate recall is the exception and not the rule'."

Several speakers (WHELPTON, ROSENMAYR, RHEE, MOSS) contributed to the discussion. Miss CARTWRIGHT (UK) gave some evidence on memory errors from a local health survey, showing that gross errors could be substantial and yet leave, after cancelling effects, quite a small net error. Mr. F. LINDER (USA) gave evidence on memory errors from the nation-wide health survey in the United States. He stressed the difficulty of having a sufficiently large number of cases for tracking down such errors, and discussed the possibility of adjusting survey results for memory errors. This possibility rested on accumulating sufficient evidence on the relation between accuracy of recall, on the one hand, and the nature (and importance) of the event and the time span between its occurrence and the interview, on the other. With such data it might be possible to establish "memory error curves," on the basis of which survey estimates could be improved. Sir FREDERICK BARTLETT (UK) followed with some remarks on the nature of memory. He stressed that the remembering of the *order* of events was a particularly hard task since the brain tends to deal with things in "chunks" rather than in individual items. He further suggested that there would often be profit in concentrating on what respondents tend to forget rather than what they think they remember. Finally, he speculated on the possibility that the time may come when by the use of mechanical devices, we might be able to record a great many of the features and events of the daily behaviour of a selected population: then it would really be possible to check the accuracy of recall. Dr. LIKERT warned against a too ready reliance on check figures used to assess the accuracy of survey results; often the latter were more suspect than the former. He also wondered whether errors which might be anticipated as inherent in survey procedures might be at least partly corrected, e.g. by the use of deliberately loaded questions.

The discussion then turned to the question of non-sampling errors in general, with special reference to budget surveys. Mr. L. Moss (UK) gave a good deal of evidence from the UK household expenditure survey in 1953/54 to show that progress had been made to overcome some of the errors referred to in the discussion. Accuracy achieved on different expenditure categories naturally varied, but on the whole it seemed higher than had been achieved in the past. In the UK experience, this was due partly to the considerable experimentation that had preceded the enquiry. There had been experimental studies on the best way of securing information, the use of account books, the optimum reference period for different items, the effect of including income questions, the best level of incentive to offer, and so forth. Current continuous consumer enquiries were giving further opportunities for

research. Mr. Moss added some comparative observations on a family budget survey in Ceylon with which he had been concerned. Two points were especially noted: the reconciliation between income and expenditure was very close, and non-response was much less of a problem than in most Western surveys.

The next paper, from Miss S. STAR (USA), dealt with determining the purposes of what is variously called program evaluation, program research or simply action research. The action part of such research generally turns out to be a mass information programme via the major media—TV, radio, newspapers, etc. In its format it generally had its roots in two older traditions, and does little to correct the inadequacies of either when it is extended beyond its original preview. On the one hand, there is a long tradition of research in advertising effectiveness in which effectiveness has always meant increase in sales. On the other hand, the major communication media have long been carrying out audience research, although not always with too clear an idea of what they wanted to know or why. But with the interposition of electronics or newsprint between the performer and the audience, questions began to be raised about whether anyone was listening, who he was, what he thought of whatever he was hearing, reading or seeing, and how he was affected by it. Much of audience research took its departure from this descriptive kind of interest and suffers from a lack of clarity about what is meant by the impact of the communication: the number of people exposed to the programme or article, the extent to which they enjoy or approve of the item of programming, the amount of information they absorb or remember or the extent to which they are influenced in attitudes or actions or both.

In the paper Miss STAR was especially concerned with evaluation of programmes of social improvement. Something of a cult has grown up about this kind of research, its proponents speaking of it as a totally independent field of social research, whose problems and methods are unique. Miss STAR argues that there is nothing very different *in principle* between programme evaluation research and other survey research, but that *in practice* the typical survey is far more carefully designed and executed than the typical evaluation study. This is especially clear if we turn from the techniques employed to the care and imagination with which the goals of the research are conceptualised. For various reasons, researchers worry far less about questioning the *ultimate* aims of an evaluation survey than with straightforward descriptive studies. Too readily is it accepted that the goal is to instruct and inform people, or that there is some invariable link between informing people and some more ultimate goal, e.g. some kind of positive action.

Miss STAR suggested that this lack of concern with the real goals of evaluation research was due, among other things, to the preoccupation with techniques and especially with the delights of experimentation,

and to a cultural bias which makes the researchers feel that the spread of information (through the programmes) is itself necessarily a good aim and that it will accomplish a great many other things which need not be questioned. In fact there are many fundamental questions which should be raised regarding any evaluation study, e.g. whether the aim is simply to evaluate the programme being conducted, or also to get guidance on how it might be better adapted to its objectives; to what extent the criterion of effectiveness is a compound of reaching people and influencing those reached; what exactly it is the client wants people to learn from the programme and why, etc.

Miss STAR then illustrated these points with some real examples, showing how prone programme evaluation studies were to give negative results (i.e. to show little effectiveness, as normally measured), and asked why we go on measuring the impact of mass media in situations where we can be fairly sure that the impact is nil. The reason, she suggested, was that to do anything else raises research problems we cannot yet solve—e.g. how to use surveys to tell a client how to *design* his campaign, how to be sure that mass motivation, if this can be created by suitable education, will create support for the causes advocated by the campaign, etc. Perhaps the best way to influence people is by personal or small-group contacts, first by involving and changing a few key persons, who in turn influence others, etc. Such questions demonstrate that the real need in this field was for hard theoretical about ultimate goals.

In the discussion both Dr. ABRAMS and Dr. LIKERT supported Miss STAR's argument. Dr. ABRAMS gave evidence from other fields to show that the negative results of evaluation studies were due to the poor conception of the campaigns themselves. Dr. LIKERT said it was most regrettable that surveys were used more to evaluate campaigns than to help in their design. He went on to cite examples of faultily conceived campaigns, and underlined the point that face-to-face influence was far more potent than mass campaigns. Sir FREDERICK BARTLETT gave an example of a (road safety) campaign, which suggested an inverse correlation between behaviour and level of information.

The last paper, by Dr. J. DOUGLAS (UK), dealt with some problems encountered in a longitudinal survey of a national sample of children. The survey, which is sponsored by the Population Investigation Committee, the Society of Medical Officers of Health and the Institute of Child Health (University of London), covers some 5,000 children born in Great Britain during the first week of March, 1946. These children were a sub-sample of all children born in that week, the sub-sample comprising one in four children of manual workers' families and all children of non-manual families. Since their birth twenty-one separate contacts have been made with their homes and schools, and with their mothers, teachers and the children themselves. Health visitors and

school nurses have visited the homes on ten occasions, school doctors have examined the children (specially for the survey) three times, the children have taken two batteries of mental ability and school achievement tests, and filled in an inventory on emotional adjustment, and the school teachers and headmasters have completed five reports. Special records of school absences have been kept by the primary school teachers. Dr. DOUGLAS in his paper concerned himself with the two central problems of longitudinal surveys: the losses in sample numbers and the effects, if any, on the children due to the fact of their being observed.

After thirteen years, only 1.8 per cent of the children have been lost trace of, 4.9 per cent have died and 5.5 per cent have emigrated. These last two classes of loss have not of course been random—deaths have occurred more among the poorer and less well educated section of the sample, whilst parents who emigrated were on the average prosperous and well educated—but they are a natural decrease and can hardly be said to have biased the sample. Refusals are a potential source of bias. After thirteen years 7.4 per cent of parents have withdrawn their children. In the early years the parents who refused were more often those from the more prosperous families, but in later years similar losses have been sustained in each social group. The refusing families include a rather high proportion who were unfavourably assessed for standard of care and who failed to use the available medical services, and also of children with low mental ability and school achievement test scores. But the total loss through refusals has been sufficiently small for these biasing tendencies to have little effect on the representativeness of the remaining sample. One reason for this small loss is the fact that the sample is a national one: movement of the family to another area has thus not meant a sample loss. Wide geographical coverage is a major advantage in a longitudinal survey.

The other problem of longitudinal surveys is that the survey population may become atypical through the very fact of being kept under observation. This point has been studied by comparing the children of manual workers included in the survey with a comparable sub-sample (of one in four) specially set aside at the outset for the purpose. In 1957 both groups were examined by a school doctor, and were also compared on secondary school selection tests. Apart from very minor points, the groups were in close agreement.

Since the survey can be used for repeated questions about the same event, it provides some evidence on the accuracy of recall. For important incidents like admissions to hospital, or illness in early life, mothers' memories were surprisingly accurate even for small detail. The accuracy of recall falls as the children get older, as the size of the family increases, and as one passes from more to less important events. A study of the accuracy of reporting even such simple sociological information as

occupation of the husband showed up many sources of inaccuracy which are only likely to be disclosed in a longitudinal survey where the same questions are asked on many different occasions.

A good deal of discussion followed (LINDER, TODD, ABRAMS, MOSER, LIKERT, STREIB, STAR, MOGEY, ROSS, ROSENMAYR). Dr. DOUGLAS gave some information about the staff and finances underlying the project, about its general organisation, and about publications. He also enlarged on the many advantages of a longitudinal survey from the point of view of securing meaningful data, and of getting good value for money. He instanced certain types of data which could be secured only through such enquiries: it was possible to get to know the individual families intimately, and to study what happened to them in various phases of their family life, and their economic and social progress. Several of the speakers confirmed from their own experience the peculiar advantages of longitudinal surveys.

In closing the Seminar Dr. ABRAMS referred to the often-expressed view that progress in survey methodology had tended to come to a standstill during the last few years. He suggested that several of the contributions to the Seminar had shown evidence of constructive thinking along new lines, an encouraging sign to all concerned with this field.

C. A. MOSER

SECTION III

SEMINAR ON SMALL GROUP ANALYSIS

Chairman: Professor G. C. HOMANS (USA)

Prepared Discussants: Professor J. MAISONNEUVE (France)
Professor J. ISRAEL (Sweden)
Professor P. BLAU (USA)
Professor F. STRODTBECK (USA)

Rapporteur: Dr. JOSEPHINE KLEIN (UK)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

Methodological Problem 1: What might be useful demarcations within the general field of small group studies?

The chairman suggested the following sections:

1. The study of face-to-face interpersonal relations in groups without a formal task, e.g.: sentiments and attitudes of members towards each other; pressure of group norms on individual behaviour; etc.
2. The study of the mutual effects of task and structure in work-groups, e.g.: leadership as affected by different types of task; the interrelations of popularity and leadership, etc.
3. The study of the mutual adjustment of component groups within a larger organisational unit, e.g.: relations between higher and lower management in a firm; management practices; workers' satisfaction and productivity; problems of interdepartmental communication; etc.

For these purposes a variety of methods is available, and the data thus secured are readily amenable to statistical treatment. The fourth section has not as yet so rich a supply of methodological tools—this may be related to the more backward state of theory in this area.

4. The study of larger organisational units in order to arrive at statements concerning generally perceptible and applicable processes, e.g.: the bureaucratic process; features common to hospitals or other service agencies; etc.

Methodological Problem 2: What are the advantages and disadvantages of the tools at our disposal?

Professor MAISONNEUVE distinguished three types of approach:

- (a) Studies based on a sample of a population.

- (b) Laboratory studies.
- (c) Field studies.

Typical of the sample studies is the investigation of the social atom of clearly defined categories of persons, by questionnaires, sociometry, relational analysis, interview, etc. Valuable as these studies are, they create problems of their own: different subjects may interpret the questions differently; different research workers may be sensitive to different aspects of behaviour; there is a loss of psychologically significant content due to the aggregation of varied traits into a vague, global "profile," or due to a false rigour in the coding categories, or due to the use of ill-conceived categories such as "doing things together."

Typical of laboratory studies is the investigation of experimentally created variables such as "motivation," "liking," "competitiveness" in groups created for the purpose. Among the problems created by this approach are: an uncertainty that the experimentally created variables has the same effect as, or is caused by the same conditions, as would be the case in every day life; the ephemerality of the group; the uncertainty of generalising from controlled to uncontrolled situations.

Typical of field studies is the investigation of events in a normal environment by means of previously constructed methods of observation and analysis. In Professor MAISONNEUVE's eyes, this approach avoided the problems created by the other techniques he had surveyed.

The afternoon saw a good deal of discussion on this subject, which it is convenient to summarise at this point:

1. On new groups, old groups and artificial groups. We must not be misled into thinking that a "new group" or an "artificially created laboratory group" consists of members without group experience. These members have already been trained in culturally normal group behaviour by previous experience.
2. On ephemerality. To have a group meet a number of times rather than just once does not make it more "real." What it does is to enable you to test hypotheses which could not otherwise be tested.
3. On validation. What is important is whether you have a fruitful theory; how you test it—as long as you do it well—does not matter.

The only way to determine if artificial groups differ from other groups is to show where the propositions derived from the one are inconsistent with those derived from the other.

4. On mistaken generalisations. The point at issue between "live" and "lab" proponents is whether experimentally created motivation, perception, etc., is at all comparable to that created by force of natural circumstance.

Asch's index of vulnerability to social pressure, developed in the laboratory, was modified by Crutchfield and used on live groups, where it had no predictive value. Presumably, variables controlled out of existence in the lab, reappeared to operate in the live situation.

5. On focal concepts. If one constructs theory in terms of group processes, the distinction between laboratory and live is useless; if one constructs theory in terms of the persons who act or interact, the distinction is of importance.

Methodological Problem 3: How to perceive the similarities that enable us to generalise?

Professor ISRAEL's main contribution was an analysis of the idea of "similarity" in replicated studies.

- (a) Two studies might be similar in concepts, experimental variables and population.
- (b) The same concepts and experimental variables might be rigidly re-applied to different populations.
- (c) Two studies might be based on the same conceptual grounding, but experimental variables might be modified in order to preserve their essential meaning for different populations.

A careful analysis of this kind contributes to methodological clarity in two ways. Firstly, it clearly has a bearing on the problem of legitimate generalisation from one study or one approach to other more or less related topics (see discussion points under Methodological Problem 2. Indeed had the group fully absorbed this point, much fruitless discussion might have been avoided). Secondly, it refines our sensitivity to essential constants and disparities in cross-cultural research (e.g. in an experiment carried out in seven European countries, in which the same experimental variables were treated in the same way, the "low" reward—as contrasted to a "high" reward—was a movie ticket. But with one set of boys, the culture was against their movie-going. For these, the tickets became "highly" valued. The objectively similar variable changed its subjective meaning).

Methodological Problem 4: What effects are group effects?

If one takes a habitual pattern of action, common to a number of people, can one disentangle the roots nourished by the personality as a continuing entity, from those nourished by the life of a group to which the person feels allegiance?

Professor BLAU contributed an elegant attempt at such a distinction. Sixty members of twelve work groups in a public welfare agency reported their attitude to a general increase in financial assistance to clients. Pro-client workers were those who favoured such an increase. Pro-client groups were those with a majority of pro-client members. It was found that:

- I (a) *Pro-client workers were more apt to provide services to clients than other workers were, whether they belonged to a pro-client group or no (mainly individual effect).*
- I (b) *Even if we exclude the effect of individual attitudes, members of pro-client groups were more apt to provide service to clients than members of other groups (mainly group effect).*
- II(a) *Pro-client workers were less often willing to delegate responsibility for financial decisions to clients than other workers were, whether they belonged to a pro-client group or no (mainly individual effect).*
- II(b) *If we exclude the effect of individual attitudes, members of pro-client groups are more often willing to delegate responsibility than were members of other groups (mainly group effect).*
- III. A worker's pro-client attitudes tend to *increase* his involvement with clients, but pro-client groups norms *discourage* involvement in the interests of clients.

Methodological Problem 5: What contribution does the study of small groups make to more general sociological and psychological insights?

Professor STRÖDTEBECK demonstrated the applicability to wider social issues, of techniques first developed in the small-group laboratory. From the laboratory he derived an operational definition of dominance as the ability to win a majority of disputes in a group. The technique was found illuminating to the study of decision-making in the family. Thereupon some of its implications were tested in different cultural settings, Mormon, Navaho, Japanese-American. It was found that when the father's dominance was, culturally speaking, disproportionately high, the son tended to display the following characteristics: a relatively lower motivation to achieve success, a relatively lesser willingness to postpone the gratification of an impulse, a slighter belief in his ability to control his own destiny, and more reluctance to work as a member of the group. It was thus possible to show a regular relationship between culture, personality and a structural peculiarity in certain groups.

J. KLEIN

SECTION III

SEMINAR ON HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY

Chairmen: Professor ASA BRIGGS (UK) and Professor C. WRIGHT MILLS (USA)

Rapporteur: Professor GEORGES GORIELY (Belgium)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

Voici, à notre sens, les thèmes principaux qui furent abordés tant dans les deux rapports présentés (par MM. Briggs et Mills) pour le séminaire que dans les débats qui leur firent suite :

- (1) Sociologie et lois—éventuelles—de l'histoire
- (2) Sociologie et situation historique et sociale de l'historien
- (3) Sociologie et conceptualisation des faits historiques empiriques
- (4) Sociologie et dépassement des aspects particuliers sous lesquels l'histoire est abordée, au profit d'une conception totalisante

De tous ces thèmes, c'est le premier qui entraîna le moins de discussions. De tous les genres sociologiques aucun n'est aujourd'hui plus abandonné (comme l'a notamment souligné Mlle. MITRANI) que la philosophie de l'histoire au sens classique du terme (lequel ne doit pas être confondu avec celui de réflexion philosophique sur l'histoire). Peu de penseurs croient encore pouvoir établir quelque loi objective inhérente au processus d'évolution global. Seul un jeune représentant de la République allemande, M. SCHILFERT, manifesta une pareille confiance. Selon lui une telle loi existe et le matérialisme dialectique nous la fournit. Le peu d'écho rencontré par ce propos vaut d'autant plus d'être remarqué que plusieurs des intervenants se réclamaient explicitement du marxisme, tel M. GOLDMANN, ou dans tous les cas lui faisaient un large sort comme MM. HOBSBAWM, TROPP, et même MILLS; mais aucun n'en donnait une interprétation déterministe, n'y voyait une volonté de réduire les faits humains à une loi de type physique.

Notons combien plus prudent que M. SCHILFERT se montra le professeur soviétique FRANTZEV. Il estima assurément que les hommes "ne peuvent cesser de s'intéresser à la théorie du processus historique d'ensemble"—mais ce fut pour noter combien les interpretations données jusqu'à présent de ce processus, depuis Comte jusqu'à Toynbee, sont peu satisfaisantes. Et d'ailleurs, pourrions-nous ajouter, s'intéresser au processus historique d'ensemble implique-t-il en quoi que ce soit le désir d'en dégager la loi? Aussi, à la lumière de l'importante intervention de M. Frantzev, le marxisme qui inspire les recherches historiques et sociales en U.R.S.S. n'apparaît-il pas au premier chef comme la volonté d'établir des lois, et par conséquent des prévisions en matière d'évolution, mais celle de "montrer tous les phénomènes sociaux dans leur unité contradictoire et dans leur action réciproque, de concevoir la vie

sociale dans son ensemble" ainsi que d'examiner "le changement des forces productives et des rapports de production". Et il n'est personne qui n'ait accueilli favorablement l'offre de collaboration internationale, formulée par M. FRANTZEV en vue d'une telle recherche.

Non seulement, aux yeux de la plupart des intervenants, la raison ne peut pleinement dominer le processus historique, mais l'homme apparaît comme dominé par lui jusque dans son appréhension proprement intellectuelle des faits. Plutôt que de dégager les lois de l'histoire, un des rôles essentiels de la sociologie historique semble être de nous décrire la situation historique de l'historien. Voilà ce que nombre d'intervenants soulignèrent à l'envi, en en fournissant d'ailleurs des interprétations théoriques variées. M. BRIGGS donna une véritable sociologie de la pensée historique, en en montrant l'extrême variabilité dans le temps. M. BARBU parla d'une loi de rétrojection par laquelle nos préoccupations présentes nous feraient découvrir tel aspect du passé plutôt que tel autre. Pour M. JANNE un choix de valeurs décide de l'orientation intellectuelle de l'historien comme du sociologue. Selon M. GOLDMANN, chaque époque pense son passé en fonction de sa situation de classes et de son idéologie dominante. Et à cette nécessité "d'historifier" toute pensée historique, le marxisme n'échappe nullement, nous précise M. BIRNBAUM.

Il est intéressant de noter que chacun avait tendance à voir dans la spécialisation de l'autre un complément indispensable à son propre univers des préoccupations et une source essentielle de renouveau: les participants à formation surtout sociologique dans l'histoire, ceux à formation principalement historique dans la sociologie. Ils étaient tenté de situer à droite leur propre discipline, à gauche la discipline complémentaire. Ainsi M. MILLS voit dans le formalisme sociologique une conception conservatrice, et une expression de l'idéologie bourgeoise dans les recherches ou les réflexions qui se veulent ou se croient anti-historiques ou transhistoriques. Pour M. BRIGGS, au contraire, seule la réflexion sociologique aurait permis de renouveler les conceptions traditionnelles de l'histoire. Telle est l'opinion de M. TROPP, pour qui au moins en Angleterre, les historiens appartiennent dans leur majorité à l'*establishment*, alors que les sociologues se veulent presque tous progressistes. M. BIRNBAUM émit une opinion semblable, mais sous une forme plus nuancée: un même type de recherches peut avoir des significations idéologiques différentes selon les circonstances; le renouvellement des recherches sociologiques empiriques qui accompagne la liberalisation dans les pays de démocratie populaire, spécialement en Pologne et en Yougoslavie, indiquerait, au moins dans ces cas-là, le caractère progressiste de ce type de recherches.

Cette aspiration à prendre une distance critique vis-à-vis de sa propre discipline, au besoin en la dénigrant dans sa forme traditionnelle et en valorisant des aspirations intellectuelles complémentaires, n'est

assurément pas caractéristique de l'attitude du grand nombre des historiens ni des sociologues. Elle a peut-être entraîné quelque schématisation de l'orientation idéologique que les uns et les autres avaient tendance à attribuer à leur discipline respective. Ce désir de collaboration—conforme à la voie ouverte par Max Weber—pourrait néanmoins être fécond. De plus, c'est cette insatisfaction même que certains sociologues et certains historiens éprouvent à n'être que ce à quoi on les confine qui les amène les uns comme les autres à une confrontation avec leur propre situation historique et sociale.

Existe-t-il quelque moyen de dépasser cette perspective situationnelle, d'acquérir une vue pleinement objective de la réalité sociale? Personne ne l'a tenté, sauf, évidemment, M. SCHILFERT, pour qui le problème était résolu avant d'être posé. Mais peut-être est-ce cette conscience même de la part inévitable de subjectivité qu'elle comporte qui permet à la réflexion historique et sociologique d'atteindre le plus haut niveau possible d'objectivité ou, à tout le moins, d'impartialité.

Plusieurs intervenants, MM. HOBSBAWM, GOLDMANN, JANNE, SMETS, TROPP, ont souligné la nécessité de conceptualiser les faits, de les ramener à des modalités générales, intellectuellement élaborées, du comportement social, de leur trouver une logique interne, bref de penser en sociologue le donné historique. Ainsi M. HOBSBAWM s'étant intéressé à un phénomène historique relativement limité, le banditisme, a estimé qu'il importait pour l'historien non seulement d'établir des faits de banditisme, mais d'en dégager la signification générale, d'établir le genre de société globale auquel il correspond (société des paysans et de grands propriétaires terriens), le type de légendes qui généralement l'accompagne, bref de construire le modèle sociologique général du banditisme. Presque tous les intervenants ont été d'accord que toute grande œuvre d'histoire implique une certaine conception générale des rapports sociaux et que plus celle-ci sera explicite, pensée avec précision et méthode, plus elle ouvrira de voies aux recherches historiques ultérieures.

Seul M. HANDLIN a semblé être d'un avis différent. Pour lui l'approche sociologique n'est pas l'approche historique; il y aurait non seulement divergence de méthodes, mais les synonymies même peuvent camoufler de profondes divergences conceptuelles; lorsque les historiens parlent de classe ouvrière ou paysanne, ont-ils nécessairement en vue le même objet que celui dont traitent les sociologues dans leurs nombreuses théories des classes? Que l'approche de l'historien et celle du sociologue soient différentes, qu'ils se situent à des degrés dissemblables de généralité, voilà qui est certain encore qu'à cet égard il y ait des manières diverses de faire de l'histoire et de la sociologie. Mais qu'historien et sociologue puissent parler d'autre chose, qu'il puisse exister une vérité sociologique incompatible avec la vérité historique, voilà qui nous paraît inadmissible. Il doit exister, à tout le moins, une règle de co-validité entre concepts

historiques et concepts sociologiques. C'est une bien pauvre sociologie que celle qui à force d'abstraction et de formalise cesse d'éclairer la signification des faits historiques particuliers. Mais c'est aussi une bien pauvre histoire que celle qui nedépasse pas le stade de la chronique et qui par accumulation irraisonnée des faits ne peut être de nul enseignement pour le sociologue.

Le dernier point, qui était au centre des préoccupations de M. BRIGGS, n'a été qu'abordé dans la discussion, par M. GOLDMANN surtout. S'il existe une tendance dominante dans la sociologie actuelle, c'est l'accent mis sur le concept de totalité, c'est le désir de dépasser l'interprétation analytique des relations causales entre aspects sociaux divers, qu'on cesse de tenir pour mutuellement isolables, "discrets", réductibles à l'état de facteurs. C'est un point où se rejoignent pleinement la psychologie de la forme, la phénoménologie, le néo-durkheimisme (ou le durkeimisme tel que l'interprète actuellement M. Gurvitch) et le marxisme dans son interpretation lukacsienne (défendu surtout par M. Goldmann) et même récemment sartrienne.

Quelle portée donner dans cette perspective à une histoire qui se prétendrait avant tout politique, économique, sociale (au sens classique et restreint du terme), idéologique, religieuse, esthétique? Il ne faudrait voir que des efforts d'abstraction, méthodologiquement inévitables peut-être, mais qui faussent dangereusement l'appréhension du réel, lorsque l'esprit croit trouver dans l'un ou l'autre de ces aspects, des réalités possédant par elles-mêmes et pour elles-mêmes, une plenitude d'existence. Or, le progrès même de l'érudition, la multiplication des champs d'investigation obligent indiscutablement l'historien à des efforts de spécialisation de plus en plus poussés.

Les historiens traitent aujourd'hui *de* tout, mais ne risquent-ils pas ce faisant de perdre le sens *du* tout? Ce tout n'est jamais pleinement donné. Il reste appréhendé par des individus, eux-mêmes partiels par leur situation. Il n'a rien de cohérent ni d'harmonisé: nous sommes loin de la totalité des organicistes, de toute totalité totalitaire. Et pourtant c'est par ce mouvement difficile et par moments périlleux vers la totalité que l'histoire peut devenir science au sens antique et philosophique du terme, qu'elle peut atteindre à l'universel concret.

Etablir les cadres sociaux de la pensée historique, élaborer avec méthode et précision les concepts sociologiques auxquels naturellement l'historien recourt, parvenir à saisir tout aspect particulier de l'histoire en tant qu'expression d'une totalité, voilà les trois domaines où la réflexion sociologique peut aider et enrichir la recherche historique. Telles sont du moins les conclusions qu'il est permis de tirer du séminaire de sociologie historique.

GEORGES GORIELY.

SECTION III

SEMINAR ON THE COMPARATIVE METHOD

Chairman: Professor S. N. EISENSTADT (Israel)

Prepared Discussants: Professor R. BENDIX (USA)

Dr. N. ELIAS (UK)

Professor A. INKELES (USA)

Professor S. M. LIPSET (USA)

Professor E. SHILS (USA)

Rapporteur: Dr. S. ROKKAN (Norway)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

THE CHAIRMAN opened the meeting and reviewed the major problems in the use of comparative cross-national and cross-cultural methods in sociology.

The great evolutionary sociologists of the 19th century had seen in the comparative method the principal tool in the advancement of a science of society. In the 20th century, sociology had become much more nation-centered and given primary emphasis to studies of conditions and forces *within* given state-societies. With the rapid development of world communications and international organizations after World War II, problems of inter-societal comparisons had again come to the forefront of sociological discussions. The organization of the Seminar at the Fourth World Congress reflected the growing concern of a number of sociologists with the problems of comparisons across cultural and political units.

The Chairman distinguished two major problems for discussion:

- (1) The problem of the *design of comparisons*: the choice of *units* for comparisons and the choice of *variables* to be related to each other.
- (2) The problems of the *comparability of the data* and the *possibilities of standardization*.

Comparative analyses have focussed on a variety of units or types of dependent variables:

- (a) "total" societies,
- (b) institutions and institutional processes—e.g., economic institutions, political institutions, family structure, age groups.
- (c) types of groups—categories of participants and organizations within each system, e.g., intellectuals, priests, political parties, bureaucratic organizations,

- (d) *social trends and processes of institutional development—urbanization, industrialization, democratization,*
- (e) *rates and distributions of individual behavior—e.g., voting, delinquency, alcoholism,*
- (f) *types of cultural systems such as religious beliefs,*
- (g) *personality structures and processes of socialization.*

At all these levels of comparisons, the typical design of a comparative analysis asks: what are the *conditions for emergence and maintenance* of such and such a state of the given dependent variable? what are the *conditions making for stability or change* in the given variable?

No systematic procedures have as yet been established for such comparative analysis but a variety of attempts have been made to correlate given characteristics of societies with other characteristics of the same societies or of units within them. The correlations established between "independent" and "dependent" variables are often very difficult to interpret. What is needed is a systematic analysis of the *intervening processes*, the social processes behind the correlation of one trait, e.g., economic development, with another, e.g., political institutions. This is a central problem for further advances in the methodology of substantive comparisons.

The Chairman further reviewed briefly the problems of *comparability and standardization* in cross-societal research:

- (a) The problem of the *cultural range* of comparisons as discussed between "globalists" such as Murdock, and "regionalists" such as Schapera.
- (b) The relative merits of *case studies vs. wide-ranging comparisons* using indexes and correlation procedures.
- (c) The problems of the *sampling of societal units* and the use of control units.

The Chairman emphasized that problems of this kind could not be discussed in *abstract*: the problems would have to be dealt with in the concrete context of a given set of substantive comparisons. It had been decided to focus the Seminar papers and the discussion on one broad set of substantive problems of central concern in comparative sociology: the analysis of the *conditions for the growth and maintenance of modern political systems*.

Professor SHILS (USA) stated that he would not himself be directly concerned with the "grammar" of comparisons but would seek to illustrate the uses of a comparative method in analyzing a major factor in the development of the new states in Asia and Africa: *the role of*

the intellectuals in the politics of the emergent states in the economically underdeveloped countries.

He defined the "intellectuals" in these countries as those who had gone through an advanced modern education. These groups constitute only very small proportions of the total populations in each of the new states and differ much more drastically from the rest of the population than is the case in western countries. The intellectuals in underdeveloped countries in the vast majority of cases get their training in humanities and law: this training prepares them for activity in public affairs and in politics, and accounts for the high degree of "politicization" of the intellectual elites of these countries. So far only small proportions of the students have taken technological or natural science degrees. The students are deeply concerned with *politics and the problems of authority* and they acquire training for dealing with such problems, either within a civil service or within opposition movements. Intellectuals in the under developed countries are markedly *nationalist, socialist* and *populist* in their ideological orientations. This can be accounted for in part from the reactions against foreign political rule and foreign business dominance but also from a deep-seated concern with the contrast between "metropolis" and "province": between the exercise of authority at the center and the reactions to authority in the periphery. The nationalist ideologies are clearly creations of intellectuals: nationality is not something they already share with the rest of the population. The ideological emphasis on the delimitation of ethnic in-groups clearly serves the function of broadening the opposition to foreign authority. Allied to nationalism is a widespread *populist* orientation: a tendency to identify with the unadulterated peasantry of the territory. All these ideological emphases give a highly emotional tone to the politics of the new states and do not make for the development of a network of autonomous institutions of the kind which would make for stable pluralist régimes. The possibilities of change in this situation are all contingent on continuing economic development. With the growth of tertiary occupations and the development of independent scientific and academic institutions chances will increase for a reduction in the emotional tone of political life.

Professor LIPSET (USA) reported on his attempt to account for differences between political systems in the stability of their régimes and in their ability to cope with disruptive forces under the impact of industrialization and economic change: details of this analysis had already been published in an article in the *American Political Science Review* for March, 1959.

LIPSET maintained that at the present stage of comparative studies the intellectually most fruitful procedure was *the method of the dialogue*: the statement of wide-ranging theses about the relationship between variables and then successive counter-theses and rejoinders emphasizing deviant cases and different explanatory variables.

LIPSET's basic thesis was that two sets of conditions were necessary for the maintenance of stable democratic régimes: *economic efficiency* as measured by indexes of growth, urbanization, industrialization, the spread of education, and *political legitimacy* as manifested by the continuity of institutions and the general acceptance of the constitutional framework in the face of radical changes in socio-economic conditions.

Stable democratic régimes in the sense of systems allowing organized opposition and yet never seriously threatened by extra-constitutional movements could only be found in countries at a high level of economic growth, with high educational standard and with strong constitutional traditions ensuring the legitimacy of the régime. The majority of these stable democracies had, paradoxically enough, retained their monarchic framework. This was an indication of the ability of the systems to counteract the disrupting tendencies brought about by industrialization and the entry into politics of working class organizations. Working class movements tended to develop chiliastic ideologies in the early phases of industrialization and the viability of political systems undergoing rapid economic growth depended essentially on the capacity of the decision-makers to integrate these new forces within a flexible constitutional framework and create a new equilibrium.

These general propositions needed further testing through detailed analyses of data for a variety of countries. Of crucial importance in any such comparative analysis, were data on *voting* within different groups of the expanded electorates. Comparative analyses of data on voting had only recently begun to interest sociologists. Voting studies had so far primarily been dominated by the theoretical perspectives of social psychologists: they had been primarily concerned with voting as one among many categories of individual decisions and much less with voting as a process in the adjustment to change and in the maintenance of the equilibrium of political systems. For the political sociologist, data on voting must essentially be studied on *comparative* lines across different systems: only in this way would it be possible to gain some understanding of their significance.

Professor BENDIX (USA) summarized the paper he had prepared with LIPSET on the comparative study of the "entry into politics" of the working class and the capacity of political régimes to cope with the strains brought about by the process of democratization. He stressed the importance of analyzing the strategic decisions made by statesmen in different countries in meeting the problems of the rise of radical working class movements: much of the contrast between Britain and Germany could be accounted for by the difference between the decisions taken by Disraeli, who expressed trust in the workers by expanding the suffrage, and Bismarck, who tried to suppress working class organizations.

In general, BENDIX considered it essential for sociologists to concentrate their comparative analyses on strategic issues in the *processes of modernization* going on in all countries of the world. Max Weber had made this the central theme of comparative sociology. His method consisted essentially in starting out from one concrete point of comparison, whether over time or across different systems, and then proceeding to analyze the ramifications of the trend or the difference to gain deeper insight into the relationships of interdependence within the total structure: he gave examples from Weber's analyses of the decline of patrimonial régimes and the growth of bureaucratic structures. Comparisons of total societies would necessarily remain difficult, if not unmanageable. The best strategy would be to focus on similar situations and similar issues for decision in different countries and at different times and to study the processes of decision and their ramifications from such selected vantage points. There was no "grammar" to guide the sociologist in establishing such vantage points: it was a matter of historical intuition, of knack, of *Fingerspitzengefühl*.

Dr. JUAN LINZ (Spain) emphasized the difference between the comparisons carried out by Max Weber and the current cross-national analyses attempted by political sociologists. Weber was essentially concerned to reach an understanding of the processes underlying long-term institutional trends: the data for such analyses were essentially documentary. The current work of political sociologists focussed on forces at work in complex societies at roughly the same levels of socio-economic development: the data for such comparisons were not only documentary, but *statistical and behavioral*. A variety of new types of analysis had become possible through sophisticated uses of voting statistics and even more could be expected from the use of *sample surveys* in different political contexts.

LINZ was in general agreement with the design for comparisons suggested by LIPSET but found that a crucial set of variables were missing: these related to the strains brought about in the political structure by unresolved conflicts between various regional and ethnic interests.

Professor ARON (France) emphasized the dangers of the socio-economic determinism implied in LIPSET's analysis: any analysis of concrete developments would have to focus on the action taken by political leaders in the face of the difficulties brought about by socio-economic change. The Fourth Republic did not fall for socio-economic reasons. It fell because the Constitution made it impossible to establish effective majorities and because the new situation in Algeria made it essential for the survival of the system to ensure effective decision-making. The correlations established by LIPSET might say something about the *limits of political effectiveness*, but did not determine the outcomes: thus there were good chances that a multi-party system might be

maintained in India *in spite of* the low level of economic development.

Professor GARDNER (American University, Egypt) made a similar point in the case of *Egypt*: he did not see any necessity for the growth of democratic régimes through increased industrialization. On the contrary, in African and Asian countries, industrialization was more likely to bring about a concentration of power in the hands of a single élite.

Professor HAMON (France) first discussed SHILS' paper and expressed surprise that no distinction had been made between the ex-colonial and the other states in Asia and Africa. Professor SHILS, in reply, stated that he had not found these differences very important.

Commenting on the scheme of comparisons suggested by LIPSET, HAMON stated that it was impossible to accept the proposition of a direct relationship between economic growth and the stabilization of democratic régimes. LIPSET had himself found it necessary to introduce *the legitimacy of the régime* as a crucial variable. This was not a socio-economic but a *political* variable; it concerned the ability of political leaders to maintain continuity in the institutions in the face of radical changes in the conditions of their operation.

Dr. TALMON-GARBER (Israel) questioned an assumption in SHILS' prognosis of changes in the political role of intellectuals in the new states: he seemed to assume that increased scientific creativity would reduce the political involvement of the intellectuals. She cited the cases of de Tocqueville, Marx and Weber in counter-evidence. Professor SHILS, in reply, stated that he did not assume that greater scholarly and scientific creativity would reduce political participation as such, but he was certain that it would give a less emotional tone to the politics of intellectuals.

Dr. WALLERSTEIN (USA) criticized SHILS' paper on a number of points:

- (1) he had used the term "intellectual" in different senses for under-developed and developed countries;
- (2) the *range of units* compared was not made sufficiently explicit;
- (3) his generalizations held for ex-British states, but not for other ex-colonial states;
- (4) there was evidence of a change in some territories in the direction of greater interest in science and engineering and less concentration on law and politics.

Professor SHILS, in reply, restated the definition he had given of "intellectuals" and made it clear that this definition was only meant

to apply to his analyses of development in the new states of Africa and Asia. It was true that he had done most of his work on ex-British states but he found no evidence of any marked difference between these and the others in roles taken by intellectuals. He was glad to hear that there was evidence of some change, but this did not affect his general conclusions about the development during the last decade.

THE CHAIRMAN introduced the afternoon session and stated that the first half of the session would be devoted to comparisons of *individual* characteristics and behaviors within different political systems, and the second half to problems in *macro-comparisons*, in the comparison of total state-societies.

Professor INKELES (USA) presented a general review of methodological and theoretical problems in the comparative study of *national character* and focused on the problem of discovering major *personality requisites* for the maintenance of democratic political systems.

INKELES distinguished a number of usages of the term "national character": the *sociological* focussing on institutional patterns, the *anthropological* emphasizing the unity of cultural themes, the *psychological* oriented toward the characteristics of the "modal personality structures among the adult members of the given national society." He proposed to concentrate his discussion on the problems of assessing national character in this psychological sense of a distribution of personality characteristics within a population. The principal procedure in such studies would be the administration of standardized tests to representative and stratified samples of the different national populations or of equivalent groups within each population. The basic problem for cross-national research of this type concerned the *comparability of the personality dimensions measured by the tests*. There was a great deal of evidence that item-for-item translations of tests could not yield comparable measures across different national populations. What was required was equivalence in the *concepts*, not in the actual measurement procedures. So far only scattered studies of haphazardly picked samples had been completed. What was needed was a concerted effort to make use of the facilities now available for mass testing in a variety of countries.

A major goal in any such comparative research would be to gain insight into the importance of the distribution of personality types for the maintenance and functioning of given political institutions. A variety of studies in different countries had related personality characteristics to political orientations and party preferences, but most of these had been limited to small samples and could hardly provide the basis for any conclusions about the personality requisites of stable democracies. Following in the wake of the pioneering study of *The Authoritarian Personality*, a number of attempts had been made to

develop models of a "democratic character structure": basic elements in such a model would be the belief in the inalienable rights of the individual, recognition of the dignity of others, absence of a need to dominate or to submit to authority, tolerance of differences and of ambiguities in relationships. Perhaps the most thorough-going study so far undertaken in this field was Herbert McClosky's study of the personality characteristics of "conservatives" vs. "liberals": it had been found in a number of samples of United States subjects that the conservatively oriented were significantly more likely to be pessimistic, ego-defensive, passive, guilt-conscious, anomie. The problem was whether similar relationships would be found if equivalent tests could be administered in several different countries. There was some scattered evidence that similar relationships would hold for some other Western populations, but hardly anything had been done to organize systematic data gathering for purposes of comparing groups at different political levels in different systems. This represented a major challenge to internationally oriented social scientists.

THE RAPPORTEUR added a couple of illustrative examples of findings from comparisons of individual behavior patterns in different political systems:

- (1) In the OCSR seven-country study (cf. Rokkan, *Int. Soc. Sci. Bull.* 7 (4) 1955: 575-576) a series of items related to the California "F-scale" were administered to samples of about 400 teachers in each country. It was found possible to construct from the responses a scale for "attitude to authority" and it was found that the teachers scoring high in authority-orientation were in all countries more likely to vote with Right or Centre parties, to manifest strongly nationalist and pro-military attitudes and to be intolerant of differences of opinion on politics. Clearly, this testing procedure could not provide the basis for *direct* comparisons of the extent of "authoritarianism" in the different countries: there was no way of establishing equivalent measures of the degree of "authoritarianism" for individuals responding in such markedly different cultural and political settings. What could be undertaken were "*micro-micro*" comparisons designed to establish similarities across the countries in the *syndromes of response consistency*.
- (2) Of more immediate relevance in the study of the personality requisites of different political systems, would be various types of "*macro-micro*" comparisons: analyses of differences in individual behavior patterns between systems differing in some way or other in their *total structure*. As an example of this type of analysis was cited a comparison of *factors making for higher or lower political participation* in two systems differing markedly from each other in their party structure: Norway and the United

States (article forthcoming in *Int. Soc. Sci. J.* 1960). The hypothesis was that formal education would be a little important avenue for the recruitment of active participants in a clearly class divided party system such as the Norwegian and of major importance in the less class divided system of the United States. This was a hypothesis about a relationship between an overall characteristic of a system and the reactions of individual citizens to the alternatives facing them within their system. It was found that in the most class divided party system, education made very little difference to the level of political participation while in the less class divided system, it made an essential difference. Cross-tabulation by party preference in the two countries clarified this finding: education made least difference within the Norwegian Labour party, some difference within the Democratic party in the United States, but most marked differences to participation within Norwegian non-socialist parties and within the Republican party. These findings needed further analysis but they indicated the importance of complex "macro-micro" designs in the study of the personality requisites of democratic political systems.

Dr. ELIAS (UK) examined some of the problems with which one is confronted if one attempts a systematic comparative study of highly complex and differentiated societies not simply with regard to one or the other of their specific aspects or institutions, but with regard to each *seen as a whole*. He argued (1) that the difficulties which often seem to arise if sociologists use such expressions as "total societies" or "societies as a whole" are to a large extent due to a certain lack of precision in the use of the term "society" on the one hand, and of others, such as "state," "nation," "country," etc., on the other hand; (2) that what we call "state" is one specific type of social organization which can be investigated in the same way as industrial or other types of large-scale organizations; but (3) that detached investigations of the "state," as one type of social organization among others, are somewhat hampered by the dangers threatening most contemporary societies organized as "states" and by the corresponding aura of sanctity surrounding it ("Patriotism," "Nationalism," "Treason," etc.).

To avoid confusion ELIAS introduced the term "state-societies" to refer to societies organized in this manner. He further argued (4) that comparative studies of highly differentiated state-societies in the round require, as a general frame of reference, not only a *static* theoretical model of the state, such as that of Max Weber, but a *dynamic or developmental and genetic model or gauge* indicating the general mode, or at least one of the possible modes, in which earlier types of social systems transform themselves into state-systems of an earlier pre-national type and into nation-states.

A brief outline of three of the many stations along a line of develop-

ment which is fairly representative of many, though perhaps not of all the older state-societies may be enough to indicate the kind of model suggested. These are stations on a line which is continuous, and it is the direction of the line rather than the particular stations which matter. Changes are possible in the direction of lesser as well as of greater complexity, differentiation or efficiency of organizational techniques.

Station A: The future state-society as a loosely knit system of more or less freely competing territorial units.

Initially competing units are land-, horse- and/or cattle-owning kinship-groups, often including followers, clients, servants or slaves (e.g. "houses," "dynasties," "clans," etc.). The main axis of tensions in such a system is that between centrifugal and centripetal social groupings. Competition between them may have the form of a *ladder-competition*, i.e. changes in the position of competing units on the power and status ladder can occur without producing changes in the system and its ladder-competition as such; or it may have the form of a *knock-out competition*, i.e. a series of elimination-struggles which leaves in the field fewer and fewer competitors until two and finally one of them emerges with military, economic, and political power resources which defy competition and establish the victorious social unit as the effective central authority.

Station B: The state-society as a relatively differentiated and cohesive system centered on an organized monopolization of tax- and troop-levies by representatives of one group which controls the twin-monopolies at the center unilaterally, namely without institutional counter-controls by other groups. "Autocratic state-societies," "Personal rule."

This type of organization represents, in the case of not too highly urbanized and industrialized societies, by far the simplest mode of terminating or keeping in check knock-out rivalries. Once established, the key to whatever stability such a régime may have is the ability of the ruling unit to maintain control over a body of armed forces strong enough to squash any resistance, and to levy with the help of these forces dues of one kind or the other which in turn are indispensable for the maintenance and control of these forces. The struggle between centralizing and centrifugal social formations, as the main axis of tensions, is replaced by struggles between competing social strata, cadres or fractions for the control of the central monopolies themselves.

But at this stage techniques for regulating such struggles are non-existent or rudimentary. If the struggles come into the open at all, it is usually in connection with frictions and conflicts within the inner circle of the ruling set itself; in that case, if they are not suppressed by the use or the threat of force, the probability is great that they will develop into a knock-out rivalry.

The development of this type of state-organization, compared with that of Station A, is bound up with an expansion of commerce and some forms of industry, usually by the growth of urban settlements and their characteristic social strata. How far state-organizations of this type can adjust themselves to changes in social stratification and in the internal balance of power which go hand in hand with a higher degree of urbanization and the more advanced forms of industrialization and bureaucratization is, at present, an open question.

Station C: The state-society as a more highly differentiated and cohesive system where groups in control of the central monopolies are themselves subject to control by other social units according to firmly instituted and enforceable regulations and where all those subject to the government's control have a chance of participating, to a higher or lesser extent, in the control of the governing group itself. Nation-states with multilateral and reciprocal controls.

The organizational problem has been solved at this stage by means of organizational and psychological arrangements and techniques which ensure that several powerful social formations keep each other in check in a manner which prevents each of them from establishing its absolute supremacy over the others.

A similar equilibrium of forces can sometimes be found in state-societies of an earlier type, but in such cases an unstable equilibrium between several foci of power which keep each other in check is rarely more than a phase of transition between series of knock-out rivalries.

Specific forms of organization and techniques of control which make it possible to stabilize over long periods such an essentially unstable balance of power between several interdependent social strata and cadres develop rather late in the history of mankind. One can find them first in connection with increasing commercialization and urbanization, in some relatively small territorial units, in a city-state or a small kingdom, from which they spread with the necessary adjustments to larger state-societies.

In all these cases, the stabilization of this unstable balance of forces is made possible by the development of a *firm institutional and psychological shell* which helps to contain the potentially explosive forces of internal power rivalries. It bars the leaders of all social sections, and above all the government of the day itself, from gaining and even from seeking absolute, permanent, unilateral control over all other sections. It is, at the same time, elastic enough to allow for gradual adjustments to changes in the unstable balance of power. Altogether, such a shell is a rather complicated affair.

Among the functions of this shell, one stands out quite clearly; in

Station C type societies rivalries between different sections of society are allowed to come into the open. But their disruptive propensities are curbed. They are kept within bounds by deeply implanted emotional disciplines and beliefs. They are moderated by specific standards of behavior and confined to well established institutional channels which determine the rules of the struggle, limit it, more or less, to the use of verbal weapons and exclude the threat or use of physical force as a means of deciding controversial issues.

One of the most characteristic features of state-societies of this type is, in other words, the fact that competitive tensions and rivalries are public and contained. The main impetus which ensures that no single social formation can control others without being controlled, or is controlled without setting a watch upon its controllers, comes from the contained rivalry of party organizations which, in turn, is connected with less highly organized tensions and rivalries between different sections in society at large. But, again, although there is some evidence which suggests the grades of tension and pressure at which organizations of this type can adequately function have a maximum as well as a minimum, it would require many more comparative studies of specific societies before one can hope to come to grips with this kind of problem. Moreover, one does not know very much about the way in which organizational properties of a state-society's shell itself help to increase or decrease tensions and antagonisms; or about the reasons for rigidities in the shell; or about its influence on contained private and inexpressible tensions and conflicts of individuals. Comparative system-analysis, in fact, opens up a good many problems which are still largely unexplored.

There followed a *discussion* of the papers presented by INKELES and ELIAS.

Professor A. FIAMENGO (Yugoslavia) made a brief statement about the importance of comparative research in the development of a general theory of social development.

Professor ARNOLD ROSE (US) stressed the importance of comparing the *legal traditions and the legal frameworks* of different societies: such comparisons would be of greater importance for an understanding of the requisites of democracy than a study of "national character." The distribution of personality characteristics in a national population was a secondary phenomenon and could not provide a basis for explanation of differences in political structure. There was evidence that German national character had changed markedly since the 18th century: this reflected, and did not cause, changes in political structure. There was very little reason to believe that "democratic personalities" as defined by INKELES were essential for the maintenance of a stable democratic system: Sweden was cited as an example. ROSE also questioned the universality of the findings relating to the "authoritarianism" syn-

drome. He had himself administered a version of the "F-scale" to an Italian sample and found no relationship to political behavior.

Professor MARIA OSSOWSKA (Poland) questioned the definition used by SHILS in his analysis of the role of intellectuals. She emphasized the need for careful conceptual analysis in any attempt at drawing conclusions from comparisons. An important field for comparative research had so far been very much neglected: the study of the sociological factors making for differences in *ethical conceptions* within different populations.

Professor BENDIX (USA) took up the problems raised by LIPSET's analysis of the relationships between socio-economic conditions and political arrangements. This was essentially a *static* analysis: what was required for an understanding of the relationship was a series of studies of *historical processes* producing such correlations. Psychological data on the distributions of personality types would help very little in any such study. What was required was *an analysis of the major choice-points* in the historical development leading to the formation of the given political structures.

Dr. D. V. MCGRANAHAN (United Nations) questioned very much the utility of the model prepared by INKELES for the "democratic personality." A stable democratic régime could very well exist in a predominantly "authoritarian" population: he cited Switzerland as an example. He found the McClosky study of the personality correlates of conservatism highly biased in the labelling of the attitudes analyzed: this kind of research was clearly part of the "cold warfare" of academic leftists.

Dr. L. EPSZTEIN (France) reported briefly on his comparisons of English and French popularizers of economic reasoning in the 19th century.

Professor STANISLOW OSSOWSKI took up the problem of national character studies and said he missed in INKELES's presentation a detailed consideration of the need for rigorous distinctions between dominant and minority groups in each nation. He also considered it essential to distinguish between *cultural* factors in national character and what he called *situational* factors: how much was transmitted from generation to generation and how much reflected changes in the external circumstances of each population?

Dr. G. IACONO (Italy) had found the interpretation of cross-national differences in responses to projective tests highly problematic and referred particularly to the use of the McClellan achievement test in Italy. He expressed surprise at the consistency of the OCSR findings for the "F-scale": in Italy no relationship was found between "F"-responses and political orientation.

Professor INKELES, responding to the various objections raised, emphasized that what was needed was a standardization of the *concepts* for comparative study, not of the *research tools* to be used in different countries. The *labels* for the different attitude dimensions might be highly value-laden but this difficulty would be overcome by more detailed descriptions of procedures and items.

He could not see that historical analyses of the kind suggested by BENDIX would make superfluous psychological research on the distribution of personality characteristics. What was needed was more complex designs for the study of differences between personnel at different levels in the decision-making process.

THE CHAIRMAN concluded the session and pointed out three major problems in the further advancement of the use of the comparative method in sociological research:

- (1) the problem of the choice of *time units* for cross-comparisons—where could cuts be made in the developmental sequences to identify the societal unities to be compared?
- (2) the necessity to find ways of differentiating systematically between conditions favoring the *establishment* of given institutions or states of affairs and conditions ensuring their *maintenance*;
- (3) the need for a systematic analysis of the *crucial intervening variables* in the cross-societal correlations established in recent studies.

S. ROKKAN

SECTION III

SEMINAR ON SELECTED PROBLEMS OF STATISTICAL METHOD

Chairman: Professor V. CASTELLANO (Italy)

Prepared Discussants: R. McGINNIS (U.S.A.), LAZZARI (Italy), MANESCU (Rumania) FIGA TALAMANCA (Italy) LEHMANN (U.S.A.).

Rapporteur: M. MAROTTA (Italy)

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

The Chairman had prepared a brief agenda, circulated in advance, to guide the discussion. The first part dealt with some objections that have been raised to the application of statistical methods to Sociology; in the specific study of Man the methodical and compelling guide of experiment is missing and the research worker, lost in the sea of the contingent and the variable, sometimes seeks prematurely in mathematical formulae for an impossible objectivity and consistency.

Against hasty quantifications of this kind, and the consequent recourse to mathematical elaborations of doubtful significance, and against the misuse of statistics by bad statisticians and sociologists and by mathematicians inexpert in handling empirical material, the objections raised by the critics of the use of quantitative methods in sociological enquiries are valid, but they should not be interpreted as a denial of the value of the models and theoretical formulae.

Among the current defects of sociological enquiries the Chairman mentioned imperfect specification of the meaning of the terms used; as a result of this the data collected by different methods and which have different meanings are classified under the same heading, and this leads to confusion.

In the second part the Chairman justified the tendency to the quantification of attributes, by pointing to the finer inner structural formation and the rigidity of the ties existing between the quantitative modalities from whose intrinsic properties proceeds the power of the formal procedures applicable to them. He presented the classification of attributes as disconnected and arrangeable, cyclically and rectilineally, as is done by the Italian School of Statistics, a classification which arranges the characteristics according to the complexity of their structure, and he raised the question of breaking up disconnected mutables into arrangeable variables. He called the attention of psychologists to this question in view of its similarity to the enquiry into the "psychological" dimensions of attributes not clearly classified. He called attention in general to the marked tendency in recent psychological development to elaborate, on quite independent lines, even matters which might be the application of more general ideas and methods, a

tendency which seemed to him to be advantageous neither to psychology nor to the other sciences.

In the third part he noted some deficiencies in the sampling theory which should make one look with diffidence on all the applications of the theory of estimates, based on the confidence intervals to all small samples, when the hypothesis of the normalcy of the population has not been adequately tested.

He drew a distinction between the problems presented by size estimates when the population for which the estimate is made is a single one, and when it is one of many, all of which contribute to form the "universe" of samples. In this last case it is essential to consider the importance of the contribution made by each population to the formation of the universe of proofs, and this importance is measured by the so-called "a priori probability", as set forth in the well-known formula of Bayes which, when several possible populations are considered, only expresses one of the characteristics of the "universe" of samples.

In the discussion the following subjects were taken up:

1. application of statistical methods to sociology and analysis of the possibilities and limitations imposed by methods of data collection;
2. quantification of data;
3. theory of hypotheses and verification;
4. criteria of the statistical delimitation of towns;
5. statistical methods for the study of family budgets.

On the first subject A. ROSE (U.S.A.) observed that many sociologists made mistakes in the use of statistical methods, because they borrowed them rather uncritically from biology. The first error concerns the use of partial correlations, used in order to examine the influence of one factor on another, when other factors are held constant. This is possible in the physical and biological sciences because each factor is relatively independent of the other, but it is not possible in Sociology where there is often an intricate relationship between the many variables, so that it is impossible to hold constant one factor without influencing all the others. So for example, when we consider constant factors as education or "social class" we consider automatically constant many other variables associated with them. Another example of error can be drawn from sampling theory. By the measure of the "standard error" it is possible to determine the importance of a difference or a correlation on condition that we have cases enough and the difference is so great that it cannot be thought accidental. But if there is no difference between the variables, this does not prove that there is really no difference. A third example occurs when there is a series of differences or correlations between related groups of important and unimportant variables. Now if in a matrix of correlations or in a series of measures of differences there are a few correlations or significant differences, can we

say that they are statistically significant? In some cases perhaps we can, but in other cases we cannot; it is necessary to look at the nature of the data and at the meaning of the relationship between the variables. Another question concerns the enthusiasm of American sociologists for non-parametric statistics which it is believed can resolve all the problems of sociological statistics. Really they are different from traditional statistics only because they use a different approach, a mathematical one. Traditional statistics are perhaps stronger, and any hypothesis proved by them, will be proved by the non-parametric statistics too. The opposite is not necessarily so.

V. CASTELLANO: The preferences of sociologists for non-parametric statistics are justified because the hypothesis of the normality of the initial population is often not deepened. It is better to use, in the common language, the term of "population", following Prof. Livi "collectivity", instead of "universe" used by Anglo-Saxon writers which must be reserved for the notion of the totality of the samples.

Professor ROSE (U.S.A.) repeated his opinion that between the two methods there is no important difference, but agreed with Professor Castellano that non-parametric statistics are better in case it is not possible to test the hypothesis of the normality of the initial population.

Professor CASTELLANO: We have now to examine the question suggested by Professor Hill, about the limitation imposed on the analysis of the data by the methods of collection.

REUBEN HILL (U.S.A.): He does not want to speak about sampling methods but about the nature of the data, either primary or secondary ones, and about the direct method in collecting them, by highly structured interviews, or systematic direct observation, or the indirect method by questionnaires.

Professor McGINNIS (U.S.A.) gave a brief account of his methods.

Professor FIGA TALAMANCA (Italy): was perplexed about the problem posed by Professor Hill: there are not primary or secondary data, there are only statistical data which always contain the conditions posed at the drawing of the data, conditions which may become more difficult when we put the data in the tables. There is always an "a priori" to the research, not coming from reality: we must decide what we want to verify. Statistics reduce the problem of identification to essentiality, but do not abolish it. Work assumptions, methodological assumptions, formalisation assumptions and at last assumptions implicit in the mathematical contents of the data, are necessary components of the cognitive process.

Professor HILL (U.S.A.): He distinguishes methods of data collection and methods of data analysis; for many years in U.S.A. nobody made this distinction clearly. To-day they are attempting to train their students in making sharp relative judgements at several points in the research process; and they are seeking to make them competent in

building theoretical models. Of course the tighter the model is, the more the data analysis methods are constricted and limited. Relatively few of the problems the sociologists undertake have available secondary data, collected by someone in whom we can have any confidence. To exercise judgement about methods of data collection and description of reality, is not simple, because the range of methods of data collection now available, are quite great. Professor McGinnis used semistructured interviews which permit him to gather data which can be coded into categories, and which lend themselves to statistical treatment, but, certainly, it is not easy to resolve the problem of the compilation of statistically analysable questionnaires. We must, in any case, consider the limitations implicit in every method of data collection.

Professor CASTELLANO considers the difference between primary data and secondary data as the former being those we gather for the purpose we will use them in, the latter, those we gather for another ~~purpose~~.

Professor HILL agrees with this distinction, but says that secondary data are not only those collected for another ~~purpose~~, but also by other organisations over which the ~~researcher~~ has no control, and so these data ~~may be sometimes wrong~~.

Professor EVRARD (Belgium): In his researches in industrial sociology, made for the Institute of Sociology of Liège, he observed two kinds of problems about the use of mathematics. The first concerns the meaning of each of the collected observations and the measure of that meaning. So, when we wish to use "scaling", it raises a series of problems about the meaning of the data in terms of measure. The second problem, much more difficult than the first one, is about theoretical models. We often work bearing in mind unconsciously some models; but their use is insufficient and the models are inadequate in relation to reality.

Professor HILL: Most of the problems in sociology are too imprecise and unclear and so we cannot use theoretical models. We must set up a theoretical scheme of categories of data and indicate the connections from one category to another, and follow the directions of the reciprocal relationships which are in the stage of analysis.

Professor MCGINNIS agrees with Professor Hill in the main. But Sociology is not an approximate science without mathematically precise models: many tests of mathematical models of human behaviour have been published. He referred to a collection of works by Professor Lazarsfeld and among these the first volume by Professor Andersen, in which a series of secondary data are analyzed according to the Markov scheme. He also mentioned H. Zetterberg's *On theory and verification in Sociology*, the book *An introduction to finite mathematics*, and especially the work by G. Karlsson, *Social mechanism*, which contains an extensive although incomplete summary of mathematical models in several areas of social research.

The discussion on the second subject was opened by Professor LAZZARI (Italy) who said that usually the researcher fixes in advance the dimensions or variables that he considers relevant for his study. In relatively unexplored research fields such as Social Psychology and Sociology, this is difficult and often not even advisable: the variables selected intuitively and on "a priori" grounds by the researcher can be too many or too few or irrelevant for the description and measurement of the particular phenomenon under study. This is particularly true for various perceptive aspects of behaviour and in the field of attitude research. The multi-dimensional scaling methods aim at the analysis of the dimensionality of stimuli (whatever they are) from the response pattern of the subjects. The typical problem is as follows: given a series of stimuli that vary according to an unknown number of dimensions, determine the minimum dimensionality of the series of the stimuli and their projections (scale values) on each dimension. This procedure is typical also of factor analysis: the two methods differ in that, in the multi-dimensional scaling, it is not the dimensions or attributes previously specified by the researcher and imposed by him on the subjects through the experimental instructions which are identified, but those dimensions determined by the naive pattern of responses of the subjects. Indeed the subjects are requested to make judgements or comparisons among the stimuli without imposing on them a particular criterion. In this way can be reached a general framework of the complex phenomenon under study, determined not on "a priori" grounds, but from the behaviour of the subjects.

The Chairman then asked Professor McGinnis to open the discussion on the third subject.

Professor McGINNIS (U.S.A.): argued that in the non metric case it is not very clear what is meant by association and especially by degree of association. In the case of double dichotomies, with which his paper is concerned, four suggestions are offered as criteria of reasonable measures of association. These are:

- (1) For any measure of association, ∂ , let $0 \leq \partial \leq 1$
- (2) Let $\partial = 0$ imply and be implied by statistical independence between the variables.
- (3) Let $\partial = 1$ represent the logical canon of necessity but not necessarily of sufficiency.
- (4) Let $k\partial$ imply k times as much "association" as obtains in ∂

The first condition requires simply that association between two nominal variables either exists or fails to exist and that to impute an algebraic direction to such association violates the properties of the variables. The second condition requires only that the lower bound of a measure of association be well defined; that it means one thing only. This seems to be simple enough, but many popular measures (including

the correlation coefficient) do not meet it. The third condition can be restated to say that, for maximum association to obtain in a two-by-two contingency table, one cell at a minimum must equal zero. Condition four requires that a measure of association have the properties of a ratio scale so that measures can be compared across contingency tables even though marginal distributions are unequal. This property is satisfied by almost no known measure. A measure is suggested here which appears to satisfy all four conditions. Moreover, it has a reasonably satisfactory sampling variance.

Suppose that a distribution consists of two dichotomies without any underlying metrics. In this case the arrangement of the defining contingency table for the distribution is quite arbitrary. Suppose also that any association which obtains between the measures is logically symmetric, that neither variable has a strict logical precedence over the other. Let such a bivariate distribution be given by:

		A		
		a_1	a_2	
B	b_1	δ_{11}	δ_{12}	$\delta_{1\cdot}$
	b_2	δ_{21}	δ_{22}	$\delta_{2\cdot}$
		$\delta_{\cdot 1}$	$\delta_{\cdot 2}$	1.0

(1)

$$\text{subject to: } (A) \delta_{11} \geq \delta_{1\cdot} \delta_{\cdot 1} \quad (C) \delta_{1\cdot} \leq \delta_{\cdot 1}$$

$$(B) \delta_{1\cdot} \leq \delta_{\cdot 1} \quad (D) \delta_{ij} \geq 0, \sum_i \delta_{i\cdot} = \sum_j \delta_{\cdot j} = 1$$

The four conditions require no loss of generality since any bivariate distribution with nominal properties can be arranged so as to satisfy them. In the resulting measure the notion of "direction of association" is given by matching the pairs of outcomes along the major diagonal. In the illustration, a_1 will be said to be associated with b_1 and a_2 with b_2 .

It is clear from condition (IA) that δ_{11} must be at least as large as the value which would occur if the two dichotomies were independent. Moreover, from condition (1) it follows that

$$\delta_{1\cdot} \delta_{\cdot 1} \leq \delta_{11} \leq \delta_{1\cdot} \quad (2)$$

It is well known that the departure from statistical independence of the matrix (1) is some function of

$$\delta_{11} - \delta_{1\cdot} \delta_{\cdot 1} \quad (3)$$

The measure suggested here transforms this random variable into a proportion of its maximum and thereby satisfies all four of the suggested criteria for a satisfactory measure of association. To make this transformation, note that the maximum value of (3) occurs when $\delta_{11} = \delta_{1\cdot}$, which implies that $(\delta_{11} - \delta_{1\cdot} \delta_{\cdot 1}) \max = \delta_{1\cdot} \delta_{\cdot 2}$ (4)

So that the proportion of maximum deviation which is actually observed is given by

$$\delta = \frac{\delta_{11} - \delta_1 \cdot \delta_{11}}{\delta_1 \cdot \delta_{11}} \quad (5)$$

In general, this measure of association has the following properties:

1. δ is determinate in all cases except that in which all values fall in a single row or column.
2. $0 \leq \delta \leq 1$ in every case in which δ is determinate.
3. $\delta = 0$ if and only if statistical independence obtains in the distribution.
4. δ is directly interpretable as a proportion.
5. A sampling distribution can be constructed.

Suppose that a random sample of size n is drawn from the distribution of (1). Let the outcome be given by

f_{11}	f_{12}	$f_{1\cdot}$	Subject to:	$\frac{f_{i\cdot}}{n} = \delta_i$
f_{21}	f_{22}	$f_{2\cdot}$		$\frac{f_{j\cdot}}{n} = \delta_j$
$f_{\cdot 1}$	$f_{\cdot 2}$	n		

With the conditions of (6) the order of rows of the sample matrix is fixed, but the column order is not. In fact, it is not known whether assumption (IA) is true or false. Suppose that an hypothesis suggests that this assumption is correct. It follows that f_{11} is a random variable with values ranging from 0 to $f_{1\cdot}$ in consequence of conditions (IB) and (IC). Since $f_{\cdot 2}$ is fixed, f_{11} is a random variable under the condition that event b_1 has occurred. Hence, the governing probability of the random variable is $\frac{\delta_{11}}{\delta_{1\cdot}}$. Finally the probability that f_{11} takes on any value, say k , between 0 and $f_{1\cdot}$ is just

$$\Pr(f_{11} = k) = b(k; f_{1\cdot}, \frac{\delta_{11}}{\delta_{1\cdot}}) \quad (7)$$

from which it follows that

$$E(f_{11}) = n \delta_{11} \quad (8)$$

and

$$\text{Var}(f_{11}) = \frac{n \delta_{11} \delta_{12}}{\delta_{1\cdot}} \quad (9)$$

In order to construct an unbiased estimator of δ , under the assumption that condition (IA) is in fact true, let

$$D = \frac{f_{11} - n \cdot \delta_{11} \cdot \delta_{12}}{n \cdot \delta_{11} \cdot \delta_{12}} \quad (10)$$

Then D is an unbiased estimator of δ since, from (6) and (8)

$$\begin{aligned} E(D) &= \frac{1}{\delta_{11} \cdot \delta_{12}} E\left(\frac{f_{11}}{n}\right) - \frac{\delta_{11}}{\delta_{12}} \\ &= \delta \end{aligned} \quad (11)$$

The variance of D is just a scalar transformation of $\text{Var}(f_{11})$ and is given by

$$\text{Var}(D) = \frac{\delta_{11} \cdot \delta_{12}}{n \cdot \delta_{11}^2 \cdot \delta_{12}^2} \quad (12)$$

By the denominator of (12) it is clear that variance increases rapidly as δ_{11} , the marginal frequency, is allowed to become small. Even with reasonable marginal distributions a relatively large sample is needed if precise inferences about δ are to be made.

Briefly, the measure of association has been described which has certain properties that appear to make it potentially useful as a tool of analysis in social science research. It has fairly clear interpretational properties and does not contain pathologies characteristic of certain other similar measures. Finally, an unbiased sampling estimator was constructed and was found to have characteristics which make it reasonable, at least when large samples are being investigated.

The Chairman thought that the measure of the association must always submit to this condition: the association shall follow the marginal distributions formation. If it is contemporary, that is if the marginal distributions have been taken from contingency tables, then the existence of a tendency to unite between two modalities modifies marginal distributions, and so independence table results are altered. The Italian statistical school discussed this point a long time ago.

Professor McGINNIS (U.S.A.): It is assumed that marginal distributions are fixed in any sampling situation, and that the number of marginal frequencies equals zero. The difference about which he spoke in the last section of his communication, is equal to zero independently of marginal distribution, if, and only if, variables A and B are statistically independent.

The Chairman: This is right as to the independence, but not as to the dependence measure.

Professor McGINNIS (U.S.A.): This is right. There is no other measure of association which, regardless of marginal distribution, gives a linear relation between that value and its maximum in a 2-by-2 table. This measure has the advantage that association may be compared directly between two or more tables with different margins. It means that Delta has what is called "A scalar property".

The Chairman: The question is not settled; no index is satisfactory. However it does not concern this measure in particular but measures in general.

Professor McGINNIS (U.S.A.) agrees that this measure does not resolve the question, but it tends more towards a resolution than the other common measures.

Professor LEHMANN (U.S.A.) spoke again about comparison of parametric and non-parametric methods; the latter have for the most part taken the place of traditional statistical methods. It is his purpose to discuss some recent results in mathematical statistics, which have some bearing on the question of which type of test is practical, not only abstractly, but in relation to a specific problem. If two populations must be compared with respect to some particular trait, on the assumption that it is equally distributed in both of them, we take a sample, from both of them, and the hypothesis may be confirmed by Student's tests or by a rank test such as "the Wilcoxon test". The advantages of the latter are: (1) a complete independence from the character distribution; (2) it is simple to compute; (3) it is not sensitive to errors. Then we can apply it when the observations may only be ordered without having actual values. Its most important disadvantage consists in its lack of power. Some work on the comparison of the power of the two tests was done for the first time by Pitman (1949). He called the relative efficiency of one of these tests in comparison to the other the proportion of the number of the observations asked from the two tests to increase the same power for the same alternative. He computed that the strongest efficiency is when the sample is infinity and we have two normal distributions with the same variance: $e = 3/\pi \approx .95$. This surprisingly high efficiency had been confirmed on small samples by Van der Vaart (1950) and on larger samples by Witting (1959). In every case it assumed that the difference between the population is very small. It is logical that the efficiency increases when the differences between the two populations increase. When the alternatives are not normal, the efficiency of the Wilcoxon test, in comparison with t. test, had been shown by Hodges and Lehmann; it is always larger or equal to 0.864. There are besides some cases where this efficiency is infinite. Finally, while in most of the cases the Wilcoxon test is as efficient as t. test, in some cases it is more efficient, and if we consider all its other advantages, we may ask why is it not universally used. It is better not to use it if one is interested in making only a simple test of significance, but the t. test is more

appropriate to measure the size of the differences, if there are some differences, or when one has complex experiments such as a composing for a procedure for multiple decisions. This and other "rank" tests are more appropriate in many cases, and on large samples, than the "Wilcoxon test" but they are more complicated to carry out and more complicated to explain, and they have not yet been investigated as fully.

Professor COLOMBO (Italy) asked (1) if it is possible to treat in sequential procedures the Wilcoxon test as the t. test had been treated; (2) the most recent positions on tables for use of the Wilcoxon test; (3) whether, and in what respects this efficiency depends on any difference between means; (4) whether it can be shown that this efficiency is, or is not, a constant, varying the size, given a true difference between the means. He thinks that efficiency does not vary on changing the size, but it must be some regular change in efficiency, given a true difference.

Professor LEHMANN (U.S.A.) answered the first question by saying he did not know if there is any sequential version of the Wilcoxon test. To (2) that the most recent tables he knows are by Fix and Hodges, which appeared in 1955 in *Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, (26) pp. 301-12 to (3) that it is difficult to resolve; the efficiency would depend to some extent on this alternative and would decrease as the difference gets larger; to (4) he answered that he believes there are small variations and the efficiency is not a constant but it varies very slightly with sample size.

The Chairman called the attention of the members to a point in his introductory note, saying again he does not like the use of the expression "significance of a deviation" because, in fact, the significance a deviation from the mean may have in order to verify an hypothesis, does not depend only upon the size of a deviation. If the possible hypothesis is only one, it is certainly true; if also other hypotheses are possible, the rational selection of one of them requires the consideration of that probability called "a priori" of several hypotheses. The size of the deviation, then, is not significant by itself, and it would be more right to say it is more or less "conformable" to a certain hypothesis.

Professor TALAMANCA (Italy): The topic "Criteria of the statistical delimitation of towns" is important for urban sociology because it is necessary to know the criteria of delimitation for data comparison. At present available statistics are useless for comparison of the data. The question concerning the typical case of the delimitation of a territory in general, is also important in statistical methodology, for the problems concerning the forming of the series in space. Statistical delimitation is the determination of a territorial border which decides which phenomena have to be attributed to the town. This problem is still unsolved but it has been taken up again by the Urban Statisticians Association. Till now it was thought to be concerned with coefficients such as population density. But the people living in a town is not its whole population; statistical units have many locations, residence, work, etc. The phe-

nomenon of daily migrations to work is well known. The areas where this movement is greatest have been regarded as urban. But abstract territorial coefficients cannot be computed before the area has been determined; thus there is a vicious circle. It has been suggested recently (Chevry), that the urban area has to be divided into: central leadership area, suburban area, gravitation area. In these three areas the coefficients we have mentioned have much value, but the question we raised is still open. The town is a place which unites many homogeneous collectivities which together are heterogeneous, but which become homogeneous, giving to the territory the significance of common character. It is necessary also to take into account what is appropriate to improve urban equipment, streets, water supply, telephones, street lighting. The urban territory may be called "that territory where there is localized with continuity one at least of these systems of equipment of territorial connection" The criterion enables us to determine all the connected zones, and to compute some coefficients to divide them into the three great groups shown by Chevry. Thus we have the connected town, the urban district, and the connected town constellation. Some studies made in Rome in 1951, 1956 and 1958 demonstrated the validity of this method.

DOTT. A. PAGANI (Italy): By the proposed method we can resolve the problem of the spatial delimitation of the towns, but not the (perhaps more important) delimitation of the town as an area of influence. We must for example, recognise the complexity of urban society in comparison with statistical criteria. The simplification may be accepted in statistical comparison, but not in the study of the general problem of urbanisation understood as cultural and economic influence. It will be necessary for statisticians to work out a system of criteria which, verified by large studies of communities, may be able to measure the phenomenon of urbanisation.

Professor M. MAROTTA (Italy) agreed that the system proposed by Professor Talamanca, may be satisfactory for Statistics, but not for Sociology, because in the Pattern case it would be necessary to have other indexes besides those for the diffusion of public services. There is an urban-rural "continuum" and the proposed solution, therefore has only a classificatory value. The diffusion of public or private means of conveyance has recently produced some processes of disurbanization, that is a movement of the population out of central areas; and with the persons go also the cultural characteristics of the town. To the question put by Professor Talamanca, whether the territory is a character besides an observation area, it is possible to reply positively, territorial characters, from time to time, are transformed in the psycho-physical characters of the men who live in that territory. The unity of the physical structure of the individuals living in a certain "habitat" is common knowledge. Professor Talamanca asked whether service

connections make easy human relations. The opinions are discordant. According to the classic distinction between primary and secondary groups, urban communities would be included in the second group. We cannot say that the service connections make easy human relations, but rather, they favour secondary and not primary social contacts.

Professor M. MANESCU (Rumania): In Rumania the urban area includes also the villages which are in the economic and social area of the town; in the planned economy this area is larger because the industrialisation process extends to the villages too.

Professor FIGA TALAMANCA (Italy) said that he spoke about three urban zones; the third, the one of gravitation, may have a very large amplitude and it is just the one of influence. The economic and suburban zones comprehend the zones where industries are; there is the true urban zone. Statistics has never been able to help geography and sociology in studying influence zones, because it has never been able to determine them. The variations will never be known without first seeing what happens in the true urban area. It is not a question of data comparability, but essentially of settling the basis to give a statistical collaboration to the studies defined by sociology.

Professor ANDERSON (U.S.A.): Urbanization as the demographers define it, is a movement of people from rural places to urban places, and from rural work to urban work. Urbanisation may be considered as a way of living and cannot be measured by a statistician. It is not possible to measure the movement of urbanism to rural areas; a man can be just as urban if he lives in a farm, and does farm work, or if he lives in a city.

The Chairman observed that the social sciences introduce concepts such as urbanism, more and more difficult, but which are intuitive. When we require a measure, it is necessary to analyse the concept and single out a certain number of variables. This is a general problem and it is sociology's duty to single out the most important variables. Statistics will be able to verify if they are important or if they produce some conclusion.

Professor M. MANESCU (Rumania): The subject of statistical method applied to the study of family budgets is of the widest interest to-day. Family budgets in Rumania are useful to characterize some direct aspects of the level of living, income, expenditure and consumption (according to the different categories of the people), to compute the indexes of the level of living (real wages, cost of living, etc.) and some other indexes. The unit of observation is the family in the case of workers and pensioners, or the agricultural unit in the case of farmers. The families of workers in industry, transport, building trades, agriculture, and also of engineers, technicians, etc. are studied. The selection of places for research is made according to the importance and the

territorial dispersion of the enterprises. The number of employees in each branch of activity, is used to determine the number of budgets to be studied. The selection of the centres for research is followed by the choice of the families or agricultural units. The research is conducted by specialised statisticians of the Central Statistical Directorate. The data collection is by means of forms which the individuals in the sample complete themselves, supplemented by regular interviews 3 or 4 times a month.

The Chairman asked whether the sample was stratified.

Professor MANESCU replied that 3,000 budgets of workers, and other groups were obtained, and the same number of farmers' budgets.

Professor M. MAROTTA (Italy) asked if there were any rationing; if so, the individual who consumed more than the permitted amount could not of course show it in the questionnaire.

Professor M. MANESCU replied that everyone can buy according to his income.

Doctor PAGANI (Italy) asked if a sociologically important phenomenon, that is, who decides about the expenses in the family had been taken into account. Expenditure is an indication of a way of life; therefore it would be interesting to see in connection with the problem of urbanization, if all the members of the family can spend money while in the traditional structures the power to spend belongs only to the head of the family

Professor MANESCU replied that such research had not yet been done.

M. MAROTTA.

SECTION III
SEMINAR ON THE
MATHEMATICS OF SOCIAL THEORY

Chairman: Professor LOUIS GUTTMAN (Israel)

Prepared Discussants: Professor JAMES S. COLEMAN (USA)
Professor SANFORD M. DORNBUSCH (USA)
Dr. JEAN MARIE FAVERGE (France)
Professor LANGERHANS
(German Federal Republic)
Professor PAUL LAZARSFELD (USA)
Dr. H. V. MUHSAM (Israel)
Professor PATRICK SUPPES (USA)

(*Rapporteur:* Dr. URIEL G. FOA (Israel))

INTRODUCTION OF THE THEME:
THE STRUCTURING OF SOCIOLOGICAL SPACES¹
(LOUIS GUTTMAN)

ONE often discussed aspect of social theory is the concept of level. Some theories are said to be broader and more general than others. Ordering theories implies the existence of a common space in which they may be ordered. It seems questionable whether, at the present stage of our knowledge, such a common space is available. Perhaps there exist different kinds of theories which are not necessarily amenable to a simple order. In any case, the problem of space construction seems to be fundamental in the formulation of a theory of sociological theories. It is also important for relating social theories to empirical data. In the examples to follow, various strategies of approach to the latter problem will be presented.

Example 1: Information, Orientation, and Decision among New Immigrants to Israel. This example is taken from the work of Dr. Judith T. Shuval (1959) on the adjustment of immigrants to life in Israel. The following three variables are considered, each measured by a scale:

- x = Information about Israel in the past
- y = Decision about what to do in Israel in the future
- z = Orientation to Israel in the past

When the immigrants are separated into two groups (Zionists and non-Zionist), by dichotomizing variable z (Orientation), the following partial correlations are found between information and decision:

¹ The research reported here has been sponsored by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research of the Air Research and Development Command, United States Air Force, through its European Office, under Contract No. AF 61(052)-121 with the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research.

For immigrants with Zionist orientation: $r_{xy} > 0$

For immigrants with non-Zionist orientation: $r_{xy} < 0$

This reversal of the sign of the correlation coefficient was exactly predicted by Dr. SHUVAL. In fact her hypothesis was more general and this simple example is merely used as an illustration in order to raise a number of questions pertinent to this type of theory construction. First: how did Dr. SHUVAL arrive at her hypothesis? There is nothing in the formal definition of the variables which suggests the interesting relation she found. The second question dwells with generalization of the hypothesis. The findings relate decision and information of *immigrants* about *Israel* under given conditions of orientation to Israel. The facet *Israel* and the facet *immigrants* are constant in this study. Would the hypothesis hold when instead of immigrants we investigate another population or when, we substitute for Israel another topic or any other topic? If this is the case, the hypothesis would be generalized from the particular Israel situation to others. It is of interest to note that generalization is formally obtained by changing, in the variables precisely these facets which have been held constant in a particular study; in our case *Israel* and *immigrants*.

Example 2: The Definition of Ideologies of Political Parties in Israel. This example is taken from a paper of Goodland (1957). The author defined the political parties of Israel by a Cartesian product of the following five dichotomous facets:

- (A) a_1 Capitalist— a_2 Socialist
- (B) b_1 Activist— b_2 non-Activist (in foreign policy)
- (C) c_1 Pro-Western— c_2 Pro-Russia
- (D) d_1 Zionist— d_2 non-Zionist
- (E) e_1 Religious— e_2 non-Religious

There exist $2^5 = 32$ combinations of these five facets, each defining a hypothetical ideology. However not all the combinations are socially possible. This is because of semantic relations existing between the five facets. For example, a party will not be capitalist and pro-Russia or activist and non-Zionist. GOODLAND hypothesized, correctly, that each of the existing Israel parties correspond to one, and only one, of the remaining possible combinations. Thus all the existing parties are distinguishable points in a subset of the space defined by the Cartesian product of the five facets. GUTTMAN now suggests a further analysis which shows that, when the religious facet is held constant, the existing parties can be ranked from right to left. The four facets other than religion, yield a nearly perfect scale, for the existing ideologies. The sole party which deviates from a perfect scale type, among the non-religious parties, is in fact a splinter party struggling to define its position.

This type of semantic analysis shows that:

1. A space of ideologies for political parties can be constructed.
2. A subspace of socially possible parties can be defined.
3. Israel parties can be located in this subspace.
4. Israel parties can be ordered when the religious facet is held constant.

If the metatheory that political parties tend toward a simple ordering is accepted, the structure found permits certain dynamic predictions. It may be forecast, for example, that, if an issue becomes dead, the two parties distinguished by this issue will tend to merge. One may also predict that a non-scale type will tend to merge with its nearest scale type.

In the above example the analysis has been conducted purely on the semantic level. A purely statistical analysis will be given in the next example.

Example 3: The Relation between Crimes in Seattle. Professor Calvin F. Schmid (1959) has analyzed data on the relation among ten types of crime in Seattle, Washington. The correlation coefficient between each possible pair of crimes has been computed; in total forty-five coefficients. GUTTMAN suggests that it is possible to arrange these coefficients in a table in such a way that a simple order appears among types of crime.

TABLE 1
INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG CRIME RATES IN SEATTLE

Crime	—	4	7	3	10	6	5	8	19	16	17	1
Common drunk	4	—	99	98	94	95	91	92	92	63	49	49
Vagrancy	7	99	—	99	96	97	94	95	95	69	56	57
Drunk	3	98	99	—	97	97	95	96	96	76	63	65
Petty larceny	10	94	96	97	—	95	94	95	95	74	63	67
Disorderly conduct (other than fighting)	6	95	97	97	95	—	96	96	96	72	60	63
Fighting	5	91	94	95	94	96	—	96	96	76	66	67
Lewdness	8	92	95	96	95	96	96	—	95	78	67	69
Highway and car robbery	19	92	95	96	95	96	96	95	—	80	70	72
Burglary, residence, day	16	63	69	76	74	72	76	78	80	—	96	89
Burglary, residence night	17	49	56	63	63	60	66	67	70	96	—	89
Attempted suicide	1	49	57	65	67	63	67	69	72	89	89	—

The pattern appearing in Table 1 is an approximate simplex: the largest coefficients are found along the main diagonal and the coefficients decrease in size as one moves away from the diagonal. If correlation can be taken as an indication of social-statistical distance, some crimes appear to be nearer to each other than others.

In this example the ordering of the crimes has been obtained without semantic structuring of their space. In attempting to explain the order, to give it a meaning, one must however go back to the semantic aspect

of the analysis. Perhaps the ordering is from the less active or shiftless crimes such as common drunkenness and vagrancy to the more active ones: robbery and burglary. According to the data the most active crime seems to be attempted suicide. From the point of view of social theory it would be preferable to start from a semantic analysis and to derive from it hypotheses about the statistical structure.

Example 4: Ordering of Personality Traits. In restudying the data of Rokeach and Fruchter, GUTTMAN finds an approximate simplex exists in the intercorrelation between ten personality traits among 207 college students. The statistical structure was quite similar to the one just described for the crime data of Professor SCHMID. This time the ordering seem to be from reaction to internal stimuli to reaction to environmental stimuli. At one end of the order are traits like self rejection, anxiety, paranoia. At the other end conservatism and left opinionation.

In the last two examples the semantic structure of the spaces was not spelled out but order established retrospectively by inspection of the statistical structure of the results. In the next example, an intermediate type of approach, which is partly semantic and partly statistical, will be presented.

Example 5: Interest in News in Scarperia. Scarperia is a village not far from the city of Florence in Italy. The interest in news about what occurs in several places among 375 habitants of Scarperia was observed by Malcolm McLean (1958) who also computed coefficients of correlation of the degrees of interest in news about any two different places. The following places were included in the study: Neighborhood, Scarperia, Borgo San Lorenzo, Florence, Rome, North Italy, South Italy, United States, United Nations, Russia, China. GUTTMAN suggests an alternative analysis of these data.

Can we expect the correlation coefficients to show a simple ordering similar to that in the previous two examples? One could suggest that people are, in general, more interested in what happens nearby than in what happens in remote places. The concept of remoteness has a clear enough connotation for the places within Italy which were included in the study; Scarperia, e.g. is less remote than the nearby town of Florence. Thus places within Italy could be ranked in order of remoteness. It does not seem easy to do the same for places outside Italy: is USA more or less remote than the USSR or the UNO? The correlation pattern suggests a simple order which, within Italy, corresponds to geographical distance: People who are interested in certain places are also more likely to be interested in places at a small distance from the first one than in places farther away. Thus the results regarding Italian places could be predicted using geographical distance as a criterion, i.e. by observing the map of Italy rather than the data. The finding that, for Italian places, psychological distance corresponds to

geographical distance, can then be used to establish an order of distance among the non-Italian places. This procedure of starting from a limited hypothesis derived from content-wise considerations, checking it with empirical data, then using it to interpret new data, and finally generalizing the hypothesis, is quite common and useful in building a body of knowledge.

In the next and final example a fuller integration of semantic and statistical analyses will be made; the space will be substructured first and the statistical results predicted in advance from the semantics.

Example 6: The Structure of Intergroup Beliefs and Action. In a paper by Bastide and Van Den Berghe (1957) the intercorrelations between four attitudes toward the Negro among the white population of São Paulo, Brazil were studied. These data were re-analyzed by GUTTMAN (1959) and, since the relevant paper has already been published, only some parts of it essential to the present topic will be briefly mentioned here. The four variables considered are:

1. Stereotype (Traits attributed to Negroes as compared with whites)
2. Norm (How whites ought to behave towards Negroes)
3. Hypothetical Interaction (How you would behave towards Negroes in certain hypothetical circumstances)
4. Personal Interaction (How do you behave in actual interaction with Negroes).

This attitudinal space can be substructured by using the following three facets:

- (A) Subjects behaviour, with elements: a_1 belief, and
 a_2 overt action
- (B) Reference, with elements : b_1 subject's group, and
 b_2 the subject himself
- (C) Type of behaviour, with elements : c_1 comparative, and
 c_2 interactive.

On facet A it seems that the first three attitudes are all beliefs (a_1) while the last one is overt action. With regard to facet B, the first two variables refer to the subject's group (b_1), while the last two refer to the subject himself (b_2). For facet C, the first attitude is comparative (c_1), it refers to the Negro as compared to whites, while the others are interactive (c_2). Thus the facet structure of the variables can be spelled out as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
FACET STRUCTURE OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE NEGRO

Attitude	Element of Facet		
	A	B	C
1. Stereotype	a_1	b_1	c_1
2. Norm	a_1	b_1	c_2
3. Hypothetical interaction	a_1	b_2	c_2
4. Personal interaction	a_2	b_2	c_2

The first result of the semantic analysis is to show that the four attitudinal variables of the study are only some of the $2^3 = 8$ variables that can be defined by making all the possible combinations of the elements of the three facets. They have however an important characteristic: their facet profiles show that they form a perfect scale and can therefore be ordered. The meaning of this order seems to be the degree of face-to-face contact with the negroes. This degree is strongest in personal interaction, less strong in hypothetical interaction, still less in the norm and at its weakest in stereotype. The facet pattern shows that the nearest neighbour of Stereotype is Norm: they differ only on facet C. Hypothetical Interaction differs from Norm on facets B and C. Personal Interaction differs from Norm on all three facets. Similarly, Stereotype and Hypothetical Interaction are the nearest neighbours of the norm, differing only on facet C or B respectively, and so on. Facet design shows, therefore, the semantic contiguity of the attitudes.

The problem is now how to use the semantic structure in order to make predictions about the statistical relationship among the points of the substructured semantic space. *The contiguity hypothesis* (Foa, 1958) states that points which are closer semantically will also be closer statistically. It is not suggested that the hypothesis will hold in every case. As a matter of fact it will be important to find out under which circumstances the hypothesis is sustained. In the present example the hypothesis is supported in full. The pattern of intercorrelations between the four variables follows the semantic pattern: correlation is higher between variables which are semantically closer and lower between variables which differ in facet structure. As predicted, the intercorrelation pattern forms a simplex.

The type of theory outlined in the last example is different from the theory of the first example. There the statistical hypotheses were based on no formal substructuring of the space and had no metatheory for linking semantics with the statistics. Here, the semantic structure is first spelled out and the leap to statistical prediction is made through the metatheoretical contiguity hypothesis. Nevertheless, it seems difficult to talk in terms of *level* of theory and to decide whether one theory is higher than the other. As it has been seen in the above examples, semantic ordering of points in space may be possible only when the space is defined and substructured. Even then, ordering may not be possible in many cases.

DISCUSSION OF THE INTRODUCTION

SUPPES: The examples given represent an approach which may prove useful in empirical research, but they do not seem to lead to a theory in the accepted sense of the word. Furthermore the mathematics of the Cartesian product, which have been used in the examples, are a feeble tool for purpose of analysis and prediction. Also the notion of semantic

analysis which has been introduced seems misleading: no real semantic operators are introduced, and the formal analysis rests on sociological experience. It is also difficult to see what use can be made, in the political parties example, of the simple order obtained. Would it prove useful, e.g., for the prediction of voting behaviour?

With regard to the level of theories it seems that at least a partial ordering exists. It may be possible to build one theory on another as in physics.

LAZARSFELD: The term "theory" may be too ambitious for the type of analysis presented in the introduction. On the other hand it should be recognized that this type of work is necessary at the present stage of development and may well lead to more basic and refined concepts. In a study of the reading habits of some thousands of women in the American Middle-West data were obtained similar to the ones presented in the introduction. Namely magazines could be ordered in terms of their intellectual level without need to substructure the sample space. On the other hand GUTTMAN has indicated, in the two examples on crime and personality, that additional facet analysis is required in order to account for the ordering. The difference between statistical results which can be interpreted immediately and results requiring further facet analysis is not clear.

It is also suggested that the correlation used in the Shuval's study should be called *conditional* rather than partial to stress heteroscedasticity. This may help bring the phenomenon to the attention of the sociologists who may often overlook it.

LANGERHANS: Some criteria for ordering theories may be suggested, such as the following ones:

1. Order of magnitude of the population (from small groups to large systems)
2. Range of applicability
3. Building one theory on top of another as SUPPES suggested. Game theory, statistical decision theory, linear programming seem good examples of this possibility.

It seems also that new mathematical concepts will have to be developed in order to deal with the complex problems of social research.

GUTTMAN: Since we do not have a general framework for a theory of theories, it seems useful to use examples for pointing out differences which are not necessarily orderable. What is important is to start from the notion of a set. Every sociological theory uses sets of points, at least implicitly. But this should be made explicit. It is necessary to know what belongs to a given set and what does not. Otherwise the choice of points becomes arbitrary. We need rules for this operation, not formal, as yet, but semantic or rather sociological. This may lead

to the development of more refined concepts. The Cartesian product is "feeble" because of its generality. In this sense any general theory is "feeble." In any event, there is still much scope left for work at this feeble level before we may be able to reach higher levels. Criticism of the Cartesian product reminds me of the criticism of the rank order which was heard in the past. Yet there is a tendency today to abandon more refined metrics because one gets nearly the same results anyhow in prediction work. Refinements are good after the foundations have been laid. We still are in this fundamental stage.

LAZARSFELD's example of magazine reading illustrates the importance of substructuring the space. The simple order obtained from the statistical analysis may provide some information on the type of readership reached by a certain magazine, but substructuring (on content of magazine, style of writing, etc.) would provide much more information. This would give recipes for magazines which do not exist. Substructuring also permits to generate more general theories as shown in some of the examples given.

The level criteria suggested by LANGERHANS imply a good deal of substructuring in order to obtain different levels of theory. Constant facets are also required for each specific theory. Utility, for example, may be a constant facet of game theory. In sociology we still lack concepts which can be transferred from problem to problem. At least it is not quite clear what constant facets should be used in most of our work.

THE EQUILIBRIUM SIZE DISTRIBUTION OF FREELY-FORMING GROUPS

(JAMES S. COLEMAN)

The probabilistic model presented attempts to describe how people form groups of different sizes in a situation where group formation is free. It has been observed, indeed, that the size distribution of small groups in a natural situation drop off sharply and apparently with some regularity, as the size of the group increases. John James reported in 1953 some data on the size of freely-forming groups such as the following ones, referring to the groups observed on a spring afternoon in Portland, Oregon:

Size of group	Number of groups
1	1486
2	694
3	195
4	37
5	10
6	1
Total:	2423

This regularity, relating frequency to size, suggests a simple model of acquisition and loss of group members, which might explain the form of the size distribution.

The model constructed is based on the following assumption:

1. The states of the model represent the number of persons in the group. Thus a group may be in the state 1, 2, 3, etc.
2. Each person has the same probability per unit time of dropping out of a group, independently of the size of the group. Thus the probability that a group will lose a member is proportional to the size of the group.
3. Each single person has the same probability of joining a group, independently of the size of the group. Thus the probability that a group will be joined by a single person is proportional to the number of single persons available.

These assumptions lead to a basic differential equation stating the change in the probability that at a given time a group will be of a given size (i.e. in a given state). This change is obviously the net result of the probability of losing and acquiring members. For example the change in probability for a group of size 3 is given by:

1. The probability that groups of size 4 will lose one member, plus
2. The probability that groups of size 2 will acquire one member, less
3. The probability that groups of size 3 will either lose or acquire one member.

At the present stage no attempt was made to examine the dynamic properties of the process, but only to analyze the distribution of statistical equilibrium. When such equilibrium exists, the proportion of each group size is constant. This could result from the fact that, in each size, gain compensates the loss. It can be shown, however, that such an assumption of compensating disequilibrium produces a contradiction. Thus, when statistical equilibrium exists, there must be equal flows between each pair of adjacent group sizes (e.g. sizes two and three).

The equilibrium distribution derived from the process was tested against sets of observations of natural situations in which small clusters of people occur. Out of a total of twenty-three sets the model fits quite well nineteen of them, suggesting that the assumed process is in fact operating. On the basis of estimates of the single parameter of the model, which is the acquisition-to-loss ratio, several regularities appear concerning the size of such ratio in different situations: different seasons, different age groups, different activities. It seems possible also that this model might account for size distributions among much larger groups. In particular the model could possibly explain the size regularities of cities which have been observed within a country and in different countries as well.

More severe testing of the model requires controlled experiments varying population density and kind of activity and observing groups over time. It is also possible to modify the model by introducing the contagion assumption, that is the assumption that a person is more likely to join a large group than a small one, or other assumptions as well. These future developments may permit the uncovering of the specific form of very general processes in social psychology, processes which have long ago been identified, but which have never been specified as to their precise form. Once the form of such a process is fixed, then the process can be used as a building block, whose precise mathematical form is known, in models which link together a set of interdependent processes.

DISCUSSION

SUPPES: The model seems to be a good example of the application of mathematics to sociology. This is a process model which helps in conceptual thinking. However a more powerful test of the goodness of fit of the model would require the investigation of sequential properties. It would be necessary to make repeated observations at given times. There are experimental problems in such testing: e.g. the identification of groups over time. A discrete formulation in terms of a Markov chain seems better suited to dynamic analysis than the differential equations used by COLEMAN. This would also facilitate the statistical estimation of the parameters.

It may be difficult to interpret the model in terms of behaviour theory but its similarity to the learning models of Bush and Mosteller is quite apparent. They may have little psychological content, but they are useful tools which may help reaching later a more conceptual model.

MUHSAM: The usefulness of the model seems clear, but one has to be careful with statistical testing. The χ^2 used for testing goodness of fit has low power. Further a full test of the model would require dynamic experiments and the setting up of alternative hypotheses.

LAZARSFELD: Would the Markovian chain, suggested by SUPPES, lead to the same equilibrium state as the differential equations of COLEMAN?

SUPPES: One would expect nearly the same results but statistics could be more easily computed.

COLEMAN: Both discrete and continuous formulations have advantages. Some examples in the physical sciences seem to indicate that continuous formulation is preferable. One should be also careful in distinguishing between the form of the *process* and the form of the *observation*. It is possible to have discrete observations of continuous processes.

GUTTMAN: The decision as to which formulation is best should not depend merely on mathematical convenience, but rather should be an automatic result of the more basic specifications of the sociological set over which the fundamental probability measure is defined.

SUPPES: If the model is defined, then the sample space is also defined and so is the probability measure.

TYPES OF FORMALIZATION IN SMALL GROUPS RESEARCH²

(Paper by JOSEPH BERGER, BERNARD COHEN, J. LAURIE SNELL and MORRIS ZELDICH, Jr., presented by M. DORNBUSCH)

In recent years, there has been considerable interest in the construction of mathematical models to describe small group phenomena. Because of the wide variety of different types of models which have been employed, it seems desirable to order the types of formalization that have appeared and to clarify some of their functions and characteristics. The three types of formalization considered will be called:

1. Explanational models
2. Representational models, and
3. Explanatory construct models.

Each of these types seems to be particularly appropriate to a different stage in the development of substantive knowledge. The goals of formalization may differ at different stages of the research process: hence, by indicating the link between the function of a type of formalization and the state of substantive knowledge, it is hoped to provide a basis for choosing the most fruitful approach to model construction.

The explicative model has the primary purpose of the explication of part or all of an existing, unformalized, substantive theory. It also serves to: (1) clarify ambiguities in the original conceptualization; (2) provide a mean for generalizing and refining it; and (3) for determining the implications of the original substantive notions. Heider's theory of Structural Balance, as formalized by Cartwright and Harary (1956) in terms of linear graphs theory, is an example of explicational model. The formalization starts from a definition of balance and is then able to clarify some ambiguities in the original theory such as the distinction between the complement of a relation and its opposite. Formalization also permits to generalize Heider's theory from three entities to larger systems. Further refinements were introduced later by Morrisette (1958). Finally formalization permitted to uncover

² This research was supported by the Social Science Research Council and the National Science Foundation.

implications of the theory of balance which were not evident in the original formulation. The example of Cartwright and Harary suggests that in building an explicatory model, one should make use of concepts which are already embodied in a substantive theory. Otherwise his concepts will be useful only if and when such a theory is developed later.

The primary function of a *representational model* is to provide precise description of a given social phenomenon, on which a body of data exists. Thus the model permits a formal statement of relationships about the phenomenon. Such a model should be more parsimonious than the original formulation and should also suggest how to vary systematically the experimental situation created for the study of the phenomenon. An example of this type of model is represented by Cohen's model (1958) for the study of conformity behaviour along the lines of Asch's experiments. Cohen's model retains the essential features of the original work of Asch. Essentially the model is based on the view that the conformity experiment imposes a conflict on the subject between a tendency to respond to internal pressure and a tendency to yield to social pressure. The model attempts to describe the resolution of the conflict and to predict the responses of the subject. The model is characterized by a four-states Markov chain with constant transitional probabilities. These probabilities are the underived quantities of the model, from which other quantities are derived. The relationship between the derived quantities is analyzed in the model. The transitional probabilities need not to be the same for every subject and they may well change for different personalities and for other features of the situation. In this way the model suggests how to design experimental testings. It should be noted that the construction of models of this type need not to be based on the formalization of a theoretical rationale, even if the builder may be guided by considerations of a theoretical nature in his formulation.

On the other hand the third type, the *explanatory construct model*, has the purpose of describing formally an explanatory theory for a given process. This incorporation and formalization of an explanatory theory and the possibility it gives to equate and differentiate a variety of experimental situations, are precisely the features which distinguish the third type of model from the second one. An example of explanatory construct model is the learning model of Estes and Burke (1953). This model assumes that:

1. The subject response is determined probabilistically by a set of stimulus elements.
2. Before responding the subject samples a certain subset of the set of stimulus elements.
3. When the outcome becomes known to the subject all of the elements in the set sample become connected to the reinforced response.

The transitional probabilities of the model are functions of the probability of sampling an element and of the probability of reinforcement. When the number of initial connections is known the process becomes completely specified. The type of formalization of Estes and Burke can be used in a great variety of situations. Another feature of this formalization is that the basic quantities of the model can be identified with concepts of the substantive theory. This is not the case in Cohen's model which belongs to the representative type. The explanatory construct model imposes severe restrictions on the builder, but it serves as a mean for developing a more refined and more general theory.

In summary, it is important to recognize that formalization must be guided by the state of knowledge or research with respect to a given substantive problem.

DISCUSSION

SUPPES: The stimulus sampling theory can be applied to the study of Asch's experiments. Two parameters are required: the parameter of perceptual reinforcement, and the parameter of social reinforcement. When the initial probability distribution of the responses and the probability that the experiment will or will not reinforce a given response are known, the two parameters completely determine the process, i.e. the prediction of the behaviour of the subject becomes possible.

LANGERHANS: What is the difference between the first and second type of models?

DORNBUSCH: The first model is concerned with the refinement and simplification of a theory in early stage of development. The second type may help to understand a body of research findings which cannot be accounted for by one simple theory.

ON UNIDIMENSIONAL SCALES

(J. M. FAVERGE)

The great importance of elaborating unidimensional scales has been recognized by sociologists since the work done by Dr. GUTTMAN; therefore it is by no means necessary here to advocate these scales; but it is timely to return to the very concept of unidimensionality or of homogeneity, as these terms are very often used with various meanings which require clarifications.

Galois Lattices in Scale Analysis. It may be mentioned that attempts have been made recently—Guilbaud, Flamen—to apply modern algebra in order to do scale analysis. Thus Guildbaud suggested that the empirical manipulation on the scalogram-board may possibly be re-

placed by automatic operations on machines which could set up Galois lattices. Of course, Guilbaud's remarks should be investigated more thoroughly to be applied; in particular one should consider both the lattice of the crosses and the lattice of the empty cells, and be able to extract orders minimizing the sum of errors of both kinds.

Methods of Correlation. Methods for the internal study of tests have been used for many years and it seemed natural to apply them to the field of scales. They are, as one knows, based on computation of item-test or inter-item correlations. However, it can be objected that the conditions of validity imply assumptions on the existence of metrics and the nature of distributions; such an objection appears to be serious from many points of view. When it comes to evaluating the inter-item correlations, the tetrachoric coefficient has been accused of assuming a normal distribution; in consequence J. Loevinger suggested instead the coefficient:

$$H_{hk} = p_{hk} - p_h p_k \\ \min(p_h, p_k) - p_h p_k$$

In fact, we must consider that each question operates a dichotomy on a variable, and we must expect the value of an inter-item coefficient to be independent of the level of dichotomies in the underlying bivariate distribution. The tetrachoric coefficient meets this requirement if the distribution is supposed to be normal. In the case of H_{hk} , it can be shown that the required property is met if and only if the underlying distribution has another specific form. So the H_{hk} coefficient—as well as the tetrachoric—requires a precise form for the underlying distribution and, if compelled to choose, one would find it more reasonable to decide in favour of normality, rather than another somewhat unrealistic distribution.

A Probability Model. The difficulties of evaluating deviations from a scale pattern are well known. They may be avoided by a probabilistic model which covers the non-scaling responses instead of ignoring them. We shall define a set of parameters p_{ij} , where p_{ij} denotes the probability that subject i will give a positive response to question j : as well as the responses, these parameters can be represented in a two-way- subjects and questions- table. We shall assume that the parameters thoroughly characterize the model, and that, in particular, no further parameters have to be brought in as conditional probabilities, i.e. the probability that subject i gives a positive response both to questions j and j' will be $p_{ij} p_{ij'}$ and the probability of a positive response to j' does not depend on the response to j .

The model requires a sufficiently precise estimation of the parameters p_{ij} . Now, if a category i of n_i subjects have the same parameters p_{ij} , it will be possible to estimate p_{ij} by the relative frequency f_{ij} of the positive responses given by the n_i subjects to ques j ; thus grouping

subjects into classes appears to be basic for the problem of estimation. The grouping of subjects into classes can be tested by analysing whether responses to a pair of questions are independent within the group. Independence, as one knows, is the basic assumption of LAZARSFELD's latent class analysis, so we may speak of a grouping in the sense of LAZARSFELD.

Ordering subject categories. In a second stage, we must study the structure of subject classes or categories, we shall speak of unidimensionality if in the matrix an order structure can be found, inducing a total order among subject categories. Clearly GUTTMAN's case is but a particular case of this structure. The correlation method leads to another particular case: for, if the factor analysis of the questions is as in Speraman's case, categories are determined by the different values of the common factor g , the p_{ij} increase with g and the correlations between questions vanish when g is held constant. The two previous situations are particular cases of a general one, in which the rows of the p_{ij} matrix can be arranged so that within each column, the p_{ij} grow less from the first to the last row; such an order, partial for the matrix as a whole, but total in each column, induces a corresponding order among the categories.

DISCUSSION

SUPPES: Criteria are necessary for judging whether empirical data do or do not scale.

GUTTMAN: We may be more interested in a distance function, rather than in tetrachoric and other bivariate coefficients, such as Loevinger's. When there are more than two variables the matrix of such coefficients need not to be Gramian and this leads to difficulties: for example the computation of partial and multiple correlation coefficients may produce in such case absurd results.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

(PAUL LAZARSFELD)

The very short time which is left does not permit to summarize certain studies made at Columbia University which seem to be relevant to the topics which have been discussed here. The problem of these studies can be indicated by an example. Suppose an election is approaching. Some people have intention of voting D (democratic) and some other of voting R (republican). Also some people approve issues which can be labelled as democratic, while others approve of republican issues. This gives rise to the following four groups of people:

Voting	Issue
D	D
D	R
R	D
R	R

The observations are then repeated at a later time and the four groups of respondents are again obtained. Now the responses at time 1 can be plotted against the responses at time 2 in a 4×4 table. The simple inspection of this table is instructive in itself: On the main diagonal are found people who have not changed in the interval from time 1 to time 2. On the minor diagonal are found those who have changed both on voting intentions and issues. On other cells are found those who have harmonized the voting intentions with the issue. Harmonization may occur either by changing the voting intention or by changing the issue. What happens here may indicate whether the issues are chosen according to party loyalty or whether the intention to vote for a certain party is determined by the issues supported by this party.

It seems possible that the process of change may be described by a model similar to COLEMAN's. But these may be changed back and forth, and, if the times of observation are not properly spaced, this may result in a misleading picture in which compensatory moves are missed. It seems that the system tends toward a terminal state with stable marginals. It is of interest to devise mathematical model for describing the change, but it seems likely that simultaneous equation will not do. Repeating observations over time may solve a great deal of talk about dialectics. It also helps clarifying the relationship between the factors involved in the process.

U. G. FOA

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SECTION III

SEMINAR ON THE APPROACHES OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Chairmen: Professor G. BALANDIER (France) and
Professor MAX GLUCKMAN (UK)

Prepared Discussants: Professor R. BASTIDE (France)
Professor GERMAINE DIETERLEN (France)
Professor F. EGGAN (USA)
Professor W. F. WERTHEIM (Netherlands)
Dr. P. M. WORSLEY (UK)

INTRODUCTORY PAPERS (ABSTRACTS)

MAX GLUCKMAN (University of Manchester)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF "THE CASE METHOD" IN BRITISH SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

I here discuss changes in the use of ethnographic data in Britain; and I must make clear at once that I am not suggesting this is the only fruitful line of advance in the subject. Other methods—notably the comparative method—must be used.

A science has two sides to it; its data and its theory. I consider that modern British anthropology owes its most notable development to a change in the type of data it analyses: and here its debt is to MALINOWSKI, who developed the detailed observation of small areas of social life, and the rule that interpreters must not be used. MALINOWSKI in the Trobriands made his observations in this way, and all his works argue that tribal social life and institutions were much more complex than they were thought to be by earlier anthropologists (who depended on other types of data), and that the theories of these anthropologists were therefore naive. MALINOWSKI's works are rich in field data, and what he called "cases", though he never developed a systematic view of society to handle these adequately. This systematic view has been developed by his successors, the generation of social anthropologists to which I belong.

We, however, continued to use our "cases" in much the way that MALINOWSKI did, by what I have elsewhere called "the method of apt illustration". Under this method we analysed a general outline of the culture, or the social system, according to our main theoretical bent; and then used the apt and appropriate case to illustrate specific customs; principles of organisation, social relationships, etc. Each case was selected for its appropriateness at a particular point in the argument; and cases coming close together in the argument might be derived from the actions of quite different groups or individuals. There was no regul-

arly established connection between the series of incidents in cases cited at different points in the analysis, though when incidents affecting the same persons were used at different points, careful anthropologists made cross-references. Another technique of presentation was to describe a "case" at the beginning of an analysis, and then to extract the general rule of custom or social relationship from it. Clearly the more complex the case, the more could be extracted from it. We called these complex events "social situations", and we used the actions of individuals and groups within these situations to exhibit the morphology of the social structure. But we were still aiming to present an analysis of the social morphology, and not an analysis of the process of social life through a series of situations within the control of social morphology, a biological frame, an environment, etc.

I believe this work to have been a most important, and probably an essential, stage in the development of social anthropology, and of our knowledge of the tribal peoples. Faced with an enormous variety of ecological relations, of grouping, and of culture, we had to provide a systematic morphology of the forms of tribal society; and in doing this, we developed the monographic analysis to a high peak of excellence. The monographs of this period are outstanding advances on anything previously written about tribal peoples, and they have illuminated in general theoretical terms a whole series of problems in the political field, economic activities, domestic relations, ritual systems, etc. Nevertheless, it is striking that many of our pupils, in their attempt to examine more closely the actual process by which persons and groups live together within a social system, under a culture, having begun to employ a series of connected "cases" within the same area of social life. I believe that they have thus already greatly altered our view of the working of some institutions, and deepened our outstanding of the significance of all custom. They have even coped with what MALINOWSKI dismissed as accidental quarrels and individual differences of temperament, and are bringing to the monographic analysis some of the penetration which Freud brought to the study of the human personality. In doing this, they still present general systematic analysis of social structure, but they complicate the analysis by feeding in more and more of the discrepant, and indeed conflicting, principles which we now know exist within even the repetitiveness of a stationary social system. A series of interconnected cases, thus used, shows the development and change of social relations among the persons and groups concerned, acting within their social system and culture. In the end, under this method, quite a different picture of a social system emerges—a more complex, less rigid, less highly interconnected picture.

The fruitfulness of the new method has already been demonstrated in several fields—e.g. Freedman's study of Chinese lineages, Stenning's of the relation between domestic groups and herds of cattle among the

Fulani. I cite summarily developments in our understanding of systems of witchcraft, oracles and magic, since Evans-Pritchard in 1936 first illuminated them by his study of the Azande. He demonstrated that behind accusations of witchcraft lay a philosophy of causation and a philosophy of morality, and that the types of persons accused depended on the particular social structure. This last analysis was made in fairly general terms. The Kriges' study of the Lovedu drew attention more strongly to the importance of those relationships from which accusations are excluded. The most significant development was in Mitchell's study of the Yao: after he had discussed types of accusation, his argument reaches its climax in an eight-page record of the manner in which accusations of witchcraft operated through six years in the personal and sectional relations of a single Yao village. We learn that individuals act on their own, or combine with different allies according to changing pressures and shifting values, in making accusations, to further their ambitions and satisfy their sense of rightness. Marwick followed this up with an important article on the Chewa, while MONICA WILSON was independently arriving at a similar analysis among the Nyakyusa. The method was pushed further by TURNER among the Ndembu, where he shows how a great variety of custom and belief, including patterns of accusations of witchcraft and divinations of ancestral wrath, etc., operate in the repetitiveness of pattern and the changes occurring within villages and neighbourhoods.

In conclusion, I note that corresponding developments in quantitative analysis give some control on typicality; but that major problems bearing on the reliability of historical data from informants remain to be solved.

FRED EGGAN (University of Chicago)

THE USE OF ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES

In certain respects the situation in America with regard to the development of social anthropology is a mirror image of that in Britain. Whereas modern British social anthropology started with RADCLIFFE-BROWN and MALINOWSKI in the 1920's, with a major emphasis on structural and functional theory, the American development under FRANZ BOAS was in terms of culture and with a strong historical interest. While we received an injection of social anthropology in the 1930's, primarily from RADCLIFFE-BROWN, only since the war has there been any considerable shift in the United States in the direction of social anthropology.

In this same period in Britain there have been major advances in social anthropological theory, primarily based on the formulations of RADCLIFFE-BROWN. It is of interest, therefore, to find that Professor GLUCKMAN regards MALINOWSKI as "the real father of modern British

anthropology," mainly because of the revolution he wrought in the collection of ethnographic data.

In the United States a similar revolution was brought about much earlier by FRANZ BOAS, who also worked through the native language and whose documentation of Kwakiutl life is at least as detailed as MALINOWSKI's on the Trobriands, though largely in the form of native texts. Boas was repelled by the excesses of evolutionary thought in the 19th century, and by the reformatory programs of the sociology of his era; the program of research on the American Indian which he began was primarily historical in character and emphasized the collection of ethnographic data as a basis for the testing of current theories with regard to processes of cultural development.

The first generation of BOAS' students devoted much of their efforts to the task of ordering the growing data on the American Indian in tribal and regional contexts. They showed relatively little interest in social structure and put their major emphasis on an analytical treatment of culture and an interpretation in terms of history and process. When more general explanations were sought they were in terms of psychology rather than in sociology; SAPIR, and later BENEDICT and MEAD, began the emphasis on personality studies which still characterizes much of American anthropology. When social anthropology was injected into the American scene in the 1930's there was a violent reaction. As a result of the arguments over "functionalism" much of social anthropological theory became familiar to anthropologists in the United States, but was grafted onto a wider base.

Professor GLUCKMAN finds the key to the Malinowskian revolution in what he calls "cases"—collections of behavior around particular events—which Malinowski used to illustrate or elucidate general statements. He characterizes the work of Malinowski and his students as the "method of apt illustration." and finds this method adequate if we are interested in outlining the culture—or even the social morphology of the society; but clearly inadequate if we are trying to analyze the total process of social life. His suggested remedy is not so much *more* case material but rather a *different kind* of case material. Essentially what he is asking for is case material seen over time—the series of specific incidents affecting the same set of persons over a long period and how these incidents relate to changing social relationships within the framework of their society and culture.

American anthropologists will welcome this new interest in time perspective on the part of their British colleagues, as well as their renewed interest in ethnographic detail. But there are some complications to Professor GLUCKMAN's proposal to concentrate all our attention on case materials seen over time. If we are to concentrate our attention on fewer people in a more limited social setting, but over a longer period of time, the problem of sampling becomes of much greater importance. A

related problem concerns the scope of the "case" which is the center of analysis. Like its counterpart, the "culture complex," it is not easy to define. As used by Malinowski this is not a serious problem. But if changing social systems are being analyzed over time some determination of boundaries is essential; this is particularly important in bilateral societies where the social network may not have clearcut boundaries or easily demarcated units.

In the United States, since the war, there has been a gradual acceptance of the concepts and methods of social anthropology without an abandonment of traditional interest. In my own work I have been particularly concerned with combining the social anthropological concepts of structure and function with the ethnological concepts of process and history. My research program at Chicago is concerned with the study of social systems in different societies over time, and attempts to study the processes of social and cultural change by what might be called the method of controlled comparison. In our research on the Hopi Indians, for example, we have the advantage of a long archeological and historical record, and the possibility of studying comparatively a dozen small Hopi villages in different stages of social and cultural change. With them are the linguistically separate Tewa who came to First Mesa in 1700 A.D. and are not yet assimilated. More recently, in the Philippines we have been studying bilateral social systems in the Mountain province and in the Christian lowlands which have produced some unexpected forms of social structure.

A wide range of other studies may only be mentioned. Kluckhohn's Ramah Project is designed to furnish a detailed record on a series of Navaho from childhood to maturity and already has furnished an impressive series of reports. Murdock's *Social Structure* demonstrates that similar social systems are frequently found in various parts of the world. And Redfield's studies of the social and cultural changes involved in the transition from folk to peasant to urban life are being carried on by a large number of students and colleagues.

These few examples suggest that in the field of social anthropology we are still experimenting with both method and subject matter. We admire our British colleagues but we think they may have crystallized their methods and procedures too soon. There is no question but that British and American points of view are growing closer, but there is still a considerable way to go.

W. F. WERTHEIM (University of Amsterdam)

SOCIETY AS A COMPOSITE OF CONFLICTING VALUE SYSTEMS

The view of non-literate society generally held by the classical social anthropologists was one of a well-integrated structure. Though the

existence of conflicts was, of course, never denied, society was looked upon as an essentially organic whole, in which each element has its special function, in harmony with a value system commonly accepted as a basis of social hierarchy. Accordingly, the functioning of a society is being described in synchronic terms, whereas diachronic elements are only taken account of in so far as they produce a change in the overall structure of society.

Gradually, social anthropologists are becoming aware of the existence of elements within each society which are contrary to the notion of complete harmony. Social anthropologists are at present much less convinced than the leading scholars of the past generation, that non-literate societies should be looked upon as models of a harmonious well-integrated structure.

The author would suggest that no human society is a completely integrated entity. In any community there are hidden or overt forms of protest against the prevalent hierarchical structure. In general a more or less dominant set of common values can be discerned—else the society would not have sufficient cohesive power to subsist. But beneath the dominant theme there always exist different sets of values, which are, to a certain degree, adhered to among certain social groups, and which function as a kind of counterpoint to the leading melody.

In general those counterpoints only manifest themselves in some veiled form—for example, in tales, jokes and myths, which give expression to the deviant sets of values. From the fact that the contrary set of values expresses itself in an institutionalised form it can be deduced that it is not merely an individual expression of protest against an over-rigid cultural pattern, but a group protest which has a certain sociological meaning. On the other hand, in diverting the contrary elements into an institutionalised form, the society at the same time canalises those forces and prevents them from becoming disruptive factors for the overall social structure. In so far the institutionalising process may be called an integrative function of society. But the basic protest elements remain dormant and may resume, under circumstances favourable to them, their tendency to produce a basic change within the dominant structure. Therefore, any description of a given society has to take account of the deviant value systems as basic elements in the total fabric of social life.

The author illustrates this argument with a few peculiarities from Balinese society.

For a further illustration of the "counterpoint" concept he takes at random a few examples from other societies. The special attraction of the Uylenspiegel type of tales for the common people springs from the fact that all the official values are turned upside down and that the

popular hero ridicules and denies the formal hierarchy of his society and still gets away with it.

Another popular kind of expression of elements of social protest is to be found in religious movements all over the world. While the dominant system of hierarchy finds expression in religious forms as well, the underground protest against the dominant system equally seeks an outlet in religious forms. Recent analysis of Messianic cults all over the world has revealed a wealth of materials on the protest element inherent in many of those movements. Under conditions of colonial rule these religious movements assume the role of rallying forces in opposition to the official hierarchy, in a situation where overt opposition would be severely suppressed.

Some of the foregoing illustrations, as for example the Messianic cults mentioned earlier, could also serve to reveal the role which the dormant protest elements may play in promoting social change. The institutionalisation of the protest is used as a temporary expedient for those in power to restrict its disruptive force. But under favourable circumstances the protest may gather force and break through the culturally accepted patterns which kept it within its institutional bounds. In fact, the disguised protest element may contain the germ of future rebellion or revolution. The dynamic processes of change can never be understood, if the opposing value systems within the society are not taken into full account.

If the counterpoint concept could help us to a better comprehension of dynamic change in the non-Western world, it seems probable that it might equally contribute to our insight into dynamic change within modern Western society.

Lloyd Warner's view of social stratification as an objective reality to be established by a strict methodology, has been much criticised lately. The author would suggest that value systems have to be interpreted as psychical realities, accepted in different shades of intensity among definite segments of society. There may be something like an all-pervading dominant value-system, to be interpreted in more or less hierarchical terms. But these subjective realities are balanced by the existence of equally important sets of subjective value-systems opposed to the dominant one and upheld by different sections of society. In many marginal individuals or sections the competitive sets of values are operative as a source of inner conflict or insecurity.

It would appear, then, that a structural model of this type could help us to a better insight into dynamic social change than the concept of an objectively existing, universally accepted stratification system within a "national society". In order to be able to cope with the dynamic elements of society, we have to develop a conceptual framework which does justice to these fluid elements—in fact a dynamic type of analysis.

Finally the author would suggest that the foregoing observations imply the necessity of a new approach to field research. We should not primarily look for the inherent structure of a given society, but for the value systems adopted in different layers of society. We have, in the first place, to learn how members of different segments of society look upon society as a whole. The division of society might even be based upon a distinction as to the value systems accepted. Instead of searching exclusively for integrative expedients, we should with equal intellectual force try to detect strains and conflicts in society, as possible agents in future change. Therefore, a description of the structure of society in purely synchronic terms, seems basically inadequate, as conflicting value systems can only be understood in a diachronic perspective.

According to William H. Whyte, for the Lloyd Warner school "conflict, change, fluidity—these are the evils from which man should be insulated". The modern social anthropologist—and sociologist, for that matter!—should ask himself, whether these very "evils" should not be viewed as the deepest sources of human progress.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

Le groupe de travail consacré aux problèmes de méthodes dans l'anthropologie sociale a pris pour thème central de discussion les relations entre anthropologie sociale et sociologie. Deux orientations principales avaient été retenues. D'une part le groupe se proposait d'évaluer les progrès réalisés dans la collecte, l'utilisation et le "traitement" des matériaux d'enquête anthropologique; ce qui conduisait à une discussion générale sur l'évolution des méthodes et des théories spécifiques de l'anthropologie sociale. Trois rapports ont constitué le point de départ d'une telle discussion: ceux du Professeur Georges Balandier, "Note sur le traitement des données ethnographiques dans les travaux de langue française", du Professeur F. EGGAN, "The Use of Ethnographic Data in Social Anthropology in the United States", et du Professeur MAX GLUCKMAN, "The Use of Ethnographic Data in Anthropological Analyses in Britain". D'autre part, le groupe de travail se proposait d'examiner les résultats obtenus par les tentatives de saisie de la réalité sociale sous l'angle des conflits et des dynamismes qu'elle recèle; la discussion sur la notion de conflit a été ouverte par le rapport du Professeur W. F. WERTHEIM, "Society as a Composite of Conflicting Value Systems". Les échanges de vues concernant les deux thèmes se sont trouvés étroitement mêlés. Les séances de travail ont été présidées par les Professeurs G. BALANDIER et M. GLUCKMAN. Sont intervenus dans la discussion, outre les rapporteurs, dont les noms ont déjà été mentionnés: Mme Dieterlen, MM. Little, Mercier, Teuscher, Worsley.

Cette discussion a conduit à un large examen des "révolutions" qui ont marqué l'histoire de l'ethnologie ou de l'anthropologie sociale. "Révolutions" dont l'orientation générale peut être commune mais qui

ont revêtu des aspects différents dans les diverses traditions nationales (américaine, britannique, française). G. BALANDIER signale l'obligation où il se trouve de présenter la "situation particulière" de la discipline anthropologique en France. Longtemps étouffée par une sociologie vigoureuse, elle n'a cessé que tardivement d'être une "discipline marginale". Ses problèmes méthodologiques propres ne seraient pas compréhensibles si l'on ne tenait compte de ce fait. De même, F. EGGAN indique comment la nature et la situation même des sociétés étudiées par les anthropologues américains les ont conduit à mettre l'accent sur l'histoire culturelle et sur les rapports entre personnalité et culture. La tradition de Boas débouche comme celle de Malinowski sur des recherches intensives et détaillées, mais elles sont délimitées et distribuées de façon différente. Cette idée d'une diversité des méthodes induite par la diversité des champs de recherche auxquels on s'est d'abord consacré sera constamment présente au cours des discussions qui se sont engagées; en même temps que cette autre: "la théorie n'est que l'un des aspects de la science; un autre aspect d'importance égale est le type de données qui sont soumises à l'analyse théorique" (M. GLUCKMAN).

Dans cette perspective, la première "révolution" de l'anthropologie a été apportée par la présence, plus ou moins prolongée, de l'anthropologue sur le terrain. Le rapport de G. BALANDIER souligne à ce propos l'importance des changements qui, à partir de 1930 environ, ont marqué l'anthropologie française. Changements dus essentiellement à l'influence de la pensée de Marcel Mauss. Ce sont ses élèves qui, en organisant les premières grandes enquêtes sur le terrain (la mission Dakar-Djibouti dirigée par Marcel Griaule, date de 1931-1933), vont tenter de résoudre les problèmes propres à la recherche ethnographique, et à la démarche anthropologique enfin établie de façon autonome. Jusque là, l'anthropologie n'apparaissait en France que science annexe (avec la préhistoire, l'archéologie) dans une entreprise d'élucidation des origines de la société et de culture dont les sociologues étaient les responsables majeurs. Ceux-ci utilisaient les données ethnographiques; mais ils le faisaient, comme le remarque G. BALANDIER, "à distance". Ils n'envisaient pas les problèmes que posait leur collecte; les collecteurs n'étaient que des auxiliaires, et les anthropologues "n'ont guère contribué à une création théorique dont ils restaient les "serviteurs" (G. BALANDIER). C'est seulement à partir des années 30 que l'anthropologie atteint ce que l'on peut appeler sa majorité; le contact direct avec le terrain lui permet de soulever ses propres questions. En Grande-Bretagne et aux Etats-Unis, la révolution avait commencé plus tôt. Une anthropologie plus autonome dès le départ (en Grande-Bretagne, à l'inverse de la France, c'est d'elle que l'on peut dire qu'elle a étouffé la sociologie) n'avait pas eu à écarter les mêmes obstacles. Mais c'est seulement avec Malinowski qu'apparaît l'importance du long séjour sur le terrain au milieu d'une seule population. M. GLUCKMAN et F. EGGAN insistent de façon concordante dans leurs rapports sur sa résidence

forcée parmi les Trobriandais, et sur le fait qu'il put conduire son enquête dans leur langue. Aussi ses observations furent-elles d'une "nature tout à fait différente" (M. GLUCKMAN) de celles qui les avaient précédées (qu'elles aient été fournies par des voyageurs, ou par des personnes que leurs fonctions obligaient à de longs séjours, mais qui n'étaient pas préparées à les recueillir).

Ce premier changement dans les conditions du travail anthropologique va avoir de multiples conséquences. Il n'a pas résolu tous les problèmes méthodologiques, il a contribué, au contraire, à en poser, de proche en proche et jusqu'à la période présente, de nouveaux. La réflexion sur le type de données qu'il convient de recueillir pour être conduit à des analyses pleinement significatives va aboutir à la seconde "révolution" que G. BALANDIER dans le domaine français, M. GLUCKMAN dans le domaine britannique, décèlent au cours de la période qui suit immédiatement la dernière guerre. En fait, la discussion montrera qu'il y a eu plusieurs "révolutions", orientant les recherches dans une certaine diversité de voies. L'intervention de Mme Dieterlen, en particulier, soulignera ce point, qui déjà apparaissait plus ou moins explicitement dans le rapport de M. GLUCKMAN.

Les limites de la méthode de Malinowski vont se révéler à ceux de ses élèves et de ses successeurs qui l'expérimenteront. Cette méthode, c'est celle de l'"illustration adéquate", selon l'expression de M. GLUCKMAN, qui la définit de la façon suivante. A partir d'une masse considérable d'informations, d'observations et de documents, on trace un tableau général de la culture ou du système social. Puis chaque coutume, chaque relation sociale, etc., qui ont été dégagées, sont illustrées par un "cas" approprié. "Chaque cas est choisi pour son adéquation à un point particulier de l'argumentation; et les cas qui sont rapprochés dans l'argumentation peuvent provenir des comportements ou des paroles de groupes ou d'individus différents. "Là est la faiblesse essentielle, contre laquelle les anthropologues britanniques (et, parallèlement, les anthropologues français) vont tenter de réagir: les données recueillies sont sélectionnées et utilisées en ordre dispersé, des rapports essentiels entre les faits peuvent ne pas apparaître, le fonctionnement total et concret d'un groupe clairement délimité peut n'être pas saisi. Pour y réussir, on tentera de définir de façon nouvelle la notion de "cas" à étudier; ce faisant, on posera de nouveaux problèmes, et la nécessité se fera sentir de mettre au point de nouvelles techniques de travail sur le terrain. Sur le premier point, les rapports de M. GLUCKMAN et F. EGGEN ont fourni un excellent historique des tentatives; sur le second, la discussion a permis de souligner l'urgence d'un effort de réflexion et d'élaboration.

On a d'abord employé la notion de "cas" dans un sens plus riche, plus étendu. Plus le cas retenu est complexe, plus il comporte d'éléments, plus il est centré sur un groupe ou une série de groupes qui peuvent

entrer dans l'horizon d'observation d'un même chercheur,—plus aisément en peut-on extraire les principes directeurs d'une coutume ou d'une relation sociale donnée. En même temps, on obtient une vue moins rigide, plus marquée de vivante complexité, de la culture et de la société. M. GLUCKMAN suggère que "l'emploi le plus fructueux des cas consiste à prendre une série d'incidents spécifiques, affectant les mêmes personnes ou les mêmes groupes, pendant une longue période de temps, et à montrer comment ces incidents, ces cas, sont liés au développement et au changement des relations sociales entre ces personnes et ces groupes, agissant dans le cadre de leur système social et de leur culture." Dans son intervention, M. WORSLEY appuie cette position, en rappelant son propre travail critique sur le système de parenté des Tallensi, réalisé à partir des données présentées dans l'étude de M. FORTES, mais qui lui-même a mises en relations de façon différente: en utilisant des séries de faits concernant les mêmes personnes ou les mêmes lignages cités. Ainsi les efforts récents de l'anthropologie britannique ont-ils conduit, par des approches d'ailleurs assez diverses, à ce que M. GLUCKMAN appelle "l'emploi d'une série de cas reliés les uns aux autres et survenant dans le même champ de vie sociale". Le concept de champ social remplace, explicitement ou implicitement, dans plusieurs travaux marquants, le concept même de société. C'est dans une même perspective qu'intervient la notion de "situation sociale". Les discussions sur le caractère conflictuel de la vie sociale devaient, comme on le verra plus loin, soulever ces questions par un autre biais.

Sur des voies qui lui sont propres, l'anthropologie française a posé des problèmes semblables, comme l'ont souligné le rapport de G. BALANDIER et l'intervention de Mme DIETERLEN. Un aspect seulement en sera évoqué ici. Dès avant la dernière guerre, les travaux de Marcel Griaule aussi bien que ceux de Maurice Leenhardt révèlent le souci d'atteindre "à la connaissance approfondie d'un cas par la longue fréquentation du peuple étudié" (les Dogon du Soudan pour le premier, les Canaques de Nouvelle-Calédonie pour le second). Il faut remarquer que le mot "cas" est ici pris dans le sens le plus étendu possible; il couvre pratiquement une population entière, parce que la "longue fréquentation" correspond en fait à tout une vie de recherche. Exemple extrême, qui ne peut toujours être aisément imité; il a l'avantage d'effacer, en grande partie, les obstacles méthodologiques qui seront évoqués plus loin. A cette préoccupation de "saisie totale" répond très vite, et pour des raisons évidentes dans les cas qui viennent d'être mentionnés, celle d'une saisie "par le dedans" des phénomènes sociaux et culturels. Ces deux tendances se manifesteront, plus récemment, dans l'œuvre de Jacques Berque s'efforçant de rendre compte de la complexité mouvante des sociétés berbères de l'Atlas marocain, ou dans celle de Georges Condominas transcrivant minutieusement les aspects de la vie quotidienne d'une communauté montagnarde du Viet-Nam, dont tous les membres étaient connus de lui. Mais surtout elles ont conduit à la constitution, autour de

Marcel Griaule, d'une véritable école à l'intérieur de l'anthropologie française, qui aujourd'hui poursuit et élargit ses enquêtes. Ceci a impliqué une spécialisation méthodologique dont Mme DIETERLEN a évoqué, pour le groupe de travail, les orientations majeures. Toute étude est conçue comme devant se développer progressivement à la fois en profondeur et en étendue: par la reprise fréquente des enquêtes concernant une population, et par l'élargissement de ces enquêtes aux populations qui lui sont apparentées. Il ne s'agit pas d'apparentement culturel au sens classique du terme: les populations considérées sont celles qui participent à un même système mythique et symbolique, s'appuyant sur une même philosophie du monde et de la société. C'est là en effet le niveau privilégié de telles recherches; et il ne peut être atteint qu'au terme de longues et patientes enquêtes. C'est seulement à ce plan que l'on peut comprendre la société comme un ensemble vivant, ayant sa logique interne, proposant la *théorie* de son propre fonctionnement. C'est à partir celle-ci que peuvent être interprétés les faits sociaux et culturels directement observables par l'enquêteur. L'étude de "cas" se confond donc ici avec l'étude "de l'intérieur"; il s'agit de faire une recension complète de ce qui constitue en définitive les "archives" d'une société. Mme DIETERLEN montre comment de nombreux phénomènes actuels, de nombreuses relations entre groupes, entre ethnies, sont incompréhensibles si l'on ne se réfère à la connaissance des systèmes mythiques. Cette méthode, quelles que soient les critiques que l'on puisse diriger contre elle, a conduit à rassembler sur quelques "cas" soudanais une documentation d'une cohérence et d'une abondance exceptionnelles.

La discussion, cependant, a été centrée sur les problèmes posés par la méthode des "cas" dans le sens plus restreint envisagé précédemment. MM. Teuscher et Worsley sont intervenus de façon concordante pour souligner les difficultés que rencontre la sélection des sous-groupes, ou la délimitation des "champs sociaux" sur lesquels se concentre l'étude. Le "village moyen" qui a servi de base à tant de monographies n'existe pas. Les problèmes ne sont pas les mêmes selon que l'on a affaire à des sociétés fortement ou faiblement différenciées. Dans le premier cas, la définition des niveaux d'observation et d'analyse doit faire l'objet d'une attention minutieuse. Dans tous les cas, le chercheur doit expliciter les critères de sélection qu'il a retenus. Les aspects que l'on peut dire classiques de l'enquête anthropologique ne doivent pas être abandonnés. F. EGGAN souligne l'importance que conservent le travail préliminaire d'enquête extensive et la réalisation du "contact" avec le groupe étudié. Un accord général se fait sur la nécessité où se trouvent les anthropologues actuels d'envisager avec une précision accrue les problèmes d'échantillonnage et l'utilisation éventuelle de techniques statistiques pour les résoudre. Tous les participants conviennent de la remarquable amélioration qui s'est manifestée dans la qualité et la précision des matériaux

d'enquête utilisés par les anthropologues: il est donc d'autant plus essentiel de s'assurer qu'ils sont pleinement significatifs.

Les développements méthodologiques qui viennent d'être évoqués ont explicité un changement de point de vue qui était déjà apparent dans l'oeuvre de Malinowski: les sociétés dites "primitives" étaient beaucoup plus complexes que les premiers anthropologues ne l'avaient supposé. Si ce "mythe" de la simplicité des sociétés relevant de la discipline anthropologique a été assez rapidement abandonné, un autre "mythe" a survécu jusqu'à une période toute récente: celui du caractère harmonieux, équilibré, parfaitement intégré, de ces sociétés. Le rapport de W. F. WERTHEIM et la discussion qui l'a suivi ont souligné à la fois la persistance d'une telle conception et la nécessité de s'en écarter. K. Little a insisté sur le fait que la notion d'équilibre était dépassée, et qu'il convenait d'étudier moins des institutions que des processus sociaux. Il se plaçait surtout dans la perspective des ébranlements profonds qu'ont subi depuis un demi-siècle ou plus les sociétés dites "primitives": on est conduit de plus en plus à envisager un *problème* particulier dans une région donnée. Mais ses remarques avaient une portée beaucoup plus générale, et s'accordaient avec celles du rapporteur. Celui-ci rappelait que ce n'est que progressivement que les anthropologues "deviennent conscients de l'existence, dans chaque société, d'éléments qui sont contraires à la notion d'harmonie complète." Tout en reconnaissant d'ailleurs que ce sont les recherches relatives aux contacts culturels, aux effets de la colonisation, plus que les spéculations théoriques, qui ont conduit à une telle prise de conscience. G. BALANDIER, développant des suggestions présentées dans son propre rapport, a rappelé à ce propos l'attitude commune des anciens anthropologues: la recherche des sociétés "primitives" "à l'état pur"; les transformation récentes que l'on ne pouvait pas ne pas constater n'apparaissaient guère que comme des obstacles à la démarche anthropologique. Ainsi c'est seulement après la dernière guerre que l'anthropologie française s'est engagée sur une nouvelle voie: en donnant une place à la dimension historique qui seule permettait de comprendre la diversité interne et les contradictions dont toute société est marquée,—en reconnaissant aussi que, soumises à une même action extérieure, les sociétés dites "primitives" se révélaient plus ou moins fragiles (et que, à l'intérieur d'une même société, les divers éléments de son organisation sociale et de sa culture étaient inégalement vulnérables).

Les appréciations présentées par le rapport de W. F. WERTHEIM ont reçu l'assentiment de tous les participants. Présentant un essai de synthèse des vues de A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN aussi bien que de celles de M. GLUCKMAN et de E. R. LEACH, il conclut qu'aucune société ne peut être envisagée comme une entité complètement intégrée. Plusieurs ensembles de valeurs y coexistent, qui peuvent être en contradiction les uns avec les autres. L'un d'entre eux est plus ou moins dominant, et c'est

ce qui assure à la société un minimum de cohésion. Les autres n'en subsistent pas moins, quitte à ne se manifester que sous une forme "voilée" (par exemple dans des plaisanteries, des contes, des mythes) ou à n'avoir de sens que pour certains sous-groupes à l'intérieur de la société; W. F. WERTHEIM les compare à "une sorte de contre-point à la mélodie principale". En s'attachant à l'exemple de la société bali-naise, il montre comment l'étude des conflits de valeurs permet de révéler, par l'intermédiaire des contradictions manifestes ou latentes d'une société déterminée, le dynamisme interne des phénomènes sociaux. Il montre aussi, en se référant aux travaux de Lloyd Warner, comment l'adoption de telles perspectives assure un rapprochement, marqué entre anthropologie et sociologie. Et il rejoint, dans une certaine mesure, la tendance de toute une partie de l'anthropologie française à privilégier la saisie "de l'intérieur" des faits sociaux et culturels. Mais avec une coloration un peu différente: ici, c'est une invitation à accorder plus d'importance à l'interaction "des différents systèmes de valeurs subjectives" et à la manière dont ils conservent un "équilibre précaire", qu'aux "structures sociales considérées comme des réalités rigides".

La discussion a permis de rappeler le rôle des perspectives dynamiques dans l'anthropologie présente. P. MERCIER a présenté plusieurs remarques à propos d'enquêtes effectuées par lui dans divers groupes ethniques du Dahomey. Dans l'une d'entre elles, deux ensembles de valeurs non concordants se reflètent dans deux séries d'institutions qui coexistent: ainsi une forme de mariage s'inscrit dans un contexte d'harmonie entre les lignages et les clans intéressés, une autre dans un contexte d'hostilité entre ceux-ci. Dans toutes, la domination coloniale a eu pour premier effet de rendre impossibles certaines manifestations extérieures des conflits internes, ou de supprimer les cadres institutionnels qui permettaient leur solution. Ceci dans des sociétés où les conflits autant que les solidarités définissaient l'équilibre—toujours précaire—de l'ensemble. Les interventions de K. LITTLE et M. GLUCKMAN ont insisté aussi sur la nécessité d'éviter l'utilisation de modèles statiques qui ne peuvent permettre de dégager qu'une représentation illusoire de la réalité sociale, qui d'ailleurs apparaît différente selon que l'étude est centrée sur tel ou tel des sous-groupes qui composent une société donnée. On revenait donc par un autre biais au problème central qui avait fait l'objet des échanges de vue précédents: ce fut de la sélection et de la délimitation des "cas" en tant qu'unités d'enquête.

P. MERCIER.

SECTION III
SEMINAR ON
INTERRELATIONS DE LA PSYCHOLOGIE ET DE LA
PSYCHANALYSE AVEC LA SOCIOLOGIE

Présidents: MM. OTTO KLINEBERG et TALCOTT PARSONS

Discutants prévus: M. ROGER GIROD (Suisse)
M. ULF HIMMELSTRAND (Suède)
M. A. T. M. WILSON (Royaume Uni)

Rapporteur: M. ROBERT PAGES

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION

LA discussion a été partagée entre les deux thèmes: sociologie et psychanalyse (discuté principalement le matin), sociologie et psychologie expérimentale et sociale (discuté l'après-midi).

I. SOCIOLOGIE ET PSYCHANALYSE

Président: M. KLINEBERG

La discussion a été introduite par un exposé de M. PARSONS dont voici le texte d'après ses notes intitulées: " *Psychoanalytic Theory and Sociology.*"

1. My personal view is that sociology needs a psychological underpinning—cannot "go it alone." Motivation, cognitive process are important in this regard. Critical consideration of the problem is more secure than implicit assumptions.
2. The theory of personality is in a strategic position. Only fragments of it are needed for most "social psychology," but these fragments need at some point to be placed in their psychological context. To me personality theory is the core of psychology.
3. Psychoanalytic theory has a special preeminence in the personality theory. In spite of many complications about its status, there is no other scheme which really competes in main lines. Freud is overwhelmingly the central figure. Personality theory is by no means yet a fully crystallized conceptual scheme. It has already been very importantly affected by nonpsychoanalytic influences, including sociological and there is much more to come. Its own internal development has been impeded by predominance of clinical over research interests in the professional group, and, now, by some isolationism, which however is breaking down.
4. Psychoanalytic theory has a complex developmental history and

complex current structure, by no means fully integrated. Sociological concern with it must be selective. Most essential part centers on the later work of Freud. But the part which has been most prominent ideologically outside psychoanalytical group has been much more the early Freud, the *original theory of instincts* which were often set over against the culture and society. Cathexis, identification, internalization should rather be among the important concepts.

5. Central relation between a theory of personality development and the structure and functional mechanisms of the adult personality, fortunately, made a major theme of WILSON's paper. Former aspect links directly with the sociological theory of socialization, i.e. the adaptation of the personality of the individual to the functional requirements of role-performance in the social system. Latter aspect concerns the main structure of motivational subsystems of the personality of the adult. The late Freudian classification can also be given sociological reference, though there is no one-to-one correspondence.

6. I see this as the central theorem of the relationship under consideration: the main structure of the human personality *consists in* (not has been "influenced by . . .") the internalization of the *social object* systems and cultural patterns which have constituted the structure of the socio-cultural environment of the individual during the process of socialization. In Freud's terms these are "lost objects" when fully internalized. This is true not only of the superego, but of all three of Freud's systems and most particularly of the ego.

7. The socialization process is the set of mechanisms by which the central sociological theorem of institutional integration operates initially—by which the individual comes to *want* to do what, socially, he is *expected* to do, i.e. to fulfil role-expectations. This is supplemented by the social mechanisms of social control (illustrated in a very subtle way by WILSON).

8. Freud was not fully aware that not only "objects" are internalized, but *object-systems*, i.e., socially speaking, collectivities. Type case is the "family of orientation" at the oedipal period. This is the basic reason, for instance, why the normal individual has a profound need for parenthood.

9. The early socialization phases are carried out in the family, but the same fundamental *principles* of development in and through social interaction and the internalization of object-systems applies also to the later phases, what Freud called latency and adolescence, indeed even later. Much work on these phases is needed.

10. After the earlier phases, the primary differentiated roles of persons are prepared in the sense of predisposition by the socialization process. In some ways prototypical, in other special is the case of

sex-role. This is clearly a social at least as much as a biological phenomenon.

11. Sex-role is determined primarily in the oedipal period. The level of what is sometimes called achievement motivation on the other hand is determined in the course of the latency period. Similar considerations apply to predisposition to qualitative types of orientations as to different orders of occupational function and role.

12. More complex problems are involved in capacities for symbolic manipulation and behavior which need much investigation. Thus early language learning seems to be fundamentally dependent on successful completion of oral identification. There seems to be a similar relation between the school period and oedipal identification.

13. It is precisely the capacities of *generalized flexibility* of behavior, for sensitivity to expectations and sanctions institutionalized in the social system and the like, that can be best accounted for in these terms and systematized.

14. There has been much worry about the capacity of psychoanalytic theory to account for cross-cultural variabilities. This certainly applies to some of the cruder formulations, including some of Freud's own. But in basic principle it is not the case. No other basic personality scheme can achieve, properly developed, such a good balance between the universals and the particularities of the linkage between personality and social system.

15. The *use* of psychoanalytic theory must be selectively varied for different problems. Above all there is and should be no such thing as a "psychoanalytic sociology," but the basic outlines of analysis of social systems are independent. Personality and social system are independent, interdependent and interpenetrating subsystems of action generally. Of course other psychological theory is by no means excluded by such emphasis on psychoanalysis.

Après l'exposé de M. WILSON, M. PARSONS ajoute une "note": il approuve particulièrement l'indication de M. WILSON selon laquelle des mécanismes d'intégration du moi comme l'identification ne sont pas passifs de la part de l'enfant et constituent une adaptation active. Il ajoute que ces mécanismes jouent, du point de vue de la régulation sociale (*social control*), un rôle qui est fondamentalement distinct d'une simple réciprocité de satisfactions individuelles comme objectif et critère de l'équilibre de la personnalité. Cet équilibre doit être considéré comme ayant ou comme étant une fonction sociale.

M. GULIAN (Roumanie) ne voit pas comment la psychanalyse peut expliquer les institutions sociales, ce qui équivaut à ses yeux à se demander comment l'inconscient influencerait la société. L'ethnographie fournit à cet égard une contre épreuve. En effet, chez l'homme

naïf ou primitif on s'attendrait à une grande influence de la vie sexuelle sur les institutions centrales et c'est le contraire que l'on voit. Des institutions comme le totem et le tabou, loin de s'expliquer par l'inconscient, sont affaire d'autres influences, celles de l'organisation du clan et de la magie sur la vie sexuelle qui est dotée d'une puissance mystérieuse, dangereuse, en un mot magique. Comme le montre MALINOWSKY, même si ce type de société présente des écarts individuels, fait général, la vie sexuelle y est dirigée par la société, subordonnée à la solidarité du clan et non pas libérée ou déréglée. On ne peut expliquer les phénomènes sociaux par la vie inconsciente alors que les plus importants (relations de travail, faits juridiques, culture, etc.) relèvent d'un effort conscient. FREUD et ADLER ont un intérêt essentiellement limité à l'explication de l'individu.

M. E. GRÖNSETH (Norvège) reproche à M. PARSONS d'avoir choisi entre les deux théories de FREUD en disant que la seconde est la seule importante. Mais la première l'est aussi, c'est-à-dire la théorie des instincts. Significativement M. PARSONS ne mentionne pas dans son exposé des faits comme les névroses. Cette position relève d'une position étrangère à la pratique, issue d'un scientisme à la façon de MAX WEBER qui préconise l'étude pure des faits et dans lequel on ne s'intéresse pas au conflit, à l'anxiété, à la dépression. Or les instincts existent et agissent à travers les refoulements liés à telle ou telle forme de socialisation. Le fait de les négliger supprime la base de la critique sociale et de l'application pratique.

M. ADORNO (Allemagne occidentale) reprend certaines des critiques déjà émises mais d'un point de vue étranger à l'ethnographie. WEBER, notamment dans son étude du capitalisme, oriente la théorie sociologique essentiellement vers une conception rationnelle du comportement et de ses mobiles. Au contraire, la psychanalyse porterait sur le comportement irrationnel de l'individu. Mais cet individu est aujourd'hui quasi impuissant en face des institutions. FREUD a sous-estimé la réification des institutions quand il a dit, sur le tard, que la sociologie est de la psychologie appliquée. Il y a peu de chances de construire immédiatement un système de coordonnées commun à la sociologie et à la psychanalyse. Il ne faut pas psychologiser, (ni d'ailleurs sociologiser) abusivement. Les archaïsmes des motivations sont en fait canalisés par les institutions à intérêt très conscient. On pourrait le montrer en ce qui concerne l'attitude à l'égard des nègres américains. De même les masses qui suivaient Hitler étaient moins irrationnelles qu'il n'y paraissait. L'instinct était mobilisé pour des intérêts concrets. Naturellement la rationalité elle-même est possible d'un examen psychanalytique mais à un autre niveau. L'abus sociologique de la psychanalyse a même un effet déformant sur elle en ce qu'il tend dans certaines théories à ramener trop au moi aux dépens du ça. (HORNEY) Ainsi se constituent certaines théories de l'ajustement—Sur un point

particulier, toutefois, les amendements sociologiques de M. PARSONS sont inutiles: FREUD a été conscient de l'existence d'identifications extra-familiales à contenu d'entités collectives—Il y a intérêt à poursuivre indépendamment le développement des deux disciplines. Ainsi parviendra-t-on sans doute à révéler des forces sociales au cœur de l'individu et réciproquement.

Après que M. G. BRAGA (Italie) ait assuré qu'à son avis les sociologues comme tels ne s'étaient pas encore exprimés, M. WILSON éclaire en quelques mots ses intentions. Il a voulu montrer l'articulation entre les théories psychanalytique et sociologique, à travers l'articulation de la famille, comme ensemble de relations interpersonnelles, avec les autres institutions. Vu le grand nombre de psychanalystes qui s'intéressent aux sciences sociales il serait profitable que ceux-ci se rendent compte du peu de pénétration de leur théorie dans ces sciences.

M. BRAGA souligne alors les difficultés qui résultent de la disproportion entre les moyens psychanalytiques et les problèmes de dimensions des échantillons qui se posent en sociologie: ou bien il faudrait psychanalyser tout le monde ou bien disposer d'une symptomatologie du caractère claire et maniable. Sinon une typologie plus simple peut être plus utile. Par exemple on peut observer le mode de réaction à la "répression" (cf. PARETO et plus précisément HORNEY). Selon le degré de répression, on peut avoir trois types de réaction: soumissive, agressive ou évasive dont on peut étudier la combinaison avec la typologie de GURVITCH (masse, communauté, communion). Ainsi peut-on opposer de ce point de vue le prolétariat (prédominance agressivité-communion) au sous-prolétariat (prédominance masse-évasion). Le problème est celui du mécanisme de répartition des types de réaction.

M. PARSONS considère que le problème central de la discussion a été celui de la place de la théorie des instincts et du rôle de l'inconscient. Il n'a jamais été question de sous-estimer cette théorie. Mais il ne peut accepter la position générale de M. GRÖNSETH qui absolutise l'instinct et son mécanisme motivationnel, ce qui conduit à exagérer le rôle des données biologiques. Il rappelle le mot de FREUD "là où était le ça viendra le moi." Ceci est en rapport également avec la question de l'inconscient et de la rationalité posée par MM. GULIAN et ADORNO. La hiérarchie des composantes de la personnalité joue un rôle croissant. Le ça est à la base et combine des éléments héréditaires avec un précipité des phases initiales de la socialisation. Quand les organisations supérieures de la personnalité sont renversées émergent les fondements, par exemple dans la névrose ou la psychose. Mais ce serait une source d'erreur systématique de penser prévoir la conduite sociale à partir du ça. Quant à l'inconscient, au moins quant à la formulation, c'est une notion en déclin chez FREUD—Il existe un accord fondamental avec M. ADORNO sur l'irréductibilité des deux disciplines en cause: il n'y a

pas de correspondance biunivoque entre la personnalité et la structure sociale; mais les différentes positions sociales produisent ou sélectionnent des types de personnalité qui se trouvent ainsi statistiquement répartis de façon inégale.

La discussion se poursuit au début de l'après-midi.

M. ANCONA (Italie) se présente comme un psychologue de tendance psychanalytique. Il reprocherait à M. PARSONS une surestimation de la pression sociale sur la personnalité. Le ça est trop loin du réel pour pouvoir être atteint par les influences du milieu si ce n'est dans les circonstances tout à fait bouleversantes (comme en psychanalyse)—Peut-être pourrait-on élargir les fonctions du ça dans le cadre d'une conception fonctionnelle comme celle d'ERIKSON. On admettrait que les composantes instinctuelles ne sont affectées que fonctionnellement. A quoi M. PARSONS objecte que la classique inaccessibilité du moi (sauf en crise, cure, etc.) n'est pas vraie du développement précoce de l'enfant.

M. R. WILLIAMS (Etats-Unis) conteste l'analogie établie par M. WILSON entre l'isolement social (explorateurs, bergers) et l'isolation ou privation sensorielle pratiquée expérimentalement par HEBB. Il y a là des différences majeures touchant l'ouverture de systèmes comparés. M. WILSON souligne qu'il n'a pas donné cette analogie comme prouvée.

II. SOCIOLOGIE ET PSYCHOLOGIE EXPERIMENTALE OU SOCIALE

Président: M. PARSONS

La discussion comporte une introduction par M. KLINEBERG, un résumé de sa communication par M. GIROD, un résumé par M. PARSONS de la communication de M. HIMMELSTRAND, un exposé par M. PAGÈS et une série d'interventions.

M. KLINEBERG, traitant des "rapports de la sociologie et de la psychologie," mentionne qu'il existe actuellement chez ses étudiants une sorte de refus de distinguer les deux disciplines car "on ne doit pas séparer ce que Dieu a uni"! C'est un fait que les deux premiers ouvrages de psychologie sociales publiés aux Etats-Unis en 1908 l'ont été respectivement par le sociologue Ross et le psychologue McDougall. De même, une enquête auprès des membres de l'American Sociological Association sur leur domaine de compétence a montré que le plus fréquent était... la psychologie sociale. Il est cependant possible, quels que soient les chevauchements, d'établir quatre distinctions principales.

1. Du point de vue du *contenu*, la psychologie est l'étude de l'individu et la psychologie sociale celle de l'individu en situation sociale. On peut écrire sur la délinquance comme "culture délinquante" sans référence à l'individu (COHEN, inspiré de PARSONS) comme aussi en se référant de façon centrale à la vie individuelle (HEALY, les GLUECK). En matière

d'attitudes, quel que soit le chevauchement, une étude comme celle de BRUNER, SMITH *et al.* sur l'opinion de la personnalité est nettement une étude de psychologues sur les attitudes chez les individus. Il n'est pas jusqu'à l'ouvrage d'ADORNO *et al.* sur la personnalité autoritaire qui ne se voie reprocher d'être exclusivement psychologique en ce qu'il traite au niveau de l'individu un fait social et culturel. L'examen de l'ouvrage de STOETZEL sur le Japon ("Jeunesse sans chrysanthème ni sabre") montre au contraire un point de vue sociologique. Il arrive souvent que la définition formelle des disciplines ne coïncide pas avec le fond des choses: quand un anthropologue explique la formation d'un chef religieux individuel, il devient par là psychologue de fait. Enfin les psychologues ont la quasi-exclusivité de certains centres d'intérêt, comme l'héritérité.

2. En ce qui concerne la *méthodologie*, l'accent sur l'expérimentation est le caractère principal de la psychologie. BLONDEL et MAUSS par exemple ont étudié des effets sociaux sur les processus psychologiques mais par des méthodes d'observation. Les psychologues ont traité ces mêmes questions et tenté de délimiter et de contrôler par l'expérimentation l'invasion de la psychologie générale (mémoire, perception) par des facteurs sociaux. Les expériences sur les petits groupes, lancées par les psychologues ont été reprises par les sociologues et peut-être en plus grande abondance. On a tenté de réaliser sur le terrain une approximation des méthodes de laboratoire.

3. La *théorie* psychologique qui sert à la sociologie provient surtout de l'expérimentation sauf la psychanalyse. C'est ainsi que la théorie de l'apprentissage a été empruntée surtout à la psychologie animale. On peut voir MURDOCK (de Yale) se référer à propos de structure sociale et, notamment, sur le tabou de l'inceste à HULL (de Yale) tandis que HOMANS de Harvard, fait également des emprunts à une autre théorie de l'apprentissage (celle de Harvard). D'autres emprunts proviennent il est vrai d'autres branches de la psychologie pathologique ou psychiatrique par exemple ceux de LOWIE à propos de la religion primitive.

La *terminologie* est révélatrice d'une double formation conceptuelle qui persiste en bien des domaines. Ainsi de la notion d'attitude dont une des sources se trouve dans la psycho-physique expérimentale (*Einstellung*) et l'autre dans la sociologie. On distingue l'attitude comme précurseur de l'action chez G. ALLPORT d'un sens plus sociologique chez un auteur comme W. J. THOMAS orienté vers les valeurs et pour qui l'attitude est surtout "à l'égard de." Même chose pour la notion de rôle: de MEAD ou COOLEY à LINTON c'est avant tout la conduite à attendre de gens d'une certaine position (*status*); tandis que, psychologiquement, l'aspect empathique et individuel est souligné. Il y a là une source d'équivoques dangereuses autant que d'interpénétration utile.

4. *L'image de soi* chez les sociologues comporte abondance d'examens de conscience tandis que les psychologues sont moins soucieux de commenter leur science que d'exposer des résultats, plus identifiés qu'ils sont aux sciences naturelles et plus sûrs d'eux-mêmes et de leur position.

En conclusion M. KLINEBERG croit à la réalité des différences entre les deux disciplines mais ne pense pas que leur collaboration doive en être empêchée. Le cas idéal est évidemment celui de "deux cerveaux sous le même chapeau" (pour traduire à peu près "two skills in one skull") et ce cas est de plus en plus fréquent. En tout cas la recherche doit avoir affaire, en général, aux deux aspects: phénomène individuel et processus social. Si elle y manque, elle pèche par unilatéralité. Les travaux tendront de plus en plus à se définir par des problèmes plutôt que par des disciplines.

Après le résumé par M. GIROD de sa communication et par M. PARSONS de celle de M. HIMMELSTRAND, M. PAGÈS résume son exposé sur le "*rôle de la psychologie dans la construction de variables sociologiques purifiées*." Beaucoup de sciences naturelles se sont développées jusqu'à un certain niveau sans référence à l'expérience. A tort ou à raison, ce n'est pas le cas de la sociologie qui, dès le 19ème siècle s'est montrée obsédée d'expérimentation en dégageant dès le début deux tendances. L'une est expérimentale directe: c'est celle de FOURIER qui aboutira, par exemple, aux expériences de sociologie industrielle de GODIN (1867-72) et convergera avec l'expérimentation des psychologues sur les processus interpersonnels (TRIPPLETT) ou les petits groupes (BINET) autour de 1900. L'orientation expérimentale "indirecte" (DURKHEIM) est une adaptation à l'impossibilité supposée de l'expérimentation proprement dite, notamment à cause de son caractère total et historique (COMTE et MILL). La première orientation aboutit à des expériences qui se prêtent sans trop de difficultés à l'application de plans d'expérience réguliers (petits groupes en laboratoire). La deuxième, avec des études systématiques, corrélationnelles et comparatistes, aboutit rapidement à des *conflits internes* en essayant de corriger une démarche *naturaliste* (descriptive) par une démarche *probabiliste*, de plus en plus inspirée des plans d'expérience.

Cependant la psychologie a des moyens d'accéder à l'historicité de la vie individuelle sans l'impossible tâche de la suivre (anamnèse psychanalytique) et même de créer l'*historicité* (apprentissage).

Or une difficulté majeure de l'enquête (et de ce qu'il reste de naturalisme dans l'expérimentation psycho-sociologique) est le fait que les combinaisons de propriétés des sujets étudiés sont reçues toutes faites de la nature et de l'histoire sociales. Il est impossible, quand on prélève ainsi des échantillons naturels classés selon l'âge, le sexe, la résidence, etc. de garantir qu'une modalité de l'un quelconque de ces facteurs n'est pas liée à des modalités diverses de facteurs inconnus et incontrôlés.

Un effet *apparent* du sexe n'est-il pas dû, en fait, à un trouble nerveux inconnu lié statistiquement au sexe?... On n'a pas la ressource de la neutralisation des facteurs incontrôlés et confusionnels, notamment par le tirage au sort ("randomization") principale invention de FISHER. Ainsi le travail théorique de conceptualisation est-il, sans doute durablement, vicié dans ses matériaux. Les concepts sont des compromis hasardeux entre l'apriorisme arbitraire et un empirisme monographique et changeant. L'expérimentation, empruntée au laboratoire des psychologues, offre peut-être un des moyens actuels de lutter contre ces difficultés. C'est ainsi que la "représentativité," si recherchée par rapport aux populations naturelles exclut dans bien des cas l'étude méthodique des cas purs les plus significatifs et ne représente que des propriétés éphémères des populations historiques. Par exemple, on trouve difficilement dans la nature sociale des groupes véritablement sans direction centralisée, et la formation d'un commandement est alors couramment présentée comme un "effet de groupe"; la création d'un groupe de communication circulaire à la façon de BAVELAS fait apparaître à la fois le cas exceptionnel et, par là même, un facteur très général masqué en situation "représentative" (la distribution des ressources par rapport à la tâche).

L'utilisation de l'apprentissage contrôlé apparaît comme une méthode de choix pour dissiper les obscurités dues aux données naturelles. Dans le même cadre expérimental, l'introduction de critères naturels comme le degré d'ascendant (testé) aux différents postes des réseaux de communication n'exclut pas les facteurs éventuellement masqués par le trait spontané. Or il est possible de créer, par apprentissage dans les réseaux mêmes, des différences d'ascendant qui ne doivent rien qu'à une intervention connue. Cette méthode peut être appliquée dans beaucoup d'autres cas où l'interprétation usuelle se rapproche du tautologique "effet de groupe." Ainsi du cas de la normalisation des jugements dans le processus d'influence expérimental (SHERIF 1935). Cette expérience conserve un élément naturaliste: le groupe est composé sur des populations "ordinaires" d'où dérive la variabilité de la "tendance à la convergence." On peut au contraire construire expérimentalement la variable en isolant hypothétiquement une composante *d'attente de similitude* que l'on peut faire acquérir par apprentissage à sujets tirés au sort (on soumet certains sujets à des situations qui renforcent ou inversent cette attente). On pense alors pouvoir annuler, ou même renverser un effet de "dissimulation," l'effet ordinaire de convergence. Une expérience amorcée à partir de ces vues (PAGÈS 1955) par H. JAMOUS (1958) a été encourageante. On entend ici souligner essentiellement la méthode de *préparation des attributs ou modalités des facteurs expérimentaux par apprentissage*, sur populations *tirées au sort*.

Ceci ne tend pas à contester à la nature sociale les variables que l'on n'a pas encore pu construire mais seulement à constituer à partir des suggestions de l'observation ou de l'enquête, et aussi en vue de spéci-

cations par enquête, un noyau de variables construites, à la fois bien définies conceptuellement et opérationnellement, et expérimentalement liées entre elles.

M. ADORNO relève la remarque de M. KLINEBERG concernant la personnalité autocratique. En fait, la recherche à ce sujet, dans le même esprit que la psychanalyse freudienne à ses débuts n'a pas prétendu faire autre chose que d'apporter des compléments relatifs à l'action de facteurs négligés, sans jamais contester pour autant la valeur explicative du contexte social et culturel et même sa valeur prédominante. A propos du préjugé on a tenté de prendre au sérieux la notion de rationalisation en montrant que beaucoup d'éléments apparemment liés au principe de réalité sont en fait fonction de la personnalité. Ainsi a-t-on pu voir que les données fournies par les échelles de préjugé manifeste corrélaient plus avec l'échelle F (indice psychanalytique) qu'avec une échelle de caractéristiques socio-économiques des individus. Les indices caractérielis sont plus liés à l'ethnocentrisme que ne l'est le conservatisme. Certaines idéologies sont donc plus complexes qu'on ne pense. Ce qui ne veut pas dire que ces échelles "profondes" ne sont pas sociales mais seulement qu'elles le sont au niveau des mobiles cachés dans un inconscient en quelque sorte intemporel et non pas au niveau direct et manifeste du moi.

M. VISSCHER (Congo Belge) regrette que l'on fasse en fait de la psychologie sociale une branche de la psychologie. Et pourtant il arrive souvent que le psycho-sociologue soit un sociologue de formation. On se serait attendu à ce que M. KLINEBERG en fasse plus grand état car le relevé des références montre que c'est un des plus informés des sciences sociales, parmi les auteurs de traités. La psychologie sociale devrait plutôt être considérée par définition comme un pont, analogue dans son rôle à la biochimie ailleurs, entre la psychologie et la sociologie.

M. NEULOH (Allemagne occidentale) a une expérience de douze ans en matière d'orientation professionnelle. Il y a vu longtemps dominer sans conteste la psychologie individuelle et pas toujours avec de bons effets: car si l'aptitude est individuelle, les attitudes ont leurs facteurs sociaux. L'évolution actuelle tend à combiner psychologie et sociologie dans la formation des spécialistes. Une association pour le travail d'équipe dans les deux domaines vient de se constituer. Le contact avec la sociologie industrielle introduira plus de réalisme dans l'orientation professionnelle.

Le Dr. CLAUSEN (Etats-Unis) commente l'entreprise connue menée à Havard sur le maîtrise du "stress." Une équipe formée de psychologues, sociologues et psychiatres étudie l'autorité et l'affection dans la famille dans leurs rapports avec les variables psychométriques d'une part et les réactions sociales, notamment en situation expérimentale de "stress," d'autre part. Le rôle des différents spécialistes en l'occurrence est assez

clair dans le cadre de l'interaction entre ces trois aspects. Il faut toutefois souligner le rôle spécifique du psychologue en ce qui concerne la psychométrie (tests) y compris dans l'expérimentation tandis que le psychiatre s'occupe plutôt de la conception de la personnalité à un niveau plus total.

Pour comprendre l'interaction il faut pouvoir suivre les variations des facteurs (et non pas seulement les fixer) et les suivre notamment à travers la stratification sociale. Ainsi la famille ouvrière montre plus de séparation des rôles conjugaux. Si la mère y domine, le fils s'identifiera plutôt avec elle tandis que ce sera l'inverse dans la classe moyenne. On voit les prolongements de ces considérations en matière psychosomatique et la nécessité d'y combiner les différentes spécialités.

En manière de conclusion, MM. GIROD et KLINEBERG répondent aux interventions.

M. GIROD répond à MM. ADORNO et CLAUSEN que si les variables sociales n'apparaissent pas directement décisives dans leur domaine (personnalité autoritaire, autorité dans la famille), c'est que les catégories usuelles de stratification ne sont pas pertinentes mais il reste qu'il faut constater et expliquer la croissance de la personnalité en milieu social, ce qui appelle l'usage d'autres catégories.

M. KLINEBERG ne conteste pas à M. NEULOH ni à M. VISSCHER l'intérêt de la combinaison entre disciplines et mentionne que le Ph.D. en psychologie sociale à Columbia requiert des études tant sociologiques qu'anthropologiques. A M. CLAUSEN il répond que la mesure est aussi bien sociologique que psychologique et à M. VISSCHER qu'il maintient sa définition de la psychologie sociale encore qu'il ait dû rendre justice dans son rapport à la fois à la psychologie expérimentale et sociale. Quant à la "Personnalité autoritaire" c'est un travail admirable du point de vue psychologique mais un tableau complet relatif aux préjugés doit tenir compte des variables sociologiques. C'est ainsi que l'échelle F de personnalité profonde ne montre pas de différence entre le Sud et le Nord des Etats-Unis, tandis que l'échelle E d'ethnocentrisme manifeste fait apparaître un niveau plus élevé au sud. L'effet propre de la communauté environnante semble s'y manifester. Cet exemple illustre bien les conclusions de M. KLINEBERG.

R. PAGES

ADDITIONAL MEETINGS

ADDITIONAL MEETINGS

1. JOINT MEETING OF THE SEMINARS ON COMPARATIVE METHOD, HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY, AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

INTRODUCTORY PAPER: P. WORSLEY, *The Analysis of Rebellion and Revolution in Modern British Social Anthropology* (Abstract)

In the nineteenth century, despite their evolutionist proclivities, ethnological writers were deeply impressed with the fixity of primitive societies. Despite their undoubted contribution towards the analysis of society in developmental terms, and despite the stress they laid upon distinguishing the cultural basis of human society from lower bases of social organization, evolutionary thinkers tended to regard primitive societies as fossils, or else dominated by "custom". Structural change, it was believed, was extremely slow, and—sometimes—inhibited by biological factors. Some writers undoubtedly believed that societies necessarily had to pass through an ineluctable series of evolutionary stages. There was consequently little theoretical interest in process, or in internal sources of conflict.

Malinowski broke through this thought-barrier in a decisive way: stimulated by Freud, his work constantly stresses the phenomenon of ambivalence in social life and the contradictory processes at work therein. Yet both he and Radcliffe-Brown, the founders of modern British social anthropology, received their principal sociological theoretical stimulus from Durkheim, in whose work the normative and integrative elements were emphasized. The problem of order was considered to be logically prior to the problem of change. The "statics-dynamics" dichotomy, in various forms, has persisted in British anthropology right into the present.

This theoretical trend was probably fostered by the situation in which the inter-war anthropologist worked. Policies of "indirect rule" meant that governments were interested in discovering how indigenous political systems operated, and how smooth continuity could be ensured.

The first real challenge to this approach from within social anthropology itself came with GLUCKMAN's critique of Malinowski's attempt to apply his mode of analysis to Southern Africa. GLUCKMAN emphasized, not common values, but conflicting values; not reciprocity, but sanctions of power; not separate social entities of "White" and "Black" cultures, but a single social field.

World War II enormously intensified colonial social change, and thrust anthropologists directly into areas of high tension. Out of such experience emerged Evans-Pritchard's study of *The Sanusi of*

Cyrenaica. Here, he showed how an outsider had been able, by modelling the structure of the Sanusiya religious Order in the segmentary tribal pattern, to integrate the separate and often hostile tribes without involving himself or the Order in the divisive particularisms.

Since the war, the major field in which movements of rebellion and revolution amongst "stateless" peoples have been studied has been Melanesia. Many early students of the "cargo-cult" movements regarded them as mere manifestations of irrational thought. More recently, however, stress has been laid on the logical consistency of thinking on the part of Melanesians confronted with a highly unpredictable social environment, for whose full understanding they lacked the necessary data. Anthropologists were ill-disposed to accept Weber's celebrated analysis in terms of "charisma", which implied classifying the movements as "non-rational", since they had long been demonstrating the logic that lay within apparently "mystical" thought, e.g. in the study of witchcraft.

Analysis of rebellions and revolutions in "State" societies has also developed mainly since the War. Evans-Pritchard's *Anuak* and *Shilluk* opened the discussion with their consideration of the struggle for possession of the sacred symbols of kingship during the succession-wars in these societies. In 1952 GLUCKMAN generalized this argument in his study of *Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa*. Here he pointed to the rituals at the installation of the Swazi King, where the King is both abused and celebrated in the same ceremony. He suggests that institutionalized rebellion in the form of succession wars engendered by uncertain rules of succession in fact a source of strength rather than weakness in such ill-integrated State systems. Comparative evidence from other regions of the world, e.g. India and China, appears to me to amply bear out this thesis.

The ideologies appropriate to this condition of unquestioned kingship have been discussed, in one of their aspects, by Evans-Pritchard and Fortes when they observe that rituals of public solidarity frequently centre round crops and food, in which all have common interests. Yet rivalries also develop around precisely these resources. The elevation of the Kingship above particular rivalries is also found, as in the various functions of the Ankole sacred drum Bagyendanwa, which symbolizes the Kingship, and constitutes a sanctuary and shrine, distributing aid and succour.

Some recent historiography shows the influence of this social anthropological work. At the same time, anthropologists are becoming firstly, more historically-oriented, and secondly, much more concerned with conflict-theory.

Little research into rebellion and revolution in advanced industrial societies has been carried out by anthropologists, but recent work in

Central Africa has analysed the sources of tension which often gives rise to periodic outbreaks.

Finally, the shift in theory from an emphasis on normative consensus to an examination of conflict has forced a reappraisal of the validity of orthodox functionalism even when applied to the simple segmentary society. Turner's *Schism and Continuity in an African Society* shows that conflict of interest, contradictions of moral principles, and ambiguities of choice are part of the everyday life of the Ndembu villager as much as they are in the arena of high politics. Their "resolution" is ritually effected, but can only be temporary, and results in a cyclical process of conflict, resolution and fresh conflict. Such pressures are met either by structural change or cathartic relief.

Here he emphasizes a theme touched upon in other works cited: the achievement of temporary political unity on the part of social groups sharing a common cultural idiom, but highly divided against one another, by associating round some external, universalistic symbol.

All these studies indicate an important shift away from the earlier solidarist Durkheimian theory towards a dynamic social theory more capable of handling social process.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION:

The session on Rebellions and Revolutions was organised as a joint enterprise of the Seminars on Comparative Method, Historical Sociology, and Social Anthropology and its main purpose was to examine to what extent there could be discerned a common approach to a topic of central interest for both historians and social scientists, and what are the main differences between their respective approaches.

Dr. P. WORSLEY (UK) presented the social anthropologists' point of view. He indicated how the interest in social change and rebellion, which was not very great in the first stages of (British) Social Anthropology has gradually become of great importance in anthropological work. Some types of rebellion and change have been recognized in social anthropological thought as having mostly integrative functions, and as being devices through which the continuity of a society is assured, while others have emphasized more the processes through which structural change is effected.

Professor A. BRIGGS (Leeds) gave the historian's approach to the possibility of a comparative study of revolution, and indicated some common patterns and stages which seem to recur in all revolutions. While the exact configuration, length, importance and contents of each of these stages differed from place to place and period to period, the pattern as such can be perceived in all revolutions and may provide the basis for a comparative historical study of revolutions.

Professor R. ARON (Sorbonne) who wound up the presentation gave the sociologist's point of view. He stressed that while the sociologist is mostly interested in the analytical-comparative approach to revolution the unique patterns of each revolution cannot be always fully understood in these terms, especially as a revolutionary situation is much easier recognized as such post-hoc than beforehand. He also stressed the great need for a clear differentiation and specification of the term "revolution" in different institutional spheres—political, economic, religious, etc., and indicated that the meaning and interest of this term may greatly differ in each of these spheres and the development of a "revolutionary" situation need not necessarily coincide in all of them. He also observed that, as was indicated by Aristotle, the best way of appraising the phenomenon of revolution is through the analysis of the de-composition of the body politic.

The general tenor of the papers and the discussion was that despite many divergences of approach between sociologists, historians and anthropologists there exist by now some bases for a common approach to the problem of rebellion and revolutions which can be analysed from both the points of view of the historian and the social scientists, and these may easily complement one another.

S. N. EISENSTADT.

2. SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION:

Those interested in the sociology of religion did not, at the Fourth World Congress of Sociology, have at their disposal a full place on the programme. Thanks to the courtesy of the I.S.A. Executive Committee and Secretariat, they were able to secure the morning of 12 September for a meeting. The conveners of the meeting (*the Groupe de Sociologie des Religions* of the C.N.R.S., Paris, and colleagues in a number of other countries) decided not to plan a substantive scientific discussion but instead to invite opinions and proposals on the problem of international scientific collaboration in the sociology of religion.

Some ninety colleagues from some twenty countries attended the meeting. This writer, in the chair, described the circumstances that had preceded it. At the *Third World Congress of Sociology*, 1956 in Amsterdam, an equally informal and brief meeting had taken place; many valuable contacts were established amongst the scholars working in the field, but three years later we were still without means of continuing international collaboration. The twin problems of secularisation in western society, and religious change under the impact of general social transformation elsewhere in the world, presented us with unique contemporary opportunities to extend knowledge in our field. But if it is to meet this challenge, the sociology of religion must: (1) move from sociographic emphases to theoretical analysis; (2) break out of the

western framework which has for too long limited its generalisations. These ends, in turn could only be attained through the joint effort of colleagues in many countries.

In the lively discussion that followed, a good many colleagues expressed their willingness to participate in some kind of international organisation. It was generally felt that an approach to the Executive Committee of the International Sociological Association was appropriate, and a resolution to this effect was presented (*inter alia* by the late Professor Howard Becker, President of the *American Sociological Society* 1959) and agreed by the participants. Meanwhile, M. Henri Desroche (on behalf of the *Groupe de Sociologie des Religions*) made a number of concrete proposals. These, which pre-supposed the formation of a scientific sub-committee of the I.S.A. in the field of the sociology of religion, envisaged the development of national groups and the transformation of *Archives de Sociologie des Religions* into a multi-lingual organ. Desroche insisted on the fact that, unlike other scholars within the I.S.A. with specialised scientific interests, we lacked funds for conferences or for international research projects and a continuing channel of communication and secretariat. M. Desroche's formulation of our difficulties won general assent; his proposal for the formation of national groups evoked pledges, in many quarters, to explore the matter further on home grounds.

Before adjourning, the participants elected a provisional co-ordinating committee to establish contact with the I.S.A. Executive Committee and to follow out the suggestions made at the meeting. Its members are: Burgalassi (Italy); Fiamengo (Yugoslavia); Fichter (U.S.A.); Falardeau (Canada); Frantzev (U.S.S.R.); Goldschmidt (Germany, F.R.); Kruijt (Netherlands); Taplamacioglu (Turkey); Vogt (Norway-Italy). Birnbaum (United Kingdom) and Desroche (France) serve as secretaries.

The participants' resolution, presented to the I.S.A. that every week-end has not been without effect. The I.S.A. Executive Committee has since decided to form a scientific sub-committee of the sociology of religion, and has asked Professor Le Bras to assume its chairmanship; for the time being it has requested Messrs. Birnbaum and Desroche to serve as secretaries. Under the I.S.A. Constitution, nominations to the sub-committee are made by the Executive Committee, with a view to a broad geographical distribution. It is hoped, shortly, to develop proposals for international research in our field.

NORMAN BIRNBAUM.

3. SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION:

The two prepared discussions by R. GIROD (Switzerland) and J. GOUDSBLOM (Netherlands) addressed themselves, respectively, to the

papers by L. GOLDMANN, which was criticized as metaphysical from a positivistic standpoint, and T. PARSONS. They were followed by nine discussions from the floor, representing as many different countries. H.-J. CHU (Taiwan) gave a sketch of prerequisites for the study of the sociology of knowledge. T. W. ADORNO (Federal Republic of Germany) stressed the central position of the concept of ideology. A. V. SCHELTING (Switzerland) commented on the controversy between GOLDMANN and GIROD, defending the former against the latter and urged the addition of "civilization" to the Parsonian dichotomy of "culture" and "society." P. HONIGSHEIM (U.S.A.) called attention to the sociology of sociology and to that of religion as concerns to the sociologist of knowledge, with illustrations from the sociology of types of religious leaders and religious knowledge. A. JOJA (Rumania) commented on GOLDMANN's paper. I. DUBSKA (Czechoslovakia) took exception to ADORNO's remark on ideology, particularly in respect to Marx's and Lukáč's conceptions. V. AUBERT (Norway) discussed certain aspects of GARFINKEL's paper and stressed particular formal-sociological features of the modern professions (e.g., medicine and law) which present the sociologist of knowledge with near-perfect laboratory conditions for his studies. M. SHIMMEI (Japan) evinced interest in the central position STARK had given to Toennies' dichotomy of *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* even though it is hardly applicable to many non-literate societies. C. LUPORINI (Italy) concluded the discussion with some general observations concerning the field.

KURT H. WOLFF.

4. PSYCHIATRIC SOCIOLOGY

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSION:

(The Group held two sessions during the Fourth World Congress of Sociology. A summary of the first session will be found in the report of the Medical Sociology section meeting of September 10th. The second session of the Group is reported below.)

Dr. SHIRLEY A. STAR (U.S.A.), presented a summary of her paper entitled: "The Place of Psychiatry in Popular Thinking," based on a survey by the National Opinion Research Centre. Dr. STAR distinguished between a psychiatric orientation, which characterised about three per cent of the population, and a normative rational orientation which characterised the attitude of the vast majority of the public. The study revealed that psychiatry was not well accepted in America due to the fact that it involved a way of thinking about human behaviour that was alien to popular thought. Dr. STAR went on to discuss some of the prerequisites to an individual arriving at a psychiatric orientation, and a consequent willingness to use psychiatric services. An important point brought out by the study was that the public needed to possess more information about psychiatry, before it could benefit from its

services, than it customarily needed in order to benefit from other forms of medical care.

In the discussion which followed Dr. STAR's paper, Dr. LOUDON (U.K.), suggested that the actual use of psychiatric services in a community may depend more on the attitudes of the agents who pass patients on to a psychiatrist, such as the general practitioner, than on the public themselves.

The session continued with a brief account of researches being carried out in psychiatric sociology in various countries.

M. et Mme. CHOMBART DE LAUWE (France), described an interdisciplinary research project which they had been conducting concerned with the ecology of mental diseases with particular attention to behaviour disturbances in children. Different types of illness were investigated in relation to an individual's residence and occupation. Abnormal behaviour in children was being studied in relation to the social environment in which they lived.

K. RUDFELD (Denmark), reported on a study of suicides in Denmark that she has been conducting in cooperation with Mr. Eric Hoegh of the Institute of Sociology in Copenhagen. The study included an estimate of the probability of suicide for persons awaiting admission to a mental hospital, as well as persons in mental hospitals and those who have been released from them. Miss RUDFELD suggested that among many suicidal persons a change takes place in their value system. This point was now receiving further study.

V. PORTA (Piero Varennna Foundation, Milan, Italy), reported on the work of this foundation in providing medico-social assistance to persons who have attempted suicide. He indicated that the foundation was anxious to cooperate with others who were interested in this field, and he called the Group's attention to a book on this subject which the foundation had published.

E. GROENSETH (Norway), reported on his research on the psychological adjustment of sailor's wives. He had considered the basic needs of the wives and through a control study, had examined how they reacted to the prolonged absence of their husbands.

Z. WIERZBICKI (Poland), described the efforts which were being made in Poland to prevent alcoholism, and the studies which were less being made of it. Since the last war alcoholism had become worse and is today considered a main social problem. The growth in alcoholism he ascribed to three causes: habits instilled in the population during the war, the movement to urban centres, and the political attitude which had been manifested just after the war when the anti-alcohol movement had been disbanded.

I. BERGER (France), described a study of the mental disturbances and work conditions of French teachers. The study revealed that the male teachers tended to fall ill when they were young, while the women teachers most often fell ill during middle age. The study has included consideration of the values and inspirations of the teachers and their home backgrounds.

M. GUILBERT (France), described a study of mental health and industrial work. The study involved a comparison of the incidence of mental illness among men and among women doing different types of work involving different levels of skill. It was suggested that improvements in working conditions will come slower for women workers than for men.

The meeting of the Group was concluded with a discussion of these various reports.

H. D. FRANK.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

(Prepared by the Italian Organizing Committee)

ARGENTINA

GERMANI, Gino	University of Buenos Aires
RUIZ DIAZ, Adolfo Federico	
SEGRE D'ALFONSO, N.	

AUSTRALIA

BORRIE, Wilfred D.	Australian National University
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AUSTRIA

ROSENMAYR, Leopold	University of Vienna
SCHASCHING, Johann	University of Innsbruck

BELGIUM

ANDRE, Marie-Claire	
ANNET, André	
ARROYO, Jorge	
BIANCHI, Eugene C.	
BOLLE DE BAL, Marcel	
BOLLE DE BAL-LECLERCO, Françoise	
BROECKAERT, Pascal P.	
CALDERON Y ALVARADO, Luis S.	
CALLE, Arturo	
CETRULO, Riccardo	Université de Liège
CLEMENS, René	Centre d'Etudes Sociales, Université de Louvain
CHAUMONT, Maurice	Université de Liège
DARDENNE, Emile	
DE BIE, Elisabeth	
DE BIE, Pierre	Université de Louvain
DE HEUSSCH, L.	
DEJEAN, Christian	Institut de Sociologie Solvay (Uni- versité Libre de Bruxelles)
DELCOURT, J.	Centre de Recherches Socio-rélig- ieuses, Bruxelles
DELOOZ, Pierre	
DE POTTER, Marie-Jeanne	
DISTER, Guy	Institut de Sociologie de l'Univer- sité de Liège

BELGIUM—*continued*

DUMONT, M.	Institut de Sociologie de l'Université de Liège
ENRIQUEZ, Franco	Université de Gand
EVRAUD, Pol	Universität des Saarlandes
GOBEL, Raoul	Institut de Sociologie de l'Université de Liège
GORIELY, Georges	
GUILLITE, Paulette	
HALLEUX, Roger	Recteur de l'Université de Bruxelles
HOEBAER, Robert	Institut de Sociologie Solvay, Bruxelles
HUGLA, José-Henri	ISA Secretariat
JANNE, Henri	Chief Editor, <i>World Justice</i> , Catholic University of Louvain
KINT, George	Université de Louvain
LACONTE, Pierre	Université de Liège
LAUWERS, L.	
LEPLAE, Claire	
LOORE, André	
LUDOVICY, Christiane	
MINON, Paul	
RAES, JEAN	
REMY, J.	
RIBAS, Jacques Jean	
SCHLAG-REY, Madeleine	
SIMONON-SPADIN, Jean	
SMETS, G.	
TRAYNOR, V. J.	
VAN HUNSEL, Matthiew	
VERHAEGEN, B.	
VERSICHELEN, M.	

BRAZIL

COSTA PINTO, L. A.	University of Brazil; Director of the Latin American Centre for Research in the Social Sciences
GREGORI, A.	

BULGARIA

NATAN, J. P.
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