

# SZOCIOLÓGIA

316.877

**Quarterly Review of the Sociological  
Committee of the Hungarian Academy  
of Sciences**

## **SOCIOLOGY IN HUNGARY**

**RECENT ISSUES AND TRENDS**

**Prepared for the VIIIth World Congress of Sociology  
Toronto, August 19—24, 1974.**

**5**

**1974**

**AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ · BUDAPEST**

**Supplement**

# SZOCIOLÓGIA

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

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Address of the Editorial Office:

Szociológia  
Uri utca 62.  
1014. Budapest, I.  
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# SOCIOLOGIE EN HONGRIE

SUJETS ET TENDANCES RÉCENTS

PRÉPARÉ POUR LE VIII<sup>e</sup> CONGRÈS MONDIAL DE SOCIOLOGIE  
TORONTO, 19-24, AOÛT 1974

AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ, BUDAPEST 1974

ISBN 963 05 0454 5

Printed in Hungary

MAGYAR  
TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA  
KÖNYVTÁRA



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## PREFACE





## LA SOCIOLOGIE EN HONGRIE

Après une période de brève floraison qui a vu la naissance d'une sociologie influencée par les théories de Herbert Spencer, d'Emile Durkheim et de Max Weber, mais aussi par le marxisme, cette discipline est devenue suspecte, entre les deux guerres, aux yeux des milieux dirigeants. Les sociologues ont joué un rôle important dans la République des Conseils de 1919, ce qui a irrité les forces réactionnaires. Il suffit de mentionner que Georges Lukács, qui par certains est considéré comme un sociologue de la culture, fut membre du gouvernement révolutionnaire en qualité de commissaire du peuple pour la culture. Dans cette période, à part un nombre restreint de spécialistes, c'étaient surtout des écrivains qui ont pratiqué la sociologie sous une forme littéraire documentaire appelée sociographie. Ils ont décrit la situation misérable de la paysannerie tout en protestant contre le système économique, social et politique qui a maintenu jusqu'au milieu du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle les survivances du féodalisme.

Celui qui s'est occupé de la sociologie en tant que science, sans renoncer pour cela aux avantages offerts par le discours littéraire, Ferenc Erdei a innové par rapport à ses maîtres, comme Tönnies et d'autres, grâce aux expériences acquises dans les luttes menées dans l'intérêt de la réforme agraire. Ce sont ces luttes qui l'ont approché de bonne heure du marxisme qui lui a permis de se former une vue d'ensemble de la société hongroise et de son développement. Homme politique et savant, Erdei a contribué dans les années 60, à la renaissance de la sociologie en Hongrie. Nous ne pouvons pas publier le premier recueil d'études de sociologues hongrois après le Congrès de Varna, auquel lui aussi il avait participé, sans rendre hommage à l'activité, aux impulsions, aux travaux de l'ancien secrétaire de l'Académie des Sciences de Hongrie qui nous a quitté si tôt.

Après 1945 l'importance de la sociologie dans la nouvelle société devait s'accroître par principe, puisqu'elle pouvait contribuer à la solution des problèmes posés par les changements radicaux. En ce qui concerne la sociologie comme discipline autonome, à cette époque on a considéré que le matérialisme dialectique doit englober ses buts et ses méthodes dans l'intérêt d'un programme normatif de la construction de la nouvelle société. La rupture avec l'orientation dogmatique a conduit à la révision de cette conception et elle a permis un nouvel essor de la sociologie. Cela ne veut pas dire les discussions autour des possibilités d'une

sociologie marxiste n'aient pas continué. Tout en s'inspirant des traditions de la sociographie ou de certains courants de la sociologie des pays capitalistes, quelques chercheurs croyaient que la sociologie doit jouer avant tout une fonction critique dans la vie du pays et spécialement par rapport à la politique. D'autres se sont contentés de la description de certains phénomènes sociaux sans tenir compte du contexte social plus général. De là les discussions quelques fois très âpres dans la sociologie hongroise. Ces discussions ont cependant conduit, je crois, à l'éclaircissement des buts et des méthodes de la sociologie marxiste.

Ce processus de clarification fut aussi aidé par les besoins de plus en plus pressants de la pratique sociale, besoins rendus conscients et formulés par les organes politiques. On en peut guère nier que le Comité Central du Parti Socialiste-Ouvrier Hongrois, le gouvernement et les différentes autorités ont contribué par leurs commandes au développement de certaines branches de la sociologie. C'est ainsi que s'est développée la recherche de la *structure sociale*. Dans un pays où un changement radical s'est opéré dans les rapports de production, et par conséquent dans les relations sociales, une telle orientation de la sociologie est tout à fait compréhensible. Ajoutons que la consolidation de la société socialiste et certains incidents de la situation démographique ont éveillé l'intérêt non seulement pour la connaissance des différentes couches et classes de la société, mais aussi pour le problème de la mobilité sociale. Le processus d'urbanisation a attiré l'attention sur la *sociologie urbaine*, ce qui est d'autant plus intéressant que dans les traditions hongroises ce domaine de la sociologie a été négligé.

Les problèmes de la production, étroitement liés à ceux des rapports qui existent entre ouvriers, administrateurs, dirigeant des usines et entre les groupes qu'ils forment, a donné naissance à des études importantes qui ont jeté les bases de la *sociologie d'usines*.

Nous assistons à un essor de la *sociologie du droit* qui est déterminée par l'évolution du système politique et de la gestion administrative.

Ces derniers temps, la question du *mode de vie* et des *loisirs* est étudiée d'une façon intense et les recherches sociologiques alimentent le débat autour de la culture, de la morale et de l'attitude socialiste. Dans le domaine de la sociologie de *l'enseignement*, du *livre* et des *mass media*, les chercheurs ont également obtenu des résultats importants.

Outre le développement de ces branches de la sociologie, nous devons souligner la coopération qui se réalise entre cette discipline et les autres sciences sociales et humaines. Le plan de perspective scientifique élaboré pour une période de vingt ans, prévoit des recherches dans le cadre de thèmes majeurs qui ont un caractère interdisciplinaire. Ainsi par exemple les recherches relatives à *l'entreprise socialiste* ou à *l'administration de la société* exigent une collaboration étroite des chercheurs des différents domaines et, entre autres, des sociologues. Les sociologues ont un rôle important à jouer dans l'étude des problèmes de *l'environnement*, de la *révolution scientifique et technique*, de la *structure sociale*, de la *politique économique*, ou de



la *conscience sociale*, thèmes qui figurent également dans le plan mentionné. Nous croyons que le caractère interdisciplinaire de ces recherches contribuera non seulement à une meilleure coopération entre les différentes branches des sciences sociales et humaines, mais aussi à l'approfondissement de leur théorie et au perfectionnement de leurs méthodes.

La sociologie hongroise peut s'enorgueillir de réussites appréciables, mais elle est encore loin de satisfaire à tous les besoins de la société. Ainsi surtout dans le domaine du mode de vie, de la mentalité, de la morale, de l'esthétique, en général de la conscience, elle a des dettes considérables. Dans les autres domaines aussi elle se heurte à des problèmes théoriques, idéologiques et méthodologiques.

Nous espérons que ce recueil permettra aux participants du VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès Mondiale de Sociologie, lecteurs étrangers de se faire une idée des résultats obtenus par la sociologie en Hongrie, de s'informer des cadres institutionnels de la recherche et de faire la connaissance d'un certain nombre de chercheurs. Je souhaite que ce recueil soit la source d'une meilleure connaissance de la sociologie hongroise et un moyen pour un resserrement de ses relations avec les sociologues du monde entier.

*Béla Köpeczi*

sécrétaire général  
de l'Académie des Sciences  
de Hongrie





## I. SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND STRATIFICATION



## MAIN APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE

by

ZSUZSA FERGE

If one is trying to write an account of a field of research in which the person doing the reviewing was, and is engaged, it is practically impossible to be objective and "just". There are different conceptions about the structure of a socialist society and only one of them is held by myself. Thus, despite all my efforts to be fair and unbiased, it is hard to avoid a slightly critical overtone. If this were not the case, one could not understand, how these different views *might* co-exist. If I could describe all of them equally convincingly — then I would have been the first to be convinced — and we could stop speaking about *different* approaches.

The debates related to the problem of the social structure have many ramifications. Thus, especially in recent years, several researchers began to deal with the problem of *socialist property*, analysing its legal and social aspects, its social role as compared to private property. (Eörsi, 1972.) Another important topic is that of the *working class*, its definition, delimitation, the tendencies of its development. (Blaskovics, 1968. Mód, 1970, 1971. Kovács, 1972.) There is an ever growing literature on *social mobility*, with different, sometimes opposed interpretations of an impressive amount of statistical data. (Andorka, 1971. Kemény, 1968.)

I do not intend to handle these issues, even though their importance is considerable. This paper deals only with those theoretical constructs which treat explicitly the *whole* problem of the social structure. Even out of these I include in this review only the most recent ones, worked out in their actual form in the last few years.

The problems of the social structure became a research topic in Hungary at the beginning of the sixties. The first theoretical and empirical investigations started with quite practical aims. More precisely, when the social sciences and especially sociology regained their "legitimacy", researchers had to confront the earlier, widespread views and more or less simplified, even dogmatic ideological constructs with social reality.

One of the first attempts to work out a Marxist approach to the problem of the social structure of contemporary socialist societies was made by András Hegedüs, who after some preliminary essays published his book "On the social structure of socialist society". (Hegedüs, 1966.) His main thesis was that under the actual conditions the "classical" dichotomic class-model, based on the ownership-relations, had to be replaced by a more complex, multidimensional model, where the crucial, independent variables were, besides ownership-relations, the place



occupied in the social division of labour and the economic branch (agriculture, industry ect.).

The theoretical starting point was rather similar in the researches that took place at this time in the Central Statistical Office. Here, however, the main preoccupation was to acquire a better and deeper knowledge about reality itself. Thus, the office launched some large-scale surveys in order to gather information about the different aspects of social differentiation (including income distribution, the level and pattern of consumption, the differential relations to knowledge, to school, to mass media in general, the problems of social mobility ect.). The most important survey of this type was done in 1963, and the summarizing results were published in 1966, with the title: "Social stratification in Hungary" (*KSH*, 1966). The underlying theoretical problem was a search for the factors that played a major role in creating social differences, and later on the theoretical implications of this research were worked out in more detail in a book published in 1969. (*Ferge*, 1969)

More recently these formulations were more or less refined, and new reseachers joined in the debates and investigations. The present paper gives a short overview about the three approaches or constructs that were worked out in the last few years, and that are representative of the field (even though some of them were not yet published in their present form).

The first conception, whose most outstanding spokesman is Ádám Wirth, is a direct continuation or extrapolation of Marx's class-theory, applied to the socialist society. Its starting point is that "marxist sociology begins always by clarifying what is the historically defined system of social production, i.e. what are the basic relations of production, and develops from there the class-articulation or stratification of society." (*Wirth*, 1969) Let me add already at this point that this starting point is common to all the three views under discussion – and that is why we cannot speak of really "antagonistic" approaches.

Nevertheless, this starting point does not explain what is meant by "the historically defined system" under socialist conditions, and that is where disagreement begins. As for Á. Wirth, in an earlier version of his thesis he maintained that in all modes of production the decisive factor was formed by the ownership relations and the class-relations based on them, and that this thesis held true also for socialism. "Historical experiences show that even under socialism there remains a difference between the two labouring classes, the working class and the peasantry. Nonetheless, this is now a difference between two classes of an identical (socialist) type. These classes represent two different ways of socialist development, and are tied thereby to the two existing forms of socialist property." (*Wirth*, 1969)

In a later work of the same author the validity of the "class-approach" is still underlined, but the explanation is enriched and refined in at least two ways. Already at the starting point more attention is paid to the *content* of the productive relations. "The prime movers of human activities that determine the main tendencies of their apparent chaos are embodied in the structure of society, in the differences of the situations of the groups forming this society, especially in



their productive relations. Thus the social structure is organically related to the social activity of men in a double sense. On the one hand, each structure is the product of the historical and social activity of men, corresponding to the actual degree of development of the material productive forces of this society. On the other hand, this structure, as the necessary form of the social activity in the given period of development, determines the main tendencies of the human activities, and their objective resultant. That is why Marxism, when analysing the social structure, pays a special attention to the articulation of society according to classes and groups that are directly relevant in differentiating the social activity of men. This aspect of the structure of a society is called (more specifically) the social, or the group (class, strata) structure." (Wirth, 1972)

It becomes then quite clear that the class relations of socialism cannot be interpreted solely on the basis of property-relations. "Hungarian society, like the societies of other socialist countries, is on the way towards the withering away of classes. The actually existing class-differences are usually related to the economic and social heritage of the former society, to the fact that the new social formation cannot start to develop on its own basis but is created from a capitalist society and is marked by its spots. In parallel with the formation of its new, peculiar basis, this society rids itself from these old marks, and proceeds also to the elimination of class differences. In order to achieve this goal, however, the complete building up of socialism is not enough. It is also necessary that there be a mansided development of the forces of production, whereby the compelling subordination of the individual to the social division of labour disappears, together with the opposition between manual and intellectual work, and the basic differences between towns and villages. Then, on the basis of the growth of collective welfare, the communist principles of the mansided development of the individual and those of distribution might enter their phase of realization. In short: the condition of the complete disappearance of social classes is the construction of communism". (Wirth, 1972) Is, then, under our conditions, the class-approach still valid? Before answering this question in a positive way, in order to avoid possible vulgarizations and misinterpretations I have to spell out what the class-approach does not mean in a socialist society. It does not mean that all the prevailing social differences of this society might be described by means of the class-concept. The concept of class, in itself, does not explain automatically, all the social differences, not *even the most important ones*. This is even more true for socialism, where the relation between class- and other social differences are always weakening and becoming more and more indirect.

"The class-approach in a socialist society cannot prove the *exclusivity* of, and cannot serve the *conservation* of existing class-differences. The theoretical analysis has to describe the process of the disappearance of classes. The Marxist analysis of the social structure, the class approach in case of a socialist society has the explicit function of uncovering the concrete possibilities and realistic conditions of the complete abolition of classes." (Wirth, 1972)



It would seem that this theoretical introduction could lead to new openings. However, the conclusion that follows is not really helpful in finding them. Instead of exploring the implications of the ideas reproduced above, the author cuts short his own logic by stating: "Even if the class concept is not a fully satisfactory means of the analysis of social processes (because of the above mentioned reasons), the class-approach remains, even in fully developed socialist society the leading principle of the marxist analysis of the basic tendencies determining social development." (Wirth, 1972) The problem is, quite clearly, that if the process of homogenisation of society is a complex and difficult one, as it is suggested by the first part of the reasoning, then the "global" class-approach, though basic in a comparative, historical perspective, cannot help, in itself, in describing, and even less in advancing it. Even if we consider only the most important of them, that of the "self-abolition" of the working class as a class, there are various other tendencies and factors that play a role throughout this process. And since the process is far from being simple and smooth, it is in the interest not only of science, but also and mainly of social praxis, to discover its real course, its obstacles and forwarding forces.

The author of the next construct, Tamás Kolosi, realizes by and large this dilemma. His theory is reproduced below in a concise form elaborated mostly by himself – a fact that certainly reduces the dangers of misinterpretation. (Kolosi, 1971, 1972, in press) Thus: "The social structure signifies the productive activities that appear in the human relations of a society, in the separation and relatedness of the exchange of activities; it also covers the totality of the relations of interest and of political institutionalization regulating these activities. Hence, by social structure we understand the relations among which the different strata move, and which determine, by various intermediate means, the differences among the strata.

The evolution of the Eastern-European socialist societies show two different, but interrelated tendencies. *The first one is a gradual unification of the class-structure inherited from the capitalist society, the second one being the formation of the specific structural relations of the socialist society.* This means, that "together with the disappearance of class-separation, new structural relations are coming to life."

"We assume, hypothetically, that *one of the basic dimensions of these new structural relations*, in our days. . . is represented by the fact that rather complex, intermediary mechanisms are created, *that regulate (control) the production and distribution of the surplus product created in the process of social production, and the different social groups are connected with these intermediary mechanisms in different ways.*"

"We might observe three main clusters in the joining of the intermediary mechanisms of control over the production and distribution of the surplus product. One of them might be located in the complicated mechanisms of interest of the various social groups *that are acting within the functional and institutional frames*



*of control and leadership.* The second cluster is formed by indirect relations to the control mechanisms, *is non-functional and is based on expert knowledge, prestige or personal bonds.* (We might quote the examples of intellectuals not in leading positions, or of certain groups of skilled workers that occupy a particular position in the interest and power relations of the enterprises.) Finally, there are groups *that do not take part, either functionally or indirectly, in the mechanisms of control.*"

The other basic dimension is produced by the fact that two different types of production co-exist: the one, which is *socially institutionalized* (taking place in socialist enterprises), and the other, which is *socially non-institutionalized*. Besides the self-employed population (shop-keepers, artisans, etc.), who belong only to the second field, "a considerable part of the whole population, while engaged in socially institutionalized production, also takes part in the non-institutionalized production and distribution, partly in order to compensate for their exclusion from the control mechanisms of the institutionalized sphere. (The examples are the household plots, tips, "moon-lighting", etc.)

Therefore, the main task of the researches into the social structure is "to uncover the structural mechanisms described above and to show how the different social groups move among them."

The construct of T. Kolosi is, no doubt, ingenious. However, in my opinion, at least, it is neither fully satisfactory nor convincing. There might be perceived, at least, two main shortcomings. The first problem is that nothing is said about the *basis* of the differential opportunities of "joining into the control mechanisms over the production and distribution of the surplus product". More explicitly, the question is not asked why there are differences in the participation in decision-making, or in influencing it, and what is the origin of these differences. (It is perhaps a misinterpretation, but it seems that the first dimension is rather akin to the concept of power, and the social differences of participating in power are not touched upon.) This means that the construct avoids the problem, *why* are there differences at all (or "clusters"), and what are the main trends of their evolution?

It might, however, be thought that it is the second dimension that intends to tell something about these trends. But the second great problem arises just there. Would it be true to say that the second most important structural mechanism is formed by the existence of a non-institutionalized production? And is it really true that this second mechanism cuts through the first one, and "compensates", at least partially, the differences stemming from there? This explanation, even if it depicts some elements of the contemporary social reality, is far from being satisfactory, even if we overlook the rather awkward conclusions that might be drawn from it.

To sum up my reservations: it seems to me that the first factor or dimension, formed by the relations of control, is an important structural force, but the theoretical framework offered to us fails to explain its formation, its social basis and its possible future trends. This is a theoretical problem and I shall revert to it, even though briefly, when outlining my own conception. As for the second dimension, all the presently available evidence points to its somewhat marginal, and



historically transitory character. What is still more important, this phenomenon (the participation in the "socially non-institutionalized sphere of work") might occur occasionally also anywhere throughout society, in any group, professional (from leaders and intellectuals to waiters and journeymen), or other, or in case of each individual. Therefore it can hardly help in explaining *essential* divergences of interest, or important group-relations. This reservation is only partly theoretical and new empirical evidence might disprove it. However, no attempt has been made up till now to show the empirical validity of the original thesis.

The last formulation (mine, as it were) (*Ferge*, 1969, in press) also starts from the assumption that the most important mechanisms of a given society are rooted in, and determined by the relations formed in the process of social production and reproduction. This process embraces the whole cycle of production, distribution (exchanges), and consumption (utilization). However, the basic determinants are to be found (as shown by a vast array of socially relevant experiences) in the sphere of production, or, at least in the industrialized societies, in the realm of the social division of labour in its fullest sense. It is here that are formed different relations, which are interrelated, and which are (just because of their interrelatedness) of a *structural* significance. This means that they help to explain or to render comprehensive the reproduction or the transformation of the whole social formation.

There is a vast number of different relations inherent in a given social division of labour. It seems, nonetheless, that some of them are of outstanding importance in shaping the mechanisms of contemporary, industrially fairly developed societies, and in determining the position and situation of individuals and groups living in them. These are the following: the character or *property-relations*, or more exactly, the presence or absence of private ownership; the relations based on the differential allocation of *socially relevant and appraised knowledge*; and finally, *the relations of power*, (more exactly, power positions) that are related to the aforementioned relations in many ways. These three basic relations form a set that largely determines *the character of the work done* by the individual. By this is meant not only the more or less great complexity of the task itself, not only the level of skill or knowledge required by it and the level of power built into it. I also mean the *autonomy* of the individual over his own social activity, and the *contents* and *conditions* of the work itself. The autonomy of the individual over his own social activity, and the *contents* and *conditions* of the work itself, in its turn, refers to the more or less limited opportunity of the individual *to choose initially* his (her) work i.e. when entering into the world of work, and his possibilities *to define* continuously the aims, the object, the veins, the space etc. of the work done.

The system of all the relations thus linked to each other forms, then, the social division of labour. No doubt, on the face of it, this division appears in the form a vast number of *occupations*. But the occupations gain their social significance from the above described system of relations; this is where their socially determining and



differentiating strength comes from. (Otherwise one is never able to explain *why* the often used variable, occupation, has *any* social and sociological relevance at all.) As a result of these subsequent determinisms, i.e. the related asymmetries of property, power and knowledge, and the following inequalities of autonomy and working conditions, there appears an objectively determined unequal or hierarchical system of the places occupied within the social division of labour. This hierarchy is, in its turn, stabilized by the fact that social activities take place within institutions, that have their own history, hence their own somewhat autonomous organization and evolution, and their special impact on people, especially in conserving the outward forms of interpersonal social relations.

Further on, the whole unequal or hierarchical system is reinforced in the sphere of distribution, and redistribution, because the distribution of all social rewards, material as well as symbolic, follow by and large the already described patterns. I do not want to imply a one-way determinism. One of the symbolic advantages offered by society for example is information and knowledge, and if their distribution becomes less unequal, this will react upon the asymmetry of the knowledge relations in the sphere of production. (The feed-back is less direct in the case of a change in the distribution of incomes, and more effective in the case of some occupational correlates.) But to achieve a less unequal social distribution of knowledge (or any other similar step) requires changes, or at least flexibility in the realm of the basic sub-system of relations of production.

The full outcome of the previously described mechanisms is, then, expressed by the "total social situation" of the individual, and of groups. This situation incorporates, over and above the aforementioned relations, the differential utilization of material and symbolic rewards (i.e. the living conditions, the level and pattern of consumption); the whole web of social relations (including direct and indirect contacts, with all that this implies in obtaining informations, forwarding one's interests, etc); and values, ideologies and interests underlying the above situation and determined by it. Once more, the determinisms work both ways, but the primary character of the situation occupied in the social division of labour has to be stressed.

This structure might be affected in a number of ways, by intervening at different points of the chain. But if the above logic is acceptable, then the most important, structurally basic changes have to be started in the sphere of the *basic* relations. That is *why the abolition of private ownership entails fundamental social consequences*.

To sum up: in this perspective, the property relations are essential in determining the historical place of socialism, where a cleavage is created by the abolition of private property between socialist and non-socialist societies. The explanation is that this step introduces a radical change in the interrelation of the basic relations of the whole structure, and changes thereby the character of the various institutions. This new structure is, then, no more a class-structure in the Marxism

sense, but it is not yet the classless society either. It is of a transitory character, where there still prevails a hierarchically organized social division of labour. This is based on unequal basic relations, though the set of these relations *changed* as compared to capitalism, rendering the structure more flexible. And the social development of the system implies a constant change in the social division of labour, including its basic, determining relations, and all the phenomena resulting from it in the world of work, of distribution, redistribution and total life situations. These changes obviously mean a gradual lessening of social distances, i.e. a collective mobility of a type where the total social situation of worse-off groups is ameliorating more rapidly than that of the better-off ones.

Hence, this approach works out some tools to help the conceptualization of the basic processes of socialist development. Because it unites the static and the dynamic aspects, it also helps to recognize the guarantees and the potentialities of its success, and also to realize the social basis of resistance to change. Thereby again, it forwards the adequate functioning of social praxis and social control.

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## RESEARCH ON THE INTELLIGENTSIA AND ON PROFESSIONAL GROUPS

by

TIBOR HUSZÁR

In the investigation of the professional stratum in Hungary, two factors must be kept in mind. One is *particular* and historical in origin and probably makes Hungarian research akin to research in other East-European socialist countries. The other is of a more *general* nature and is connected with specific problems of the intelligentsia.

As far as the first particularity is concerned, it is well-known that the processes of bourgeois development and urbanization began relatively late in Hungary. Not only did the traditional land-tenure system persist intactly for a long time, but peasantry as a whole remained a closed society right up to the turn of the century when the first wave of industrialization reached Hungary. In many respects this trend typical of Eastern Europe as a whole but in Hungary there was a much larger stratum of pauperized noblemen. (In the mid-19th century every 828th person was of noble descent in Bohemia while every 20th was in Hungary.) In addition, under the pressure of the large estates neither modern political institutions, nor public life, nor urbanization were able to develop at a satisfactory pace.

As to the question of the development of the intelligentsia, the nascent intellectual stratum was recruited partly from noblemen and gentry who had lost their estates and had accepted jobs in state, county or municipal administration, and partly from the descendants of German, Czech and Jewish craftsmen and merchants who settled in Hungary during the first wave of industrialization and whose children already got higher education. The lack of democratic institutions and inability to act prompted the intellectuals to initiate a hot debate criticizing the contradictions arising out of the structural characteristics of Hungarian society and of the disfunctional qualities of its institutions. This explains the strongly political and messianic character of Hungarian poetry and literature in that time and the rising faith in the prophetic role of the poet.

A further trait differentiating Hungarian development from that of Western European societies was that within the professional structure of the intelligentsia lawyers formed the dominant group. Even as late as 1930, out of 86,586 graduates in the country 27,068 had law degrees while only 10,464 graduated engineering, and 3,209 in economics. Within this group of people having received legal education, a special category was represented by those who had only a diploma in traditional "government" ("Staatswissenschaft", as it was called in German), the only purpose of which was to qualify for jobs in the civil service.

The value-orientation of intellectuals in this period had two important consequences. Up to a few decades before the historical turning point of 1945, most of the descendants of the so-called "historic classes" (nobility and gentry) considered commercial activity as something unworthy of a "true Magyar". For quite different reasons and motives, literary people, poets and thinkers devoted their attention to spiritual values and expected the revival of Hungary to come from a "revival of culture". Practicality or utilitarianism were rejected also by their standards. However, even on the basis of such a brief characterization on misunderstanding should arise about the fact that the reactionary "anti-practicality" of the historic classes had no similarity whatsoever and indeed no relationship to the revolutionary culture-centredness of progressive Hungarian writers.

Around the turn of the century the first wave of industrialization laid down the foundations of Hungarian industry and transportation, but due to the failure of the revolutions, the political structure and the large estate land-tenure system remained intact. The capitalization of agriculture accelerated, and the earlier closed peasant society began to dissolve. But these social processes and the antagonism that followed from them were not reflected according to their true nature but in the mind of people; they became distorted and falsified. As a consequence of the above-mentioned historic factors, the public debate turned around the artificial confrontation between Hungarian and non-Hungarian "traits", between "populist" and "urban-intellectual" positions and the value systems supposedly associated with them. (*Hanák 1963; Huszár, 1972.*)

As a result of the revolutionary period following 1945, the fast transformation of social conditions and the rapid industrialization and urbanization, the *relationship of Hungarian intellectuals to the various classes of society and to its professional and occupational structure* underwent a radical change.

All this explains why in research on the intelligentsia and professional groups in Hungary the *historico-sociological approach* is so important for understanding the present. Based on fundamental research done by Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and in cooperation with specialists of social, economical and legal history, philologists, linguists, etc. the Loránd Eötvös University in Budapest started a major research project which is to extend over several years. The aim of this project is the historico-sociological analysis of the Hungarian intelligentsia and of its various professional groups, of intellectual organizations and societies, educational systems, with special emphasis on the differences between West-European and East-European evolution and the parallel developments in Hungary, Poland and Russia. (*Huszár, 1972.*)

The social structure of the intellectual has been modified particularly dynamically in the last two decades. Studies on social mobility throw an interesting light on changes that have taken place in the values and way of life of the intelligentsia. The studies in question were undertaken by the Department of Social Statistics of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office. In order to illustrate the



dynamism of the change, a single set on social mobility carried out in 1963–1965, 42 per cent of all people included in the category of “intellectuals highly placed functionaries and managers”, has industrial or non-agricultural workers as fathers. In the past descendants of the lower classes had no chance to get into this category. Furthermore, the fathers of 24 per cent were agricultural workers. Only 26 per cent were descendants of intellectuals, highly placed functionaries and managers and another 16 per cent were descendants of employees.

It is partly in connection with the above mentioned historic reasons that in Hungary the question of “provincial” intellectuals arises with a different emphasis. One fifth of the population of Hungary lives in Budapest. Even the county seats have only recently started to become industrial, administrative and cultural centres. In their way of life and in their community structure the requisites of peasant society have only partly been eliminated, and consequently there are considerable differences in the degree of urbanization, not only between Budapest and the provincial towns and cities but also between the latter ones and the villages. The expression “provincial intelligentsia” has therefore in Hungary at least a double meaning: not of Budapest, or non-urban. According to the last census, there were in Hungary 219,700 university and college graduates in 1970. Of these 159,900 lived in cities (121,800 in the capital), and 59,800 in the villages. This means that the percentage of university graduates in the corresponding adult population was 9.1 per cent in Budapest, 5.9 per cent in other cities and 1.7 per cent in villages.

In view of the extraordinarily accelerated decentralization of industry in the last decade, the mechanization of agriculture, the establishment of high schools in many larger villages, and the extension of free medical care to practically the whole population of the country, the disproportionate distribution of professionals between the urban centres and the rest of the country is a source of serious tensions. Proceeding from Budapest through the provincial towns to the villages, the proportion of those filling professional jobs but lacking adequate training is increasing and the proportion of university and college graduates is diminishing.

The Social Science Institute of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has investigated this problem in much detail. It studied, among other things, the motives, value-orientations and ways of life of intellectuals who change their domicile and their working place. Another investigation of the Cooperative Research Institute dealt with the situation of rural intellectuals.

Another important factor to consider is an investigation of the intelligentsia is of a more universal nature. In our society the intellectuals form a *non-homogenous* stratum. In spite of some similar or common trait, not even the membership of single occupational groups appears to be uniform. A sound, empirical examination of such groups can only be revealing if we do not restrict our inquiry to formal criteria, to community characteristics, or to the examination of spiritual trends on the basis of content analysis data. The professional groups and their functions should be investigated within the system in which they operate. Thus, the activity of



teachers may be examined within the system of public education, that of physicians within the system of public health, and that of engineers within industry.

If an investigation of this kind surveys only particular activities in a single plant or school, or maybe in a single branch of industry, then existing research techniques make a great variety of analyses possible. In cooperation with the National Technical Development Board the Sociological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences investigated, for instance, the dissemination of innovations in the chemical industry. The Mass Communication Research Center of Hungarian Radio and Television studied in a factory in Budapest the role of technical and economic personnel in the dissemination of information and in influencing views and opinions within the workforce.

More serious difficulties were met by those research teams which undertook the investigation occupational groups in the framework of country wide sample surveys. The Sociological Department of the Loránd Eötvös University undertook, in cooperation with the Hungarian Association of Lawyers, an inquiry into the situation of Hungarian lawyers. Approximately half of the law degree holders in the country do juridic work. The sample only included those who are actively pursuing a legal career. The great variety of legal careers (solicitor, judge, prosecutor, legal counsel of enterprises, legal experts in governmental departments, municipal administratives, etc.) made the study of each legal function within its own system impossible. The investigation dealt with the demographic characteristics of the "legal people", the distribution of incomes, the reasons for the fluctuation of workforce among various legal careers, typical careers, typical value-judgements in connection with the technical level of legislation. In the second phase this investigation will require a separate study of the function of judges, legal administrators, legal counsels, etc. We have to point out, however, that at this stage the investigation of this group of intellectuals becomes already an integral part of the sociology of law.

A study of physicians conducted by the Sociological Chair of the Loránd Eötvös University, provided a similar lesson and demonstrated the inevitability of a structural analysis of public health as much.

The study on teachers by the Sociological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, one of the best pieces of research ever done on a professional group in Hungary has from the very beginning investigated the social position of the teachers keeping in the foreground the universal questions of the status of educational sociology (*Ferge*, 1973.)

Marxist sociology has a relatively short history in Hungary. There are many tasks that still have to be undertaken. The cooperation of several institutes is needed to examine the social status of intellectual work, the systems of formal and informal authority, the image of the intellectual harboured by workers and by other strata of society, the social image presented by the various intellectual professions, the opportunities for both routine and creative mental work at the present stage of



development of our society, the organized participation of scholarly and professional groups in the preparation of decisions on public policy and perspective planning, career opportunities and advancement for young graduates, and so forth.

We trust that at the next World Congress of Sociology we shall be able to give indications of progress in these fields, too.

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## THE INTERDISCIPLINARY CHARACTER OF DEMOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

by

EGON SZABADY

According to our view, demography could be defined as a social science positioned between the natural sciences studying man (human biology, medicine, etc.) and social sciences (economics, sociology, etc.) concerned with the social environment created by man. Demography is engaged in the examination of events in which natural processes (such as birth, reproduction, death, age structure) are transformed into social phenomena (mobility, economic activity, social stratification, delinquent behaviour, etc.) or assume social importance. Social phenomena taking place in social and economic life are founded on the population structure established by demographic processes. In this sense demography should be regarded as a science having an interdisciplinary character.

As demographic phenomena are embedded into natural and social processes, demography cannot be content with purely demographic investigations but must rely on natural and social sciences when dealing with biological and social implications of demographic problems. Human biology, medicine, psychology, economics, law, and last but not least sociology all come into play. That is why a multi-disciplinary approach must be adopted by demography in every deeper study on demographic processes. One cannot overstress the importance of the complex study and interpretation of demographic processes from the point of view of the social science.

The structure of the research carried on by the Demographic Research Institute of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office was established in accordance with the conception we have just developed. Pure demographic research (concerning the structure of the population, fertility, the death rate, population forecasts, etc.) is being complemented by research in bio-demography, economic demography, socio-demography, demographical research on patterns of urban and rural settlement, studies in social psychology, and so forth. The application of mathematical methods, correlations and models plays an increasing part in the analysis of the results. The scientific basis of population policy is provided by the synthesis of all these investigations which are evaluated from the angle of their relevance to the planful direction of social development.

The Institute which is the centre of Hungarian demographic research con-



centrates its activities around the most important questions relating to the population and demographic facts.

Within the framework of the study of fundamental demographic processes (birth and death rate, reproduction and migration) research on the problems of fertility is of outstanding importance since the abnormally low birth rate is one of the burning issues of Hungarian demography: something that demography tries to explain in order to provide insight that may be helpful in overcoming the harmful phenomenon.

The very rapid and remarkable changes taking place in fertility in the past two years and the very low birth rate experienced in the early 1960's necessitated studies of fertility by adopting methods that go beyond the analysis of information contained in conventional vital statistics. Factors influencing fertility have to be discovered with the help of research making maximum use of the sociological approach. This objective was served by a study of fertility and family planning (referred to under the code number TCS-66 in Hungarian literature) carried out in the late 1950's and early 60's. This study showed many features in common with studies of the so-called KAP-type (Knowledge-Attitude-Practice) performed in other countries and the data obtained proved to be suitable for international comparisons.

The TCS-66 study provided a picture of the fertility of married women, their views about the family, and their attitudes and practices relating to family planning and birth control.

A longitudinal (follow-up) examination of engaged (not yet married) couples has been designed to disclose the development of personal ideas of family planning and their implementation by those married in 1966 and subsequent changes taking place in their financial and social position and housing situation. The examination is being repeated every third year.

The Institute also plays a considerable part in clarifying the objectives of population policy, in elaborating its basic principles and in determining the necessary steps for influencing the accomplishment of the objectives and the implementation of the basic principles of population policy. Relying on this work, significant measures were taken in the realm of Hungarian population policy between 1965 and 1967, and also in the year 1973. These measures included (a) the introduction of child care allowance which made it possible for employed mothers to stay at home and look after their children up to the age of three; (b) increased family allowances; (c) the provision of homes for families with many children without having to take their turn on the waiting list for housing; (d) financial support for young married couples wanting to buy a home with the stipulation that the amount of the loan granted to them would not have to be repaid or would have to be repaid only partly if one or two children were born to them within three years; and (e) the expansion of the benefits given to employed mothers at their working place.



In order to promote the execution of the long-term objectives of population policy, the Institute has launched a public opinion research programme relating to questions of population policy. This programme makes use of a combination of demographic, sociological and psychological methods. It endeavours to study the views of employed mothers having small children on their situation at home and at the working place, attitudes towards an increase in the number of children, and opinions on the most recent measures involving demographic policy taken by administrative bodies. The investigation is repeated periodically in order to discover psychological changes and development influencing demographic behaviour.

Ever since the foundation of the Institute, studies of a sociological character, such as the just described study of fertility, played an outstanding role in the Institute's research programme. Sociological considerations prevailed both in respect to the choice of the research topics and with regard to the methods applied. Nevertheless, the specific requirements of demographic analysis were always fulfilled and therefore these studies had essentially the nature of socio-demographic research.

The usefulness of sociological methods in the analysis of demographic processes can be explained by taking into account the following three considerations.

1. By revealing the integral structure of society, sociological research makes it possible to interpret demographic processes within the framework of social stratification and the whole family structure.

2. Major social processes such as industrialization, urbanization, mass employment of women, cultural progress, etc. affect the individual through his immediate social environment, that is his family, his household and his working place. Sociology can offer assistance to any investigation of the ways in which major social processes affect behaviour; it helps to reveal the "transfer mechanism" by which the individual is being reached.

3. Methods of sociology, including those of social psychology are useful for studying subjective aspects of behaviour, especially also individual attitudes to demographic processes.

One of the principal fields of socio-demographic research has been the examination of social mobility and restratification. Great and accelerated social and economic changes took place in Hungary following the Second World War. On the one hand, the country's class structure underwent fundamental changes and, on the other, the overwhelmingly agricultural nation was transformed into one in which industry predominates. Simultaneously with economic development intensive urbanization took place and the standards of education rose at a rapid pace.

The study of social restratification intended to discover trends of intragenerational and intergenerational mobility. The principal trends of the restratification process were found to be as follows: from agriculture towards the working class, and from the working class and the peasantry towards the social groups composed of professional people, white-collar workers and managers. Restrartification was



found to have had a considerable influence on fertility. The increased proportion of those sections of the population which have a lower fertility (non-agricultural workers and professional people) led to a reduction in the birth rate. In addition, as a consequence of certain side effects of restratification, the fertility of the mobile strata was temporarily even lower than that of the stable ones. Another consequence of restratification was that the proportion of the urban population, which has a lower fertility, rose as against that of rural families which is characterized by a larger number of children. All this helped to explain the decline in fertility.

Studies of a socio-demographic nature are being undertaken in order to clarify the characteristics, causes and consequences of individual deviations (alcoholism, suicides and attempted suicides, mental deficiencies, etc.).

Because of implication to social policy and public health, the investigation of alcoholism proved to be of very major significance. It necessitated a thorough and many-sided study of the effects of this addiction. The first investigation tried to disclose the causes behind alcoholism, the social background and the individual characteristics of drinking in terms of age, marital and social status. Related research, which is now in progress, investigates aspects of alcoholism connected with children and heredity. A team composed of a demographer, a psychologist, pediatrician and geneticist, is engaged in exploring the damage done to children by living with one or two alcoholic parents. The investigation of social variables which may be in a causal or consequential relation to alcoholism helps to interpret demographic, medical and psychological findings.

One of the essential objectives of Hungarian population policy is to improve the qualitative composition of the population. This is facilitated by *bio-demographic research* which is founded on the close ties between demography and human biology, two disciplines that focus attention on man and the influence of social and biological factors on human life. The ever widening field of population genetics is giving room for studies on the relationship between biological conditions and demographic processes; it permits to clarify ways in which the collective genetic heritage of the population can be modified by marriage, fertility and mortality as single or as interacting factors.

The examination and analysis of factors determining the biological status of the population assumed particular importance in bio-demographic research. Knowledge of the socio-demographic status and physical development of different significant groups and age cohorts of the population (e.g. infants under one year of age, 18 years old about to do their military service, university and college students, apprentices, etc.) is highly relevant to bio-demographers as it may indicate ways to improve physical and mental condition of the population, and to reduce, or in some cases even to eliminate, inherited or not-inherited pathological inclinations.

The proportion of premature births, which is very high in Hungary compared to other countries, made it necessary to investigate this problem as well. Medical



practitioners, demographers and other specialists taking part in related investigations try to discover the causes of premature births and various factors which may contribute to their numerical increase. They go into an analysis of the inherently complex correlations which seem to prevail among causal and conditioning factors. Results of this research may open up possibilities for the prevention of premature births and this in turn might facilitate improvement of the genetic structure of the population.

The issue of interrelations between economic and demographic development has been a matter of long standing debate between economists and demographers. In recent years, however, it has been generally recognized all over the world that economic policy cannot do without taking demographic relationships into account. It has become quite obvious that changes in the number and composition of the population have certain definite economic implications.

In the course of working out the economic policy of the country special attention has to be paid to demographic conditions. Research in economic demography is designed to explore the multifarious interdependencies between economic and demographic processes. In outlining the conditions of economic growth, it is of fundamental importance to explore the concrete relationship between economic and demographic development and to make plans for the future on the basis of the information thus obtained. For this purpose population forecasts had to be developed and coordinated with methods and results of economic planning.

Forecasting expected changes in the number and composition of the country's population is of paramount importance for both demographic research and national planning authorities. In Hungary this resulted in the establishment of close ties between the Demographic Research Institute and authorities applying the results of research made available to them.

Due to unfavourable changes that have taken place in recent years in the age distribution of the Hungarian population, research on the "economic age pyramid" has become very important. The analysis of economic age pyramids permits to find out how the surplus produced by people of the productive age cohorts, that is, the amount of produced goods which they do not consume themselves, gets distributed between the old and young dependants. It is also possible to calculate changes that can be brought about in the proportions of production and consumption merely by changes in the age distribution of the population, supposing that the typical productivity and consumption of people belonging to specific age cohorts remains unchanged and no new social or technological factors intervene. By taking into account the costs of supporting children and the old, it is also possible to determine the age distribution of the population which would minimize the burdens to be carried by those of productive age. Research findings indicate that the minimum burden of supporting the young and old arises in the case of an age distribution established by birth and death rates giving net reproduction coefficient slightly higher than one.



Demographic research which has well-established traditions in Hungary and has been carried out for quite some time at the Hungarian Central Statistical Office and its Demographic Research Institute, gives ample proof of the fact that demographic processes, being complex natural and social phenomena, can be studied successfully only on a multi-disciplinary basis, that is in cooperation between the natural and social sciences. It becomes ever more obvious in this field that the sciences develop nowadays not only in the direction of further specialization but also of integration. It is also quite clear that the multi-faceted natural and social relationships involved in population processes can only be satisfactorily revealed by an analysis that is able to keep track of most complex correlations.

With regard to a detailed description of the organization of the Demographic Research Institute and the bibliography of its publications, we may refer the reader to the report on the activities of the Institute included in a later part of this volume.

## II. POPULATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE





## STUDIES ON SOCIAL MOBILITY

by

RUDOLF ANDORKA

Hungary has ample sources of information for research on social mobility. Around 1963, the Demographical Research Institute of the Central Statistical Office carried out a detailed survey of mobility on a national representative sample. A full record was established of the educational, occupational, migrational and marriage data of all persons included in the sample, of the date of birth of their children, of the occupational characteristics of their parents, spouses, spouses' parents and also of their own children (*Klinger, Szabady, 1965; Szabady, 1965; Szabady, 1966; Andorka, 1970; Szabady, 1971; Szabady, 1973; Andorka, 1971*).

Prior to this, around 1930, the Budapest Statistical Office asked men about the occupation of their father as part of a social stratification analysis. The same question appeared in questionnaires of the 1930 and 1949 censuses. Although these earlier instances of data collection could not make use of the methods of today nor did their terminology correspond to ours, one can safely reconstruct the processes of social mobility in those decades. These sources of information together with retrospective data obtained from the 1963 survey of occupational history, make it possible to compare mobility conditions in the period between the two World Wars with those immediately after the War and in the early 1960s. (We may also mention that a fairly recent historical publication shed light on the mobility of the Hungarian medieval ruling elite on the basis of various genealogies (*Fügedi, 1970*).

The comparative figures used in this present study are tabulated by *Andorka, 1972* and *Harcza, 1974*. What follows is a comparative description of the intergenerational mobility of people.

The three periods mentioned above substantially differ.

1. The period between the two World Wars had a very low growth rate in national income (1.5 to 2.0% a year), and a stagnating feudal-capitalist social system. The following data give an insight into the occupational and social composition of all active wage and salary earners (men and women) in 1930: professional and clerical 9%, self-employed tradesmen and shopkeepers 9%, industrial workers 27%, small-holders 33%, agricultural labourers (farm hands) 21%, others 2%. (The figures relate to 1938; however there was no significant change in this respect between 1930 and 1938.)

2. After a brief war-time industrial boom, the country had to suffer all the ravages of armed hostilities. By 1949, when the census was held which provides data on mobility, the economy had barely regained the level of the crisis ridden pre-war times. The land reform after the Liberation of the country in 1945 gave small holdings to the great majority of landless agricultural labourers. New democratic trends followed in the wake of the political changes, and by 1949 the first characteristics of a socialist society became apparent in Hungary. All this contributed to the removal of obstacles in the way of mobility. The following was the social composition of active wage and salary earners in 1949: professional and clerical 10%, self-employed tradesmen and shopkeepers 7%, industrial workers 38%, small-holders 47%, agricultural labourers (in state-owned farms) 7%, others 1%.

3. Two major changes had taken place by 1963, the year of the microcensus and the social mobility survey: socialist industrialization, which put an end to agricultural underemployment and attracted large masses into various industries, and the socialist transformation of agriculture, which collected small-holders within agricultural cooperatives. The annual growth rate of national incomes was high, 5–6%, and significant steps were being taken along the road to socialism. These changes are also reflected in the following figures, relating to the occupational and social structure in 1963: professional and clerical 19%, self-employed tradesmen and shopkeepers 2%, industrial workers 48%, agricultural labourers and agricultural cooperative members 29%, small-holders 2%.

When comparing social mobility in these three periods the following occupational-social categories must be distinguished: 1. professional and managerial, 2. other clerical, 3. skilled workers outside of agriculture, 4. semi-skilled workers outside of agriculture, 5. unskilled workers outside of agriculture, 6. agricultural labourers, 7. self-employed tradesmen, shopkeepers and members of trade cooperatives, 8. messengers and other auxiliary staff, 9. day labourers and odd-job men.

44% of the population in the sample were intergenerationally mobile in 1938, 47% in 1949 and 59% in 1963. Mobility, as can be seen, increased considerably, especially in the period 1949 to 1963.

The structural forces determining the main trends in social mobility were similar in all three periods. There was an increase in the number of workers outside of agricultural, in clerical employment and in the number of population belonging of particular professions. There was, on the other hand, a decline in the number of self-employed tradesmen and shopkeepers and agricultural labourers. According to the 1963 survey, the mobility produced by these structural forces was far more extensive in the third period than in the earlier ones. There was a radical, and vitally important, growth in the number of manual workers who moved away from agriculture, this made it possible to put an end to unemployment, and underemployment in agriculture, inherited from the pre-Liberation period.

The years following the Liberation and the initial period of socialist industrialization witnessed changes never to be found between the two World Wars, changes



that can also be interpreted as kinds of mobility. After the land reform the field hands who had worked the large estates, disappeared and the number of small-holders dwindled to insignificance in consequence of the socialist transformation of agriculture. Last but not least, the distribution of large estates and the nationalization of industrial and other enterprises swept away the pre-Liberation ruling classes, those of the great landowners and of the capitalists.

Whereas structural mobility increased significantly, cyclical mobility appears to have decreased between 1938 and 1963. The latter phenomenon, just as increasing structural mobility, can in the first place be explained by economic growth and changes in the occupational structure. The analysis of individual mobility allows one to draw the conclusion that even though there were cases of downward mobility main trends in mobility, these were in most cases followed by a move back to the original occupational and social group, as the acute demand for expertise generated by economic growth allowed everyone to find employment corresponding to, and never falling short of, his level of training and education. This indirectly affected cyclical mobility as well.

On the other hand, a historical analysis of data concerning social mobility in Hungary refuses the hypothesis frequently argued in the literature on the subject, namely that a large cyclical mobility suggests that chances of mobility are equal for all. While cyclical mobility somewhat declined from 1938 to 1963, there was a clearly perceptible tendency towards levelling mobility chances for different social groups, as is shown in the following table of relative chances of moving in amongst the professions (that of a member of the peasantry = 1).

*Social origin*

(father's social position)	1938	1949	1963
Agricultural labourers	1.0	1.0	1.0
Unskilled workers	0.6	1.9	2.3
Semi-skilled workers	2.2	2.7	2.0
Skilled workers	2.9	3.3	4.0
Clerical	24.6	19.6	10.6
Professional	60.3	34.3	20.9

Thus, between two World Wars someone with a father in the profession stood a 60 times better chance of entering the professions himself than the son of peasant parents, and a 21 times better chance than someone whose father was a skilled worker. By 1963 these figures had dropped to 21 and 5 respectively.

When analysing the mobility conditions of occupational and social groups treated separately, one finds a steady growth in social mobility and also a marked levelling tendency in chances of mobility. The proportion of professional people of working class in peasant origin has considerably increased though, contrary to expectations, there was also a slight growth in the proportion of children of



professional people who maintained the status of their parents. It is to be noted that there was no significant difference between managerial professionals and other professionals regarding their rates of mobility, except that council chairmen and agricultural cooperative chairmen showed an exceptionally high number of people of peasant origin in their ranks, when compared with the professions as such. A special survey (*Laky*, 1970) of village council executives indicated that, in spite of frequent changes in employment and location, they generally maintain their position somewhere in the administration of villages or rural management.

Others in clerical employment include an even greater number of working class of peasant origin than professional people do and many with roots in that section of society have become members of the professions.

About half the working class, i.e. 41% of skilled workers, 61% of semi-skilled workers and 68% of unskilled workers have a peasant family background, moreover, a considerable part of the latter group, 45% of semi-skilled and 58% of unskilled workers, were first employed in agriculture. Unskilled and semi-skilled industrial employment has absorbed great numbers from the peasantry, some of whom are employed in skilled jobs, though mainly in such as require more strength than skill. (*Kemény, Kozák*, 1971.) 36% and 32% of those who grew up as members of the families of semi-skilled or unskilled workers have become skilled workers, and almost a third of the sons of skilled workers are now in some sort of clerical employment, 11% of them being members of the professions.

Half the peasantry have moved away from their own sector of society. The rate of mobility was higher amongst the sons of agricultural labourers than amongst those of small-holders. The latter, in those cases where they did leave the village, generally acquired a somewhat better social position than the former, most of whom are semi-skilled or unskilled workers.

The 1963 survey also served as a basis for an analysis of the social mobility of women. (*Kulesár*, 1974.) Though the main trends correspond to those amongst men, there is a significant difference in that women moved to and now decidedly dominate types of employment demanding less training.

The same survey provided information for an analysis aimed at discovering the relationship between social mobility and place of work and residence. Village-born people are handicapped in social mobility by comparison with those born in towns, Budapest in particular, even if they come from the same sector of society (*Rupp*, 1973).

All these analyses point to the recisive and growing influence of qualifications and level of schooling on mobility. The social position of parents makes itself felt mainly in the effect it has on education and the acquisition of qualifications. Hungarian sociologists have therefore always paid special attention to the sociology of schools. Such research is also of great help in the analysis of mobility. "Outside conditions make it possible for socialist schools to perform their functions of levelling cultural inequalities between different sectors of society, those within the

school have however not yet taken shape." (*Ferge*, 1972.) Consequently, "the child's school career is basically determined by the position the parents occupy in production, i.e. the occupational group they belong to" (*Gazzó*, 1971.), what is more, "the educational system functions to a growing extent as an instrument transmitting educational advantages to the rising generation, thus contributing to the autoreproduction of the professional class." (*Gazzó*, 1972.) This cannot even be counter-balanced by the fact that, according to a time-budget analysis of pupils, the children of manual workers spend almost an hour more every day on their homework than others. (*Gazzó, Pataki, Várhegyi*, 1971.) The differences between children with different social backgrounds are obvious at a general school level and even in the level of articulateness they show when first starting school. (*Pap, Pléh*, 1972.)

Surveys in the sociology of schools (*H. Sas*, 1973.) have shown that there are also contradictions between the careers of young people as envisaged by the parents or themselves and the actual demand for labour and skills; great numbers wish to continue with higher education and enter the professions, and only few wish to do unskilled work let alone in agriculture.

These results also underline the fact that it appears advisable in future surveys to treat social mobility in its wider social interrelations, taking account of relative incomes and, in general, the desirability and prestige of different social and occupational groups. Apart from a detailed study of national income distribution (*Éltető*, et al., 1969), there has been so such analysis since the 1963 social stratification survey carried out by the Central Statistical Office (*Ferge*, 1969).

There are efforts to perfect methods of analysis. The well-known difficulties arising from the use of association indices have resulted in attempts at the application of path-analysis (*Surányi, Vita*, 1973).

There is a steadily growing interest in social mobility, and it is frequently discussed whether its scale can be expected to remain on the level it has maintained over the past 25 years or will necessarily diminish. What future trends in mobility are desirable? According to a forecast hypothesis (*Andorka, Miltényi*, 1972), the stabilization of the present rate of "outflowing" mobility in the decades to come is not unlikely. The 1968 microcensus registered no changes in intragenerational mobility in recent years. The ultimate answer, however, will only be provided by the analysis of the data of the 1973 national representative sample survey.

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### III. POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY





## LAW AND GOVERNMENT

by

KÁLMÁN KULCSÁR

Roscoe Pound, the great figure in the sociology of law, already reckoned a classic today, argued, in one of his papers written as early as 1917 that problems connected with the efficacy of legal norms arose mainly when legislation showed itself too ambitious, that is when it wanted to assume responsibility for social control as a whole, that is when legal regulation tried to cover just about every aspect of life. Carrying on this train of thought one could say that the extension of the scope of legal regulation indeed directs attention not only to the functioning of law, but owing to the mechanism of this functioning, to other connections between law and society as well. It does so by attempting to deal with various social problems calling for legislation and by changing the meaning and substance of law while transforming it into an instrument for the guidance of society.

This is the main reason why Marxist sociology of the law arose relatively early in Hungary, as in the majority of the socialist societies. In addition, it must be said that the basic tenets of the sociology of law as they appeared in Marx's works, already laid the theoretical foundations for an approach to law from the angle of sociology. This is true although normative legal thinking which prevailed at a certain stage in the development of Marxist jurisprudence temporarily neglected to draw the necessary conclusions.

After the victory of their socialist revolutions, the policy of the socialist countries which was aimed at the transformation of society and the construction of a new type of society inevitably covered all areas of social life. It penetrated also the great majority of existing human relationships and undertook the conscious direction of society to an extent unparalleled in history. This policy, like any other ruling governmental policy, naturally avails itself of the instruments of legislation. Thus legal regulation covers all the domains and relationships which governmental policy has drawn into its radius of action.

Pound noticed also that the extension of regulation by legislation was accompanied by the proliferation of administrative organisations. Increased organization, however, the drawing of the most varied forms of human activity into an organisational framework, is in any case a consequence of modern living conditions. What is involved, is not only a growth in the number of statutes, but also a change regarding those to whom they apply. For example, in Hungary, in



1953, 98 per cent of laws, decrees and instructions on a ministerial or higher level, were addressed directly to some *organization*, and even part of the balance affected organizations as well as individuals. The quantitative growth of legal regulation and the transformation of its nature are already in themselves facts which are apt to give rise to problems in the relationship between society and the law, we may state this here without entering a detailed discussion of all those semi-political and semi-legislative errors, and of the mistakes committed in the course of the application of the law, which arose owing to many different factors. In the course of evaluating these phenomena, many relevant questions were already clearly formulated, such as, e.g., for what objectives of social policy and in what way law could be used for directing and transforming society; what were the attributes of statutes as instruments, what social factors played a role in the process of law-making and of the realization of law etc.

It was the formulation of these questions that initiated research in the Marxist sociology of law in the socialist countries at the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties, in close connection with the evaluation of social practice and the role of law within it (*Kulcsár*, 1968).

## I.

In the initial period of the Marxist sociology of law in Hungary, work was largely concentrated on questions concerning theory, including an analysis and evaluation of bourgeois sociology of law. Since it is not only the progress of society and of law that determine the development of the sociology of law but changes in the overall situation of sociology in its theories, methods etc. play an important role too, the general evolution of Marxist sociology in Hungary had a great influence on the course of studies in the sociology of law. Consequently, empirically based research in the sociology of law started in Hungary only in the mid-sixties in the wake of investigations of a statistical nature (*Kulcsár*, 1961) that complemented exclusively theoretical concerns (*Kulcsár*, 1960).

This empirically based research developed in three principal directions: 1. the sociology of crime, 2. the knowledge of law and the consciousness of law in society, 3. sociological problems in the implementation of law.

1. In essence, the start of research into the sociology of crime was connected with the social problem indicated above, i.e. the suitability of penal clauses for dealing with social problems, such as certain types of deviant behaviour. Due to the application of instruments of penal law in the policy of transforming society, studies of the actual legal development threw much light on the connection between criminal deviation and legal regulation. Special emphasis was given, therefore, to the question as to what social factors played a role in bringing about behaviour that broke the law and what relevant "continuously effective" factors of this kind remained at work in Hungarian society despite all changes in the world

structure. It was only after the identification of these factors that it became possible to examine how certain statutes themselves affected deviation. The first studies were designed to outline the effect of demographic factors (*Kulcsár, 1959*). Subsequently also certain more special problems could be approached.

Juvenile delinquency ought to be mentioned in the first place. Hungarian crime statistics show, that there is in the long run a declining of crime. However, within the declining number of crimes the share of offences committed by juveniles has been increasing (*A. Szabó, 1972/b*). Research designed to elucidate this problem has been carried out. Some studies dealt with juvenile offences committed in the company of others, with the rise of "gangs" and their influence on the delinquency of their members (*J. Molnár, 1971*). Other studies investigated the efficiency of educational work in corrective institutions of informal group relations in such institutions.

Special attention should be drawn to a research on the relationships between socio-economic development and juvenile delinquency which was carried out in international cooperation. It is well known, that Western research on the sociology of crime registered an increase in crime – and especially in juvenile delinquency – as a side-effect of socio-economic progress. On the other hand, socialist literature expects such progress to lead to a reduction in crime – true, mainly for theoretical reasons, which attribute the general decrease of the crime rate reflected in statistical data of socialist countries to socio-economic progress without subjecting this relationship to close analysis. The project compared the indices of crime in various regions standing on different levels of development. The mathematical analysis of the data showed that the correlation between the two phenomena was not a simple one. It was a close one mainly in respect to crimes against property and more generally in respect to crimes committed in the area of the financial aspects of living conditions. The investigation discovered that the influence of economically conditioned population mobility on ways of life affected the delinquency of the younger age groups through the mediation of certain specific subcultures. These subcultures developed within certain regions of Hungary under the impact of the combination of traditional and new living conditions (*A. Szabó 1972/a*).

Other research on problems of the sociology of crime produced some notable results but they were not of equal importance to those reached in the study of juvenile delinquency, particularly the last-mentioned project, they did not give rise to generalizations of similar weight and level. The investigation of correlations between socio-economic progress and crime may serve as a model for further research on the sociology of crime, not only with regard for the level of abstraction reached but also concerning the methods of analysis applied.

2. Hungarian studies on the knowledge and consciousness of law in society are part of more general conceptions of research that intend to throw light on phenomenon which play a role in the process of the social realisation of legislation. It is clear that the attitude of "obeying the law" amounts to a considerable extent



only to an apparent obedience. What really happens in many respects is that people develop an attitude of conforming to the law instead of consciously obeying it. The first condition of *consciously* obeying the law is obviously a knowledge of the legislation in directing and controlling society is definitely on the increase and the growing amount of legal regulation increasingly affects relationships beyond the "ethical sphere" that is generally closer to older legislation, this new statutory material of an in many respects almost technical nature increasingly demands a knowledge of precisely what is prescribed or prohibited. Research designed to discover the nature of knowledge of legislation (*Kulcsár, 1967*) and the factors influencing this knowledge (*Kulcsár, 1973/a*) may therefore only be considered as a starting point. This research was followed by a number of minor studies and – relying partly also on the achieved results – theoretical work was initiated not only concerning the knowledge of law but also the consciousness of law, the connection between the consciousness of law and obedience to it. (*I. Szabó, 1964; 1971*). It seems that in the wake of theoretical studies connected with the first pieces of empirical research additional empirical investigations are becoming necessary, this time already in order to explore further factors influencing the developments of behaviour in conformity with the law (*A. Sajó, 1973*).

3. Analytical, historical and empirical studies concerned with sociological problems in the application of the law are essentially connected with the process of implementing legislation. Within this framework the historical and functional problems in the application of legislation have been approached with special respect to the evolution of the manifest and latent functional consequences of such implementation (*Kulcsár, 1970*). Here some possible effects of latent functions have been brought to light and – mainly through an analysis of court decisions – and an approach has been found to those factors which form the socio-historical situation of law-implementing decisions and affect court decision in various formal and informal ways (*Kulcsár, 1970*).

A few factors so explored have also been empirically investigated on the basis of this analytical and historical work and of the study of court decisions. This further development was made possible by research into the role of lay participation in the administration of justice (*Kulcsár, 1971*). Although this piece of research was designed in the first place to clarify the social-organisational and group factors conditioning the behaviour of lay judges in decision-making, it interpreted the empirical data also in historical and theoretical dimensions establishing comparisons with data of similar American, Polish and Austrian investigations. Thus more general conclusions were reached with regard to the socio-political connections of organisational decision-making (*Kulcsár, 1972*).

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Based on this evaluation of completed studies two main trends may be observed in current research which go beyond the tendencies already mentioned:

a) A growing importance is being attributed to social factors connected with the effectiveness of legislation, including its differential functional consequences. (Recently, for example, an analytic study has been published about the effectiveness of the legal instruments of population policy (*Kulcsár, 1974*).

b) The importance of organisations and organisational factors in legislation and in the effective application of law is getting more and more recognized.

## II.

Following its own logic, research into the sociology of law has led to those organizations which participate in the drafting or the implementation of legislation. The results of work dealing with lay participation in the courts can already be considered to be at least as much part of the sociology of organization (*Kulcsár, 1971*) as of the sociology of law. In many respects, attention is drawn to administrative organizations (*Szentpéteri, 1974*). This is partly the result of studies on the sociology of organizations involved in the application of law. In the course of studying the decision-making process of administrative organizations (*Nagy, 1972*) and the importance of discretion in the decision of judicial and administrative organizations (*Kulcsár, 1974*), it became clear that the decision-making activity of the administrative organizations was just as much an implementation of the law as judicial decisions are. (No difference between the two can be established on the basis of the political element either.) So far only a few research studies have been completed concerning decisions by administrative organizations. Even these may be regarded mostly as experimental, such as, for instance, recent studies concerning the relationship that exists between the local bodies of self-government "councils" and their executive-administrative organs with regard to administrative decision-making, or the division of functions between the district administrative organizations and the district party committees (*Kolosi-Szabó, 1973*), or the intra-generation mobility of executives in local self-government (*Laky, 1970*), etc.

A more extensive sociological investigation of public administration can be expected in the immediate future. A long-term fifteen year programme is under way in Hungary covering a complex scientific approach to public administration. Within this programme sociological research has been assigned an important role. At this time, however, only the theoretical foundations of this work can be reported (*Szentpéteri, 1974; 1971*), as well as work in political sociology which is designed to clarify fundamental questions in the relationship between the organizational structure of public administration and society (*Kulcsár, 1974*). This research is essentially of a theoretical nature, it relies, however, in certain respects on empirical findings is founded in its entirety on historical analyses, it sets out from the social conditions of the political system and from the relationship between social processes and their political element. It seeks ultimately an answer to the question what processes and phenomena require administrative intervention. (According to



the initial hypothesis, primarily those require it which go beyond the traditional limits and in which the political element occurs in such form that, without an administrative intervention, it may give rise to political tensions (*Kulcsár, 1973/b*). Further important questions involved are the elucidation of relevant factors in the relationship between the administrative organizational system and its social environment, the sociological problems arising out of the character of administration as an instrument in the conscious education and guidance of society. The programme also foresees research on the general sociology of organizations but with a special eye on administrative organizations as it seeks to explore how well-known organizational phenomena develop in the context of an administrative organization.

From this brief presentation of research trends it is clear that, in Hungary, research on the sociology of law and on the sociology of administrative organizations continues to develop as an organic whole, complemented by certain studies of political sociology. But this research in political sociology is mostly still at a theoretical stage. It is directed primarily at the elaboration of the conceptual framework (the concepts of the political system (*Kulcsár, 1974*), of political behaviour (*L. Molnár, 1972, etc.*) by the help of which the political facts of socialist society, the question of political activity (*Kulcsár, 1974; Molnár–Nemes–Szalai, 1970*), the relationship between political organizations and society (*Erdei, 1967; Kulcsár, 1974; Szentpéteri, 1968.*) etc. could better and more concretely understood.

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## MASS COMMUNICATION AND PUBLIC OPINION

by

TAMÁS SZECSKÓ

The institutionalization of research on mass communication in Hungary was fundamentally influenced by the conditions of the period in which it started and the level of development attained by Hungarian social science in the late 1960's including such factors as:

- the rapid development of Marxist social theory and the incorporation of the results of a growing number of empirical sociological studies into this theory;
- publication of the first sound results of empirical sociological research, mainly on social structure and mobility, and their assimilation in other branches of social science;
- the reappearance of social psychology which was regrettably pushed into the background for a long period, the launching of the first research programmes in this field and the experimental application of some new theories of communication in psychotherapy;
- a long tradition of European distinction in historical linguistics which is now beginning to integrate the latest advancements in structural and generative linguistics, although initial steps have not yet been taken in related empirical sociological fields such as socio-linguistics and psycho-linguistics;
- the modernization of literary studies, the intensified application of quantitative content analysis methods to literary works, and the enrichment of the study of works of art by analyses of artistic communication and by the exploration of the possibilities of a semiotical approach;
- the introduction of concepts and methods of cybernetics, information theory, mathematical game theory and general systems theory into various branches of sociology.

Apart from giving an immediate impetus to communication research, the above-mentioned factors exercise also a long-range effect on the development of research on this field. It was under their influence that the overwhelming part of communication research became *macro-orientated* and, as a result, has so far managed to avoid the pitfalls of the formalism of micro-studies that are so common in empirical sociological research. This macro-orientation is reinforced by the comprehensive character of Marxist social theory which serves on the basis of Hungarian communication research. Thanks to the same factors, communication

research was established in Hungary from the very beginning as a truly *interdisciplinary* subject. There are in this country philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, linguists and literary and music critics engaged in the study of one or another aspect of social communication but the typical communication researcher so well-known on the international scene, the person whose professional specialization is communication "as such" (as an abstract generality), does not exist here. (*Angelusz-Rozgonyi*, 1971; *Buda*, 1971; *Hoppál*, 1970; *Terestyéni*, 1971; *Varga*, 1968).

Three fundamental tendencies have been characteristic of communication research in Hungary (including political communication research) over the past few years. One is that research has been concentrated on communication of the "everyday commonplace"-type; secondly, it has followed a pronounced *systems-based outlook* and thirdly, attempts have been made to employ definite *historical aspects* in research, partly in order to counter-balance the synchronic nature of the *systems-based-outlook*.

The concept of the "everyday commonplace" was borrowed from social theory, above all from the works of György Lukács, to enrich communication research. It is a paradoxical influence of György Lukács' study of aesthetics (at least from the limited perspective of the present) that his sketchy treatment of commonplaces and of what is termed as "non-aesthetic" seems to have inspired social science research much more than his highly elaborate and detailed analysis of genuinely aesthetic properties. Several works have recently been published by philosophers, aestheticians and sociologists which consider forms which reflect everyday life and which either in an implicit or explicit manner treat the phenomena of everyday (not artistic or scientific) communication. (*Language and Communications*, 1969; *Szecső*, 1971). It is beyond the scope of the present paper to give a detailed explanation of these concepts, so we shall simply indicate that, on the basis of Lukács's thoughts, everyday communication can be characterized by a *much looser and less consistent system of realization* and it is of a much more volatile nature than either aesthetic or scientific communication. A major part of the acts and processes of *interpersonal communication* can be ranked into this category and most authors tend to classify *mass communication, public opinion, fads and rumors* in this group.

Using everyday communication as a starting point, it is convenient to establish a uniform frame for two of its very essential macro-elements, public opinion and mass communication. (*Public Opinion and Mass Communication*, 1972; *Szecső*, 1966). Partly on this theoretical foundation and in part because similar results have been achieved on the basis of other premises, a concept of public opinion is emerging in Hungarian research and also in the workshops of other socialist countries that public opinion can be regarded as the *dynamic result of communication processes*, and, consequently – in contrast to the traditional schools on public opinion – it is not interested primarily in the final result of



public opinion research in "collective judgement", but in the dynamic process by which this result is established and in the historical political, social and psychological determinants and conditioning factors of this process. (*Angelusz*, 1972; *Kulcsár*, 1962).

It must be added that the development of this point of view was largely promoted by *organizational conditions* under which public opinion research in Hungary and in some of the other socialist countries came to be institutionalized. Research on public opinion began in institutes – e.g. that of the Hungarian Radio and Television – where mass communication research is part of their professional job. This means that experts in these institutes were oriented by their profession to thinking in terms of social communication; they quickly realized that mass communication phenomena could not be interpreted when taken out of the context of the entire system of social communication, an attitude which inevitably led to an *integrated, systems* approach to mass communication and public opinion.

This systems-based approach will hopefully offer definite advantages both in theory and practice. It will facilitate the establishment of *operational links* between various phenomena in the development of public opinion and in the work and effects of mass communication within the uniform frame of the communication system and between various other spheres of social life, i.e. the whole system of social relations. Furthermore, it will bridge the methodological gap between the *cultural* and the *political* aspects of mass communication, and it will also contribute to the formation of an uniform outlook on the *political* and *non-political* (moral and aesthetic) aspects of public opinion. Lastly, it will direct the attention of researchers not only to the influence of mass communication on public opinion but to that of public opinion in mass communication as well, interpreting this *interaction* in the context of a complex system of social institutions. (*Bácskai*: 1973; *Szekfü*: 1973; *Jakab*: 1970). Thirdly, it is characteristic of mass communication and public opinion research in Hungary that a *historical* approach is consistently emphasised. These efforts are all the more noteworthy as they are made in fields of study – whether mass communication or public opinion – from where the spirit of history has been almost completely eliminated by current internationally accepted methodologies. However, the insistence of Hungarian communication researchers on the historical approach is not surprising as the phenomena under analysis are those of a society, which, on the one hand, has undergone revolutionary changes over the past quarter of a century – accelerated changes which are more readily accessible to empirical investigation – and which on the other hand, is in a state of transition, allowing elements of the past and the future to coexist in it. Considering the teleological system of norms and values in this society, the evaluation of social facts inevitably carries with it the spirit of history even in everyday life.

This historical overtone does not simply mean that historical studies are being carried out in the framework of mass communication and public opinion research;



it means that analyses are conducted to find out the role of atavistic *historical "fossils"* (age-long stereotypes and prejudices) in the basic structure of public opinion. Thus, an effort is being made in order to shed light on the *historical* elements of mass communication and to determine to what degree the communication system of our society bears the marks of both the past and the future in its function and structure. (*Információtól a közéletig*, 1973; Szecskő: 1972, 1973; Varga: 1973).

We need something more than a scholarly historical background and an indication of the main trends in research if we wish to gain a picture of current communication research in Hungary, mass communication and public opinion research in particular. Mention should also be made of the *social demands* in response to which these research activities were begun.

Since the mid-1960's when Hungarian communication research began to gain impetus, our domestic policies and public life have been characterized by two principal processes. One is the so-called "New Economic Management", the preparation, realization and development of a large-scale *economic reform*, the other is referred to both in colloquial usage and political science as "development in social democratism". Both processes influence basic social relations by giving a much freer hand to, and putting much greater decision-making responsibilities on various social and economic organs in comparison with the over-centralized political and economic system of the 1950's. At the same time, more and more emphasis has been given to *social-planning* in its complex and long-range forms, as a concomitant of increased social consciousness. This has naturally resulted in rapidly growing *demands for information* on the part of state and political administrations, and these demands have also undergone a structural change, namely that information on *social consciousness* is almost on a par with that on issues of a material nature. Therefore, it is not without reason that the party and state administration has increasingly encouraged public opinion research since the end of the sixties, that there has been more and more demand for its results and findings, and that interest in mass communication research is no longer restricted to leaders and top personnel of mass media. The results of these research activities are fed back into national information services and educational policies as well.

The social changes mentioned also influence the *organization* of social science research. Political bodies turn to social science ever more frequently for assistance in preparing decisions and following up on their effects. It is partly due to such demands and partly to the above-mentioned progress in social planning that a nationwide system of *short- and long-range planning* of scientific research has evolved, which has had a direct and positive impact on communication research as well. During the period 1971-1974, the state lent its special support to 17 scientific studies on social questions which were of primary importance concerning the actual construction of society; two of these were directly related to mass communication, the one being an analysis of the efficiency of mass communication



as a system, the other, an inquiry into changes in the cultural and passtime patterns of the population following an increase in the amount of free time and the massive spread of television.

Among the long-range social research plans one concerns research on both mass communication and public opinion. This is a study of change that have taken place in social consciousness over the past twenty-five years. The basic institution of public opinion research in Hungary is the Mass Communication Research Centre of the Hungarian Radio and Television. Mass communication research is also mostly carried on here, though significant topical or personal contributions are made in a number of cases by the Sociology, Psychology and Linguistic Institutes of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the sociology department of the Eötvös Loránd University and of the Political Academy and the Scientific Commission of the National Association of Hungarian Journalists.

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#### IV. URBANIZATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION





## SOCIOLOGICAL TRENDS IN URBAN AND REGIONAL STUDIES

by

PÁL GRANASZTÓI

In order to outline recent developments in the interrelations between sociology and urban and regional studies in Hungary, a brief survey of both disciplines during the 1960's is necessary.

Urban and regional studies, that is studies of all the various forms of human settlements (cities, towns, villages, farmsteads, etc.) were subsumed earlier under the general heading of "planning". However, this field of study has gradually developed into a generally recognized, independent discipline. Nevertheless, it preserved to a considerable extent its original orientation on housing and construction since it was right from the beginning of governmental and communal administration concerned with building affairs.

This orientation is reflected also nowadays in the institutions, personnel and professional affiliations of urban and regional studies. A special Department of the Technical University of Budapest takes care of training. On the level of governmental administration urban and regional studies come under the Ministry of Construction and Urban Development which is also responsible for the research institutes concerned with this topic, primarily the Institute for Community Planning and Research, in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences where a special Committee is concerned with it.

So far the greater part of specialists in the field of urban and regional studies in Hungary have been architects and engineers. However, important contributions were made by urban sociologists and social researchers studying conditions in villages and agricultural settlements of various kind. Still, in contrast to the continuity of the mainstream of urban and regional studies, sociological investigations came to a new life and got institutionally established only in the early sixties.

Nevertheless, signs of mutual influence and desire for cooperation emerged at an early stage between the two groups of experts. The recently deceased Ferenc Erdei, an outstanding agrarian and sociologists who became Secretary-General of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was one of the key personalities initiating cooperative efforts of sociologists and representatives of urban and regional studies. In the sixties this rapprochement continued and was intensified. The following examples attest to the wide-spread interest: a conference with many references to



urban and regional studies, organized by the review *Társadalmi Szemle* on the strength of a discussion paper by Kálmán Kulcsár (*Kulcsár, 1964*); a discussion in the literary review "Kortárs" entitled "For Whom Do We Build?" (*Sipos, 1960*); an initiative launched by the National Board for Technical Development relating to the interrelations of social demands and building policies (*Granasztói, 1965*); an inquiry of the Urban Development Committee of the Academy of Sciences into topics common to community studies and sociology, and finally, a conference, organized jointly by this committee with the Hungarian Society for Urban Affairs (1966), centred around the problems arising from changing life styles and planned urban development, with special regard to community planning. In recent years various community planning institutions gave commissions to sociologists to conduct research relating to housing problems and residential areas. A number of recent publications by both architects and sociologists – at time jointly – likewise indicate the increasing cooperation inter-relations of the last decade. (*Szelényi-Vidor, 1964; Bakai, 1965; Rendes, 1965*).

These activities led up to the present development of scholarly work which produced significant achievements and indicated also the need for clarifying borderline questions.

One of the most important borderline questions in need of clarification seems to be the following: Where do urban and regional studies belong as a discipline? Do they form part of the technological or of the social sciences? This question is still very controversial. Certain authorities maintain the traditionalist viewpoint that such studies belong into the realm of the technical sciences and should be subsumed under residential planning even if they go nowadays far beyond the range of traditional investigations undertaken in the interest of this kind of architectural planning. Others take the position that urban and regional studies form part of communal or urban sociology and therefore assign it to the realm of social sciences. However, while it is true that urban development in the widest sense comes under the heading of urban and regional studies, yet the latter encompass a number of other disciplines, such as the history of communal development, communal geography, communal hygiene, and, among others, communal and urban sociology proper.

The author's view on this controversial problem is that as long as the implementation, management and training of urban and regional studies are mostly carried out within the framework of institutions concerned with housing construction and urban development and the same institutions provide also a framework for scholarly research in which sociologists and sociological institutions can and should be included, there is no reason to engage in a major controversy on questions of science organization and the classification of disciplines. Urban and regional studies should be pursued to a greater extent as an interdisciplinary science (*Granasztói, 1973*).

A considerable advance in the question of classification is due to the fact that architects and technologists are becoming increasingly aware of the limits of their competency, and of the need to avail themselves of the skills of sociologist and even psychologists in clarifying objectives, requirements and effects of their work. The 1972 Conference of Urban Sociology in Komló represented a remarkable initiative in this respect, as well as a meeting organized in the same year by the Department of Philosophy and Historical Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences which set the aim of activating the research related to the social demands of urbanization. In the opening speech of this meeting, the problems of the architect were exposed to leading representatives of social sciences who then took a very active part in the discussion.

Another significant step was the launching of an investigation on changing public demands in respect to housing construction. This project is being carried out under the aegis of National Board for Technical Development and is now nearing completion.

These and other developments, among them a number of studies undertaken by the Institute for Community Planning and Research and the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, permit the conclusion that a rapprochement and a cooperation has been achieved between scholars and researchers working in the technical and the social sciences, irrespective of the category to which their discipline belongs.

Recent research and publications give evidence to the fact that sociological methods have increasingly penetrated urban and regional studies and that the awareness of the need for a more sociologically-oriented approach is steadily growing in the field. As mentioned above, the need for sociological orientation first became evident in the complex problems of housing with its general effect on community development. Some interesting publications show that the housing problem has remained one of the major areas of interaction and of joint efforts between urban planners and sociologist (*Szelényi-Konrád* 1969; *Halmos*, 1971). Mention should also be made of conferences like that of the Hungarian Society for Urban Affairs on the need for concentrated efforts in housing construction, and that of the Association for Architecture which dealt with housing problems in general and included papers on sociological questions. The proceedings of these conferences held in the year 1973 are forthcoming. Of special note is the discussion of *Iván Szelényi's* paper on "Community Patterns and Social Structure: Sociological Approaches in the Analysis of Housing Patterns and Urban Structure in Hungary".

It is to be noted that the sociological approach to the housing problem had always gone beyond the limited area concerned only with types of accommodation and their functions. It became increasingly aware of general considerations of community development and ultimately of the problems of transforming environment. In this way it supplied numerous important, though often controversial



contributions to residential planning which were also relevant for broadening the theoretical and practical outlook of urban and regional studies.

Naturally, one cannot speak as yet of any ultimate results. A confrontation of ideas is going on which is still very far from reaching a synthesis. Nevertheless, sociological and partly also sociographical methods have become firmly established in urban and communal planning above all, and most effectively, in the tackling of problems of housing. It is to be hoped that psychological studies of public demands and other factors influencing the housing situation will be integrated into general urban and regional studies. Psychology has lagged behind sociology in this field and its applications have mainly occurred through the intermediary of sociological works. (*Granasztói, 1973*).

Housing problems and the related questions of communal development have come into the foreground mainly in connection with the growing number of new residential quarters developed in Hungarian cities that have given rise to increasingly sharp criticism. It became clear that the application of merely architectural and technological tools is insufficient for a satisfactory realization of objectives; also purely economic approaches proved to be inadequate. The sociological approach has gained ever more ground, in particular with the evolution of public demands. The application of sociological concepts and methods to the housing problem has even become increasingly relevant with regard to questions arising in connection with the assignment of building zones, with the definition of the various types of residential areas, with the development of new methods of construction, with problems of urban reconstruction and the coalition of new patterns of housing, etc. (*Szücs, 1971*).

Thus sociology operates now in a realm, which is much broader than that of housing; it is concerned with phenomena of increasing urbanization in general. Hence, it tends to encompass in its studies the interrelations between the community patterns of cities and the interactions between cities and their surroundings, on both a regional and national scale. (*Szalai, 1962; Erdei, 1971*). Of special note among these studies is a thorough, multifaceted investigation of the system of small, detached farmsteads in the Great Hungarian Plain (*Lettrich, 1968*) and a controversial paper on lagging urban development. (*Konrád-Szelényi 1971*). Lately an important and interesting sociological debate focussed upon regional development, administration and management. It is in this widening field of problems pertaining to urbanization in general that a peculiar question is becoming ever more acute and controversial in Hungary: the future of the numerous small villages in the country which poses difficult economic and social problems to the population itself and to overall socio-economic planning.

In addition to the expansion of the sociological approach into ever wider spheres, urban and regional studies have by themselves followed their old trend of development from urban concerns to the consideration of the problems of whole regions and ultimately of the whole country-wide pattern of human settlements.

However, the outlook of these studies was in the past mostly limited to questions of technology and economics. Now, however, sociology is beginning to investigate regional and national patterns of settlement may very well become integrated with the other studies in this field. The principles underlying this line of investigation are very clear. Every urban district has to be considered in the context of the whole town; every town has to be considered in the context of its whole surroundings; and sooner or later all towns and communities will have to be considered and developed within the framework of regional and national patterns of settlement. The national pattern could be termed as the ultimate territorial limit of the most expanded urbanistic approach. The wider the range of territorial relationships taken into consideration, the more the primacy of traditional architectural and technological approaches will decrease. At the same time the need for more social science-oriented approaches will increase, especially in administrative and economic respects.

Mention must be made of a new topic common to sociology and to urban and regional studies in general which cannot be studied independently by any these two disciplines: the problem of the utilization of leisure time.

This problem which is, by the way, rather closely connected with the problem of environmental care has come more and more into the focus of public interest. The utilization of leisure time is characterized by the wide range of its implications, starting within the home and extending to the whole of the country, to recreational regions, to the exploitation of natural resources. It is further characterized by not being exclusively associated with any single type of building or territorial unit, but with all sorts of individual and social activities which may take place in or around any private or public place, building, industrial installation, etc., and in any zone or region concerned.

The study of the utilization of leisure time has close ties with certain sociological investigations, especially with time-budget research, but it is also closely linked with research on housing problems. This issue has recently been emphasized by Professor *Sándor Szalai* in a lecture to the Hungarian Association of Architects.

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In the above an attempt was made to draw a rather sketchy outline of the increasing interactions between sociology and urban and regional studies. With many developments still in progress there is no way of drawing safe conclusions at the present stage. However, it is obvious that the sociological approach is penetrating urban and communal planning, a discipline of technological origin and nature, which sometimes criticizes its former exclusively technological and economy-oriented practice. Similarly, there is no doubt about the increasing interest of sociologists in the development and future of our communities. It is now



desirable for urban and communal planners to increase their sociological orientation, whereas the experts of urban and communal sociology should enrich their technological knowledge and should become more fully aware of the realities of construction. There is every reason to trust that these aims will be realized in light of the growing interaction between the two disciplines. What matters today on cooperation between planners and sociologists which on the strength of recent experience may be considered feasible.

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# INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

by

LAJOS HÉTHY and CSABA MAKÓ

After a fifteen year gap Hungarian industrial sociology got going again starting with the early sixties. It is one of the most important branches of social research, one with a great past, and many achievements. Its present boom is not merely due to the scholarly interest of social scientists; there is a manysided need for more information on industrial conditions.

The extensive stage of industrialization came to an end in the sixties in Hungary, and greater stress was laid on intensive methods of industrial development. A series of changes necessarily followed. The system of economic management as a whole had to be altered. State-owned enterprises were given increased independence, an interest of the enterprise in its own profitability was introduced, incentive wages were given greater scope, etc. As a result, a series of problems emerged that required sociological research in addition to legal regulation and the application of economic knowledge.

Much experience had been accumulated in the twenty-five years that had passed since the nationalization of industry in Hungary and the establishment of socialist conditions of ownership. The whole situation was crying for study and evaluation. This provided a real challenge to research in industrial sociology.

The main trends which became apparent in Hungarian industrial sociology during the recent years were the following.

1. Research transferred its emphasis from workers' relations to their individual work and from workshop-level relations to relations on an organizational and enterprise level.

2. Narrow empirical research on individual problems gave way to empirically founded theoretical analyses concerning the entire work of industrial organization.

3. The institutional approach in the description of organizations and their social phenomena and processes was more and more replaced by an organizational approach.

4. Research gradually lost its directly prescriptive aspects.

These tendencies, which reflect both changes in social demands made on industrial sociology and a growth in opportunities resulting from the development of industrial sociology itself, flourish in close mutual interdependence.



## EMPIRICAL AND THEORETICAL BEGINNINGS

Following the renaissance of Hungarian sociology, the most intensive research activity developed at first in the sociology of work and workshops. This coincided with a period of economic development in which social problems stemming from the change-over to an intensive development of industry became sharply stressed. In the first half of the sixties the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences conducted basic research into the relations between man and his work, into the role of small groups in workshops, into labour fluctuation, factory communication systems, and problems of wage systems. One of the main purposes of this research was to control the theory methods of bourgeois industrial sociology which has, of course, a great past and to check also the findings of Marxist industrial sociology in various socialist countries. This kind of comparative control was always indispensable in Hungarian sociological research work.

As such investigations concentrated on the worker as an individual or on workgroups and workshops, they still exemplified the institutional approach. They tried to explore the specificity of a given social phenomenon or process (e.g. human work as an activity) by studying it within the setting of an enterprise. Stress was laid on *specific* features and discussion in most cases was limited to a *descriptive* classification. Under such circumstances interrelations only emerged in their outward, i.e. institutional, form (e.g. formal and informal relations); they appeared, therefore, as static factors. The research topics were mostly adapted to given real industrial and workshop problems though their choice represented at that time mostly personal interests of the sociologists who did the studies.

During this period the main of lines of research were the following:

1. An investigation of the relationship between man and his work. This involved an analysis of the worker's identification with his job, inquiries concerning the development of collectives within the enterprise, the increase of the social value of work, the effects of socialist ownership, etc.

2. An exploration of the role played by small groups in the workshop with special regard to the internal structure of such groups and the influence of the wage system on relationship of sympathy and hostility between the group members.

3. An analysis of the social model and the structure of the enterprise, including a study of the motions "we" and "our" as understood by the employees and workers their personal participation and interest in the affairs of the enterprise beyond the scope of their individual duties, etc. Also the role of small groups and primary working place communities in the integration of the enterprise was investigated.

In the mid-sixties András Hegedűs and Mária Márkus did considerable work on this subject. However, the theories developed by them are limited in value because no comprehensive and detailed research findings were as yet available at that time. They had to rely on general of industrial sociology, interpreting it in terms of Marxist theory (*Hegedűs-Márkus*, 1966).

4. An investigation of the problems of labour mobility. Research in this field was done by Ferenc Nemes and Tamás Rozgonyi, and also by a number of other sociologists and research teams working for various enterprises. A kind of critical synthesis of the findings was provided later. (*Nemes-Rozgonyi*, 1968; *Héthy-Makó*, 1973).

5. Production problems and bottle-necks (spoilage, low labour productivity, and bad labour discipline) were investigated largely by sociologists on the staff of the enterprises concerned.

Generally such work proved to be narrowly empirical; it was interested mainly in offering prompt solutions to problems that were easily grasped. However, much work has been done and it was this field that gave subsequently rise to some new theories in industrial sociology which were then firmly rooted in empirical observations.

The industrial sociology of the sixties provided a methodology and theoretical basis that could be put to good use in studies on the sociology of industrial plants. When in 1968 a reform of the system of economic management was undertaken in Hungary and problems of the industrial enterprise got in the center of public interest, several sociologists were able to formulate new hypotheses concerning the character of enterprise decision, the development of interest relationships within the enterprise, etc. (See: *Hegedüs-Rozgonyi*, 1969.) These hypotheses have not yet been verified, they offer, none the less, a useful indirect support for further research. Future investigations will gradually overcome the limits set by the individual, the group and the workshop; they will cover the whole of the industrial organization, and their institutionally orientated approach will gradually be replaced by an organizationally orientated one.

#### ENTERPRISE-CENTERED RESEARCH AND THEORY

The reason for the concentration on enterprises was very likely the fact that the 1968 economic reform officially recognized the relative independence and autonomy of enterprises, and gave it legal status, making the role of the enterprise publicly "visible". The subjects under study did not change very much at first, since there was a great need to increase the bulk of available data. Later, however, research covered more and more mechanisms that involved not only the activities of the workers but also those of the management and of the whole of the industrial organization. It was at this time that the first attempts were made to use the organizational approach in the study of the industrial enterprise.

When using this approach, attention is not focussed anymore on specific forms in which processes within the enterprise manifest themselves (formal or informal organization, division of labour, etc.) also the origin and development of working conditions within the enterprise becomes of secondary importance. What really



counts are the ways in which individuals, groups and sections within a given organization are able to cope with cooperative tasks that have to be solved in order to achieve the goals of the organization, what talents are required for such cooperation and what price has to be paid for it. One cannot give an adequate description of phenomena and processes within the enterprise by using narrow conventional terms that are closely bound to institutional forms and specifications; comprehensive notions have to be applied in a cogent manner – complex notions such as interest, power, transaction, conflict, compromise, and so forth.

The institutional and the organizational approach can be distinguished in the simplest way by saying that the former is interested in the “why” alone while the latter is interested in the “how” as well. The former indicate a static situation while the latter is able to reveal the dynamism of the process. The institutional approach leads to prescriptions while the organizational approach provides knowledge and insight. The latter one makes us aware of the immense complexity of the situation and makes us cautious about any direct prescriptions.

The starting point for systematic experimentation with organizational analyses were mainly questions which primarily affected the interests of workers and foremen.

1969–70 the author of this paper looked into the workers’ attitude towards wage distribution in an engineering company; in the same plant we analyzed a year later forms of workers’ behaviour connected with patterns of interest and power relations within the plant. Such work, still rather prescriptive in its character, supplied some new insight into the organizational and functional characteristics of informal organization within the plant into problems raised by various types of economic and other incentives, and into conflicts arising from the foreman’s role, etc. It became also possible to concretize the notions of “interest” and “power” in the framework of relationships within the plant. (*Héthy–Makó*, 1970.)

Such initial research was followed by other investigations having a wider horizon. To wit:

1. At the original site of our investigations, the aforesaid engineering company, additional data were collected which permitted to describe some mechanism of enterprise organization and also some patterns of managerial behaviour. This led to a much more differentiated analysis of the patterns of workers’ behaviour. As a result, the main characteristics of integration within the enterprise became apparent. (*Héthy–Makó*, 1971/a–b, 1972/a.)

2. Further research was done at a construction enterprise and this demonstrated different types of managerial behaviour patterns and also different effects of formal and informal organization. Attention was concentrated on the mechanism of organizational control, economic incentives, the system of promotion. It could be shown that institutions and tools of supervision, coordination and control that had been successful in the engineering industry could not simply be transferred to the construction industry which works under quite different conditions. Attention was

directed to the interdependencies between the functioning of the enterprise and its socio-economic environment. (*Héthy-Makó, 1972/b.*)

3. A case study covering three major engineering enterprises showed that the response of a productive organization to impulses coming from central national authorities depends to a considerable extent on the characteristic conditions of the individual enterprise. This is an example of the importance of interdependencies between organization and environment in the domain of industrial sociology and has its implications for the practice of the whole system of overall economic control. (*Héthy-Makó, 1969.*)

In addition to the categories of "interest" and "power", subsequently the category of "transaction" was introduced which permits to grasp the interrelationship between certain interest and power positions within the enterprise. In the light of empirical findings it appears that the triad of "interest", "power" and "transaction" is basically determined by objective socio-economic relations. The integration within the enterprise involves a complex system of transactions that covers all the multifarious relations among people working in the organization and establishes also a balance of power within the enterprise. Antal Gyenes and Tamás Rozgonyi tried to explore hierarchical relations in industrial organizations. (State and communal enterprises, cooperatives, etc.) Their findings confirmed the hypothesis that hierarchical differences depend on the technology of production and the structure and mechanism of organizational control. The more the structure of formal organization is adapted to the technology, the more the functional character of hierarchical differences become apparent. Whenever this happens, one can observe an increased influence of the workers and employees on the organization in which they are active. This does not necessarily involve, however, a decrease in the influence of management (*Gyenes-Rozgonyi, 1974.*)

#### FUTURE PROSPECTS

It is far simpler to describe what Hungarian industrial sociology has already achieved than to give a picture of its deficiencies and of the huge amount of tasks which remain to be done. The main trends of research are being determined by social demands. High priority is being given in national research planning to the complex interdisciplinary study of the socialist enterprise (the socialist "firm"), its structure and functions. All branches of social science including sociology, have to take their share in this major research task. Sociologists have collected data on certain aspects of the problem: moreover, they have indicated a number of possible theoretical approaches. However, the functioning of socialist enterprises has many aspects which have not yet been dealt with by sociologists and in many directions even initial hypotheses of work are lacking.



Although every enterprise is embedded in the general socio-economic system in which it works and its functioning is to a great extent determined by the laws prevailing in this system, the enterprise still has a certain autonomy of its own which becomes apparent even within socialist conditions. Taking this into account, one has still to look out for specifics of the *socialist* enterprise and analyse on the one hand the character of its dependence on central political and economic organs on the other its relative independence which remains unaffected by this general form of dependency. Also technological development plays a role in determining the functioning of the enterprise which is a socio-economic and a technological entity as well.

On the basis of this concept of the socialist enterprise it is not too difficult to formulate those research topics which are of a great importance to Hungarian industrial sociology but about which we know as yet too little and have to learn much more. Concerning some of these topics research is already in progress.

1. A clarification of the concrete system of relationships between the industrial organizations, the trade unions and the (Communist) Party. A considerable body of pertinent sociological data has been collected but not yet fully ordered and evaluated.

2. An exploration of the relations between the internal managerial system of socialist enterprises, their organizational structure and the central authorities responsible for economic and social decisions on the national level. A limited body of data is available and some theoretical hypotheses have been elaborated by László Béley, László Bertalan and others.

3. An investigation of the interrelations between shop-floor democracy, workers' participation in enterprise decisions, characteristic changes in the structure of the working class and of industrial organization, and the overall system of socio-economic management. – Some quite recent research was done about this in the steel industry. (*Mód-Kozák*, 1974.)

4. An analysis of correlations between the functioning of the enterprise, its organizational structure and the stage of technological development. – Some research is being done about this in the engineering and steel industry in order to explore at first the influence of technology on the behaviour of work force and management. It may be also mentioned in this context that a Hungarian research team is doing pertinent work in an international comparative research project on "Automation and the Industrial Worker" launched by the European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences ("Vienna Centre"). However, the topic can by no means be covered by these studies alone. For instance, no investigation has yet been initiated in order to explore the highly important relations between the structure of industrial organization and the stage of achieved technological development.

Also many conceptual problems remain to be solved in Hungarian industrial sociology. If an industrial sociologist wants to follow the organizational approach,

as opposed to traditional institutional one, he must reach a high degree of clarity in the concepts he intends to use. He must clarify his concepts in such a way that they retain their validity and applicability far beyond the limits of theoretical analysis, that is in the sphere of concrete social practice. We have enumerated earlier some of the crucial concepts: "interest", "power" and "transaction". Marxist social theory offers some help in the clarification, but obviously there is also a great deal of empirical researches to be carried out in terms of the new organizational approach before full clarity can be achieved. Needless to say that such research must transcend the boundaries of industrial sociology.

The organizational approach seems to provide an adequate way for the analysis of social phenomena and processes within the enterprise. It not only corresponds to the requirements of Marxist industrial sociology but a wider application and interpretation of its basic concepts makes it also possible to create an organic connection between theoretical findings of Marxist industrial sociology and the general social theory of Marxism. We hope that our present research efforts in Hungary can contribute to the realization of this goal.

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## RURAL SOCIOLOGY

by

ANDRÁS VÁGVÖLGYI

Under the influence of special historical conditions in Hungary, sociography took over the place of modern sociology where the latter was not appropriately developed. This was especially the case with regard to the study of rural society and land problems to which Hungarian sociography devoted in the past much of its efforts. These sociographical traditions are quite significant for today's Hungarian rural sociology. In particular, it is the work of Ferenc Erdei constituting so to say a bridge connecting the sociography of the past with the rural sociology of the present.

*Ferenc Erdei* is generally regarded as the most outstanding researcher in Hungarian rural sociology. He took an active part in the sociographic movement between the two World Wars. As a well-trained sociologist and researcher he made a great contribution to the foundations of Hungarian rural sociology with his analyses based on an exceptional theoretical and methodological knowledge that cannot be rivalled even today. (*Erdei*, 1940, 1938) His research monographs on the peasantry are particularly noteworthy, but he has also done research of a regional character. In this respect he went beyond the limits of the sociographic themes of the so-called populist writers. He reviewed the inherent problems of rural society from a higher level by placing it within the frame of the general development of society. One of the most prominent characteristics of his work was the joint examination of the rural and urban dichotomy. (*Erdei*, 1939) According to Erdei's concept town and village constituted an organic unit; the relations and ties between the two, and their integration, had to serve as a starting point for the examination of rural society. Erdei attached special significance to urbanization; he thought that the urbanization of rural areas lie in the merger between a town and its environs. A basic idea of several of his studies was that the individual towns and the rural areas surrounding them should be joined together by a local government – a process which he expected to lead not only to the advancement of the villages but also to become a basis for well-balanced general development. The fundamental condition of this process was to turn the peasantry, which constituted the overwhelming majority of rural society, into town citizens. He maintained that without this transformation the conditions necessary for advancement of the peasantry could not be created. (*Erdei*, 1941)



The second period of Erdei's activities followed the Liberation of Hungary in 1945. Sociological problems had to be approached differently under the new political, economic and social conditions of the postwar years. Changes of historical importance had taken place, including the land reform, the launching of the national programme of industrialization and the completion of the collectivization of agriculture. In the work published right before his death, Erdei examined the progress made by urbanization under the changed conditions and in the light of the new industrial revolution. (*Erdei, 1971*) His work is the most complete Hungarian study to date of the rural and urban dichotomy; it treats the interdependence of and relationships between town and country in a regional context, the transformation of the peasant's consciousness and the establishment of a new system of values.

It has already been mentioned that beginning with 1945 there were three changes of epoch-making dimensions in Hungary which exercised fundamental influence on the development of rural society. The first in chronological order was the *land reform* of 1945. The land reform brought about basic changes in the structure of the village: the earlier class of land owners dominating property relations disappeared, and the agricultural proletariat, including day labourers, servants and poor peasants, emerged as small holders. This marked the beginning of a new period in the development of the rural society, and during the four years of democratic agricultural development favourable conditions were created for the *socialist transformation of agriculture* and the initiation of a large scale national industrialization programme. However, the land reform failed to solve the problem of agricultural overpopulation because the amount of land distributed among the peasants was not in proportion to the number of people having the right to land. *Industrialization* which began in the early 1950's largely contributed to solving the problem of agricultural overpopulation and to inducing the social mobility of large masses of people. Until quite recently industrialization in Hungary was extensive and, as a result, it coincided with a great demand for manpower. It was the village that provided the labour force for industry because agriculture was no longer capable of offering employment. This has led to a highly mobile rural society during the past 25 years a trend that is still in progress today. (*Hegedüs, 1970*) In the course of this mobility agricultural overpopulation became a dead issue; substantial manpower was released by the reorganization and large-scale modernization of agriculture which then found employment in industry.

Reorganization of agriculture and extensive industrialization brought about fundamental changes in the structure of rural society. Since social mobility in many instances was not linked with geographical mobility and masses of farm people were employed by industries in or near their own villages, the homogeneous rural character of society came to an end. Today the village is no longer the exclusive residence of people earning their living from agriculture but also of industrial workers; moreover, the number of people with non-agricultural occupations residing in Hungarian villages exceeds that of people engaged in agriculture proper.



(Hegedűs, 1970) Today research in rural sociology is concerned with the social structure of the modern village (Ferge, 1969), the transformation of the role of rural families (Sas, 1973), the changes in life style (Losonczi, 1973), the progress made by urbanization and interrelationship between towns and villages. (Hanák, 1966)

a) *Social mobility and social structure* are given priority in today's rural sociology. In this respect the Sociological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences accomplished remarkable pioneering work. It was found in mobility studies that the weight and significance of so-called transitional social strata are much greater than previously thought. Parallel with a decrease in the number of agricultural labourers, the weight, proportion and influence of non-agricultural occupations rose. The latter are steadily on the increase even today – a trend contributing to the general disintegration of traditional rural society. It has also been shown that none of the traditional strata are to be found anymore in present-day rural society. Even the strata continuing to be involved in agricultural work alone have lost much of their previous homogeneous peasant character. This is a phenomenon that can be explained by the fact that agricultural labour increasingly resembles industrial labour.

In recent years the problem of mobility affecting different types of villages was also included in mobility investigations.

Comparatively uneven conditions arose in Hungary as a result of specific social and historical conditions. Whereas industrialization began in the northern part of the country at the turn of the century, Hungary's southern regions retained until quite recently their traditionally agricultural character. (Kárpáti, 1972) For this reason the conditions of restratification varied greatly. At the same time the size of a village exercised a definite influence on mobility. Population groups of relatively homogeneous peasant character has survived to the present day mostly in small villages where changes in the structure of occupations are less extensive than in bigger villages with favourable transportation and communication facilities.

The role of the rural working class in the life of rural society is a special subject in itself. At present half of Hungary's working class live in villages but are employed in industries located in towns. Only a small proportion of the workers living in villages are skilled; the overwhelming majority are semi-skilled or unskilled in contrast to town workers who belong for the most part to the skilled labour force.

Apart from interest in changes in the social structure, attention is focused today on conflicts caused by the switching over from agricultural to industrial labour. Without doubt, *commuting* deserves special attention out in this respect. (Nemes, Szélényi, 1963) As previously mentioned, large scale mobility occurred as a result of the separation of the place of work from the place of residence. Former peasants, who have become restratified, workers or employees leave their "bedroom community" every morning for the town in which the factory employing them is situated. Some of them leave only on Monday mornings in which case they stay in



town for the rest of the workweek. Commuting has led to the development of a specific way of life and to the establishment of a transitional stratum which is no longer ranked as belonging to the peasantry but neither is it part of the working class proper. A distinct dualism characterises the life and mind of this stratum. Some of its members are still connected with farming activities through their family or their spouse who continue to live in the village throughout the week and take part in the cultivation of a private plot. Such plots are given to families having a member active in agriculture, that is having a full-time job in a farmers' cooperative. (Hegedűs, 1964)

b) In view of this, it is quite natural that Hungarian rural sociologists consider the examination of the present *rural way of life* as absolutely necessary. Research carried on by the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in one of the traditionally agricultural counties of Hungary has concentrated on the interrelations between the community and the way of life. (Sas, 1973) The studies performed to this end have been extended to a sociological description of the different types of life style resulting from social inequalities. The research tried to explore the ways in which people live and "manage" their life in rural society, the tensions and development that arise in this society, and the changes perceived in the "hierarchy of needs" characteristic of rural society. In addition, the research encompassed also the system of life-governing principles, the changes in value-orientations and the interrelationship between the individual and society. It attempted to establish the true nature and the consequences of economic differences between different social groups. (Losonczi, 1972)

c) An important function has been fulfilled by *family research* which is partly concerned with rural life and partly devoted to other research. In traditional Hungarian rural society the family possessed a definite economic and productive function in which the workplace and the place of residence were at the same location. (Fél-Hofer, 1969) The disappearance of the homogeneity of rural society left its mark on the family which was deprived of its previous production function and became a unit of mixed nature. (Hegedűs, 1970) Today the production function of the rural family in Hungary is confined, in the majority of cases, to the cultivation of a private plot of land. Research to date has been focussed on the examination of the changes and developments listed above, with special attention paid to the motivating character of the community structure.

The transformation of the three-generation family which used to be fairly common in rural society into a small family unit is an extremely interesting problem. Examinations recently conducted in this field, the results of which are still to be published, indicate that the survival of today's three-generation families is facilitated mostly by married children who do not possess a home of their own. The extended family only survives until its younger members can acquire their own home. Thus, under the present conditions, the living together of more than one generation under the same roof ultimately facilitates the transformation of a large

family into a small one. (*Sas*, 1973) The large family supports the process of establishing independent households.

d) Extensive research is carried on concerning the *influence and manifestations of urbanization* in the development of today's Hungarian rural society, including the questions of the communal development of rural areas, rural public life and social activity, public culture and the choice of career by the young people of the village. In connection with the latter problem it is worth noting that the career orientation of today's young rural people has undergone substantial change because of the transformation of the structure of rural occupations; industrial professions increasingly attract young people and there is considerable orientation towards intellectual careers. (*Kiss*, 1964)

e) Several research institutes have embarked recently on studies designed to disclose the *special social and human problems of people living on scattered farms in remote areas* and maintain their particular way of life in accordance with conditions peculiar to their own situation. (*Romány*, 1973) Obviously, there is little if any possibility for infrastructural development in such a context and for this reason there is practically no hope that a fundamental change is going to take place in the life of people living on small scattered farms.

Of course, there are certain advantages of living on a farm, especially from the point of view of agricultural production. One of these advantages is that the workplace and the place of residence are virtually identical. The farm as an economic unit is undoubtedly efficient and generally profitable. This is true in particular of the grape and fruit growing areas of the Great Hungarian Plain. Numerous studies indicate that in certain areas farms have not only managed to survive but are also capable of further development. At the same time, it has also been found that the upcoming generation is reluctant to accept the inherent disadvantages of living on remote farms. Thus their replacement of the old generation will undoubtedly facilitate the disintegration of the traditional scattered farm system.

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## V. RESEARCH ON GROUPS AND INSTITUTIONS





## SOCIOLOGY OF THE FAMILY

by

LÁSZLÓ CSEH-SZOMBATHY

Research of a sociological nature into the situation of families has been going on in Hungary since the 1960s. The sociology of the family, however, as a separate well-defined line of sociological investigations is no more than a few years old in this country. Most of the practitioners were prompted to work in this field when they found this to be the best approach to questions they had raised in other contexts. Even those who were specifically concerned with the family recognised the need for a sociology of the family at a relatively late date only, compared with the progress made by Hungarian sociology as a whole. Once however the recognition took place, in the 1970s, everything was done to present and systematize, in a comprehensive way, all that had been achieved in the field earlier. Work was done in Hungary on the theory of the sociology of the family, and contacts were established with colleagues abroad, in the socialist countries in the first place. A collective volume on "Family and marriage in contemporary Hungarian society" was published in the spring of 1971. It was edited by Pál Lócsei and contained ten specially written papers (*Lócsei* (ed.), 1971). The importance of this publication lay not in any novel ideas that this or that paper may have brought forward but rather in their joint publication as the first volume devoted to the sociology of the family in Hungary. The ten papers did not suffice to illuminate the Hungarian family from every possible angle but they did not indicate the areas in which substantial research had been done.

Well-founded demographic and statistical work offered a basis in Hungary from which the sociology of the family could take off. The information offered by census and microcensus data is basic as regards the various types of family and their frequency. Egon Szabady provided their analysis in the aforementioned volume, focussing his discussion on the changes which occurred in the sixties. (*Szabady*, 1971/a.) The most significant, he argues, is the increase in the number and proportion of households made up of a married couple alone, without children. They are an index of the aging of the population since their bulk are already at the last stage of the family life-cycle, when the children have grown up and left home. This is not, then, a consequence of the decline in the birth rate that has become apparent in the last fifteen odd years, and its stagnation at a low level. The birth rate makes its effects felt in the distribution of families by the number of children.



Looking into the birth rate is the business of demographers, when explaining things social factors must however be born in mind, and that already places the subject on the fringe of sociology. Much work done by the Central Statistical Office and the Demographic Research Institute in the course of the past fifteen years brings the sociological approach into evidence, papers by Egon Szabady are a good example. Another is the longitudinal survey of the fertility of 1966 marriages which is due for publication by the Central Statistical Office, in the near future.

Census and mobility indices can bring into evidence some only of the changes which socio-economic development elicited in the life of families. *Sándor Szalai* in a paper prepared for the United Nations Interregional Seminar on Family in changing Society (London, 1973), using other facts and figures as well, presents qualitative changes in family life, while *László Cseh-Szombathy* whose paper was submitted to the same seminar, deals with features specific to the position in Hungary (*Szalai*, 1973; *Cseh-Szombathy*, 1973). Both rely on time-budget research which provided information on the division of labour within the family and interactions within it. Also *Júlia Szalai* and *Károly Varga* make use of time-budget research in their contributions to the volume discussed earlier in this paper (*J. Szalai*, 1971; *Varga*, 1971).

Time-budget research made it quite evident that well-defined differences between male and female roles within the family are still in existence although the past practice, where the husband was alone responsible for maintaining the family, has by and large come to an end. Amongst the young the majority of women, even of married ones, seek employment, but the bulk of housework is nevertheless carried on by them. A number of institutions in Hungary are concerned with this double load on women and its effects on their work and family life. Research on a national scale, designed to reach general conclusions is done in the first place by the Central Statistical Office. As regards sectional and regional research, that done at the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is perhaps the most important.

In this respect the County Békés way of life research project is of major significance. *Judit H. Sas* wrote it up (*Sas*, 1973). The project intended to discover how changes in social conditions affected various groups and strata of society and what impact they had on the family structure, that is on the relationship between marriage partners and between parents and dependent children. Duties that devolve on families and family aspirations find their expression in these relationships.

*Judit Sas* argues that the trend is towards "companionship" (as *Burgess* termed it) in which cohesion within a married couple is not provided by legal or economic coercion but by a free relationship that allows the personality of both to come to full flower within the family. However, *Judit Sas* admits herself that this "companionship" relation is not characteristic of the majority of married couples at present. *László Cseh-Szombathy* wonders whether, when examining the actual

situation, it would not be better to apply instead of the Burgess model a more complex typology, such as that of *Cuber* and *Harroff* which evaluates marital relationships simultaneously along several dimensions. (*Cseh-Szombathy*, 1974.)

Research combining a variety of data collection techniques is needed to establish the social role of marital relations. Any analysis based on divorce statistics in the first place must be rejected outright. *Pál Lőcsei* stresses the limited value of such statistics by pointing to the large number of those who are legally married yet separated (*Lőcsei*, 1971).

As regards the relationship between parents and children, Hungarian sociologists considered firstly the role of parents in the socialization of children, and secondly the role of children, particularly of grown-up children, in the life of the parents. *Zsuzsa Ferge* investigated primarily the role of schools in the socialization of the young, but what became clear incidentally was the extraordinarily large differentiating effect of family background on the success of this socialization process (*Ferge*, 1972).

Much work was done on the impact of family on delinquent behaviour. *Andorka, Buda* and *Kiss*, 1971; *Cseh-Szombathy*, 1970; and *Katalin Hanák* 1973, on the disfunctional family.)

Research on the situation of the aged dealt with the role of children in the life of their aged parents. The Central Statistical Office carried out a number of surveys, the last one of which, showing a powerful relationship between parents and their children, can be considered as representative on a national scale (*KSH*, 1972). Analysing the results of this survey, *Cseh-Szombathy* suggested that the model of the modified extended family expressed the relationship between parents and children better than *Parsons'* model of the nuclear family (*Cseh-Szombathy*, 1971). The former model was used by *Iván Szelényi* in a paper on extended family relations which he wrote with *E. Litwak* (*Litwak-Szelényi*, 1969).

Increased interest was shown in theoretical problems connected with the family as well. In the collective volume mentioned above, *Kálmán Kulcsár* suggested an outline into which an examination of family life could be fitted. He looked on the one hand at those changes that were due to basic developments in modern society, which shaped, and still shape, the structural characteristics and norms of the family, on the other hand, he took into consideration the position of the family in society and the functional relations between the family and society as a whole. *Kulcsár* examined changes in family life which arose as a consequence of the development of socialist society in Hungary. He illustrated his proposed systematic approach to the subject by describing changing characteristics of the conventional extended village family and of urban nuclear family (*Kulcsár*, 1971).

*Cseh-Szombathy* used the developmental approach when describing the characteristics of the Hungarian family; he made use of recent research findings on intergenerational family relations (*Cseh-Szombathy*, 1973).



The systems analysis approach was first applied to the sociology of the family in Hungary by *Buda* and *Hajnal*. Systems theory offered a formalized methodology for interdisciplinary research on the family; it facilitated the integration of the results of earlier research, and allowed for forecasts to be made. The model used by *Buda* and *Hajnal* presented the family as a functional unit with a directed operation. As a fixed goal is needed for a directed operation, they assumed that the child is the main teleological principle in family organization because in their view, research has shown that the child as a goal had priority over all others. Stages in family organization were defined by them by the age of the married couple and that of their children. The two authors established thus a link between the developmental and the systems approach (*Buda-Hajnal* 1971).

Hungarian periodicals report fairly often on new findings of international research on the family. Recently, however, a more comprehensive report on contemporary international literature has been published (*Makara*, 1973).

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## SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

by

FERENC GAZSÓ

In Hungary there has been systematic research on the sociology of education for just about ten years now. Practical needs in the first place motivated interest in the sociological implications of education. The substantial widening and extensive development of education increased the social influence and importance of the school, and, generally, the significance and range of institutional education. On the other hand, certain trends in social, scientific and technological development (changes in the way of life due to increased social mobility; urbanization; changes in the functions of the family, and so forth) have modified in many respects the "socialization process" the structure of the "educational situation". All this led to fundamental changes in the functions and tasks of public education.

It would go beyond the scope of this report to discuss all kinds of sociological research associated with schools, especially in view of the fact that in recent years a number of studies covering a wide field have revealed the situation of educationalists, their way of life and their professional and social attitudes (*Ferge-Gazsó-Háber*, etc., 1972), the characteristics of the students' way of life (*Gazsó-Pataki-Várhegyi*, 1971), and the sociological and socio-psychological correlations of the students' career orientation (*Gazsó-Sántha-Várhegyi*, 1970).

Our aim is here to survey those trends and problems of research which are most relevant for the development of theory.

### THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY AND THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

The fundamental subject of the sociology of education in Hungary is the analysis of the relationships between social structure and the educational system. Investigations have focused, on the one hand, on ways in which changes in the general social structure moulded the structure of the educational system and modified the social content, the practical activities and the tasks of the school system. On the other hand, it was asked to what extent the school system is capable of living up to duties arising from changes in the general structure of society. In

other words, whether the school system is capable of reducing or easing the spontaneous effects of social and cultural inequalities or, whether in explicit opposition to the goals of socialist society, it actually preserves them.

Let us consider firstly some of the research findings leading to a better understanding of the general social effects of cultural inequalities (*Gazsó and Várhegyi*, 1965; *Ferge*, 1969, 1972; *Gazsó*, 1972). True enough, the socialist transformation of society put an end to the cultural oligopolies attached to class privileges and opened up a broad road to culture for the masses of workers and peasants, above all through the democratization of the educational system. However, inequalities in the access to culture and further education, which are of social origin, have not yet been completely eliminated; some lack of equality in this respect persists temporarily even in socialist society. This problem can only be definitely settled on the long run.

Recent research disclosed some factors explaining the persistence of such inequalities even under changed social conditions. The conclusion reached was that the life of a child at school and his possibilities of being admitted to further education are, in the last determined by the place his parents occupy in the social division of labour. The variations of performance in school (grades, etc.) and the social stratification of young people admitted to secondary and higher education are found to be most significantly related to the position held by parents.

Further research, however, has shown that the social structure exercises its influence in an indirect manner, by way of specific mediating mechanisms. The factors involved (such as income and housing conditions, way of life, value orientation, etc.) seem to have in general, a combined effect but their impact on students' career and performance varies in strength and direction. This is the reason why the differential influence of single factors had to be analysed in great detail.

The most essential findings in this respect were the following.

Differences of income between sections of society do not lead to major differentiation in the children's school performance. With regard to the population as a whole there is a certain but indefinite relationship between average school grades or the proportion of better school performances and the standard of incomes. Mean school performance is slightly higher or lower in direct proportion with the higher or lower income group. If, however, the correlations between income and school performance are examined in relation to particular sections of society, that is not with regard to the population, as a whole, then it becomes impossible to detect a clearcut relationship between school performance and per capita monthly income. Even in the case of identical incomes remarkable differences in performance can be detected between different sections of society.

In order to explain this phenomenon, a further factor has to be taken into account, namely that the higher cultural and educational standards of the families concerned can more or less make up for the negative influences arising from their less favourable financial conditions. Therefore we get a very different picture in the



case of strata with less schooling, that is in section of society in which unfavourable conditions are often accumulated and lower income, as a rule, is coupled with less education. The accumulation of such unfavourable conditions prevails, first of all, in certain groups of unskilled workers and agricultural labourers.

Although standards of income do not result directly in a clearcut differentiation of the dispersion of school performances, their influence is by no means negligible; they have an especially string effect on the family's decision regarding the child's further education. It is a general experience that worker and peasant families are more reluctant to accept the "drop in the income" following on the child's further education than those of the professional classes with an identical or lower income. This reflects a highly specific and essential feature of the differences in value-orientation between various sections of society. Learnedness or higher education alone has little if any attraction for substantial groups of labourers. That is why they are generally opposed to let their children choose careers for which university training is required. Making up for the losses in family income suffered in consequence of the child attending the university may take some eight to ten years after graduation.

All the data available verify that the educational and cultural standards and the cultural atmosphere (milieu) of the families exercise the strongest influence on performances at school. The most comprehensive venture in Hungary designed to collect data revealing the extent to which school performance is determined by social conditions was carried out in 1970 by the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The survey covered a total of 76 000 pupils from 320 primary and secondary schools picked at random from representatively selected regions. The data thus obtained offered a very diversified factual material about the studies carried on at school by children belonging to different sections of society changes in the social composition of the secondary school population and on the question whether there is a decrease or increase in what are termed "initial handicaps" (disadvantages at the start because of the social background) becoming effective in the course of school education. (*Ferge, 1972; Gázsó, 1971*).

A new study has been launched in order to study combined effects of the milieu, for instance, the relationships between articulateness in the native language and school performance is well under way in Hungary. Although this work is still in the opening stages, it has supplied convincing evidence to the effect that with regard to the ability to speak, read, write and count, to observe, get to know, acquire and impart information, children coming from families with a sub-standard education are very far below their counterparts brought up in educated families.

Obviously, inequalities in educational opportunities should not be attributed solely to the position of the parents in the social division of labour. In fact, handicaps affecting the development of the child's personal talent are most directly related to prevailing value systems which make their impact partly through objective social conditions, partly through psychological mechanisms. Psychological

processes which transmit the impact of those value systems to individuals are in each section of society of a very different nature but they shape the motivations and attitudes of the school child most effectively. This is how the child becomes aware of social values, of cultural demands and of demands concerning his personal life and career, of the customs and norms of human coexistence and so forth. All this must have a decisive influence on his career at school and on his subsequent life as a whole.

In our opinion the school is not simply a passive mirror reflecting the image of prevailing social and cultural conditions. It can actively mould those conditions. In a socialist society the educational system is perfectly able to speed up the elimination of cultural inequalities and to break down rigid barriers erected in the past. However, such a result does not come about spontaneously. The whole system of practical activities in the school has to be aimed at the conscious elimination of inequalities which are mostly concealed. This involves a considerable change in the structure and functions of the educational system.

However, the educational tasks of helping the child to make up for cultural disadvantages go well beyond the elimination of self-contradictory and negative features of the school system. One of major tasks to be accomplished with the help of sociological and social psychological research in the field of education is to disclose the psychological structure and content of the initial handicaps of children entering school which arise out of differences in the cultural situation of various sections of society. Only research of this kind can serve as a basis for the development of an educational strategy which can react in a differentiated manner to the spontaneous effects of cultural inequalities in society.

#### THE MOBILIZING FUNCTION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

We have to summarize now briefly the results of empirical and theoretical studies on the mobilizing function of the educational system, that is the role of the school in increasing social mobility. The educational system is a comparatively autonomous subsystem of the whole social structure. It exercises considerable influence on the process of social restructification, for it can either preserve unique opportunities for children or do away with them.

The discussion centers at present around the question whether the educational system has simply to promote *individual mobility* within a multi-stage intergenerational mobility pattern, that is whether the essential task is to promote and to enhance further educational possibilities (e.g. admission to college or university) possible for the gifted children of labourers. Or should not the educational system strive for achieving a much more general and massive *group mobility*?

Zsuzsa Ferge who has studied very intensively this problem maintains that "individual mobility is not something that is good in itself. It is not an objective the



accomplishment of which should be demanded without any further reservations. The social role of individual mobility and its relation to certain relevant social values depends on the relationship of individual mobility to group mobility and on changes effected by mobility in the social structure as whole." (Ferge, 1972).

Ferge maintains that in case individual mobility is essentially *independent* of group mobility. If individual mobility does not influence group relations and only few individuals are able to move, then this kind of mobility is the means of conserving and not of changing the prevailing social structure. On the other hand, if individual mobility is of a mass character and is not limited in any way, it has indeed certain necessary consequences for the relative position of social groups. *Massive* individual mobility reduces to some extent the distance separating different social groups and this again makes individual mobility easier.

Scattered individual mobility cannot, in general, be regarded as one leading definitely to conserving a structure, nor can it modify basically a particular structure; that is why it cannot, by itself, provide for the accomplishment of the fundamental objective, that of bringing the various sections of society closer to one another. "Individual mobility does not necessarily coincide with the process bringing different social groups closer to one another. Therefore, it may well become a factor not strengthening but weakening socialist community consciousness. Such considerations underline the fact that collective mobility is an objective of primary importance as against individual mobility." (Ferge, 1972).

Ferge's views have not yet been discussed to a full extent in Hungarian literature. Thus, it is difficult to say whether a consensus can be reached about them among Hungarian educational sociologists. However, there is an almost complete consensus about the suggestion that the school system has a *double* task to accomplish: it has to exercise a direct educational influence on the paths of individual mobility and it has also to achieve a certain general cultural levelling by lessening the cultural scatter. The tasks associated with counterbalancing the uneven chances for mobility cannot be confined exclusively to rendering special assistance to socially handicapped children in order to make them eligible for admission to higher education. In harmony with socialist ideals, the Hungarian educational system must be guided by the objective to assist *all* children of industrial and agricultural workers in developing their real talents to a maximum, so that they may overcome gradually the handicaps with which they started in school.

The more the school becomes able of performing its duty of cultural levelling, the more perfectly it can accomplish its task of promoting the individual mobility of children.

The task lying right ahead of us now is to undertake all those necessary educational, organizational and financial measures which would enable the Hungarian educational system to counterbalance effectively all cultural inequalities arising from social conditions and to reduce gradually differences in the cultural level of various groups and sections of the population. It goes without saying that

this kind of cultural levelling does not imply any wish to provide everybody with identical (uniform) knowledge, skills, etc. However, conditions and opportunities for participation and progress in culture should become gradually homogeneous for everyone.

Hungarian educational sociologists hope to promote this aim by intensive and methodologically well-founded studies.

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## STUDIES IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

by

GYÖRGY HUNYADY

Hardly a decade has passed since research of a genuinely social psychological character aimed at the field where sociology and psychology overlap has been revived in Hungary. In the preceding fifteen years Hungarian social science research was concentrated almost exclusively on macrostructural changes in broad historical terms; psychology, however, was restricted to aspects related to individual minds. This allowed for no points of interdisciplinary contact, no theoretical integration or cooperation is research.

By the middle 1960s empirical research into concrete social process began to gather momentum. The psychological study of human personality achieved a more comprehensive character and some life was introduced into the "borderline science" of social psychology as well. New findings were published, research was institutionalized and formal academic training was initiated. In the year 1970 the Department of Philosophy and Historical Sciences at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences issued guidelines for the further development of social psychology within the framework of the long-range plan of psychological research (*Mátrai-Hunyady, 1969*). The Hungarian Psychological Association established a special Section of Social Psychology which organized already in the spring of 1972 a national conference which surveyed and discussed the main trend of social psychological research in the country. The conference also dealt with the practical demands for an extension of applied social psychological studies and with the growing interest of laymen. However, it was in the first place the political interest that urged a speeding up of social psychological research. It was hoped that social psychological investigations would help to eliminate deficiencies of plant and labour organization, increase the efficiency of marketing, improve the mass media, and facilitate the gathering of information concerning public opinion on political questions, as well as the handling of the latter. Improvements in education and medical treatment were also hoped for.

As a result of this whole development, a considerable number of Hungarian psychologists, philosophers, teachers and social workers became engaged in social psychological training and research; they are successfully trying to overcome heterogeneous training and experience. Their work was also aided by the fact that graduates in social psychology began to join the various research teams.

During this period Hungarian centres of research in social psychology began to form.

At the Psychological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences the Social Psychology Department is mainly interested in group research and the study of artistic communication. At the same Institute, the Psychology of Personality Department studies mainly theoretical problems of socialization. At the Mass Communication Research Centre of Hungarian Radio and Television the Social Psychology Department focuses on the study of attitudes in the context of the mass media and on public opinion research. The department also shows an interest in theoretical questions of cognitive organization, in special aspects of communication (psycho-linguistics, formation of opinions, needs of information, etc.).

Certain social psychological aspects of cultural problems are studied by the Institute for Culture and the Methodological Research Centre of the National Library. Research on socialization of young people, is carried out by the Social Science Institute of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, by the Youth Research Group of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union, by the Higher Education Research Centre and last but not least by the Psychological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as well. Similar investigations are undertaken by the Sociology Department of the Loránd Eötvös University, which is also the center for the teaching of social psychology at the university level in Hungary.

Clinical and industrial social psychology is not part of the responsibility of individual institutes. Studies in clinical social psychology and social psychiatry are carried out at the National Neurological and Psychiatric Hospital and the most favourable circumstances for research in industrial social psychology are to be found at the Institute for Educational Psychology at the Technical University.

The review of the centres of Hungarian social psychological research indicates that by now all the main fields of social psychology are covered by one or another Hungarian research organisation. However, the progress reached in various fields is not uniform, nor is the approach.

Just as in the Soviet Union during the sixties intense theoretical discussions about the definition and role of social psychology went on in Hungary as well. Very different answers were given to the question whether, and in what way, Marxist thinking in the social sciences could and should make use of concepts and findings of social psychology which have been developed in capitalist societies under the influence of bourgeois ideological and political conditions. What are the methodological lines of investigation which ought to be continued in socialist countries and in what respect must research be done afresh from the bottom up?

This question became even more timely when self-criticism concerning methodological problems turned into a fashion in American experimental social psychology and Western European social psychologists endeavour to elaborate a new type of social psychology, more thoroughly rooted in the spiritual foundations of Europe.



The European Association of Experimental Social Psychology tries to bring about a regional integration in Western Europe and endeavours to establish links with social psychologists in the socialist countries as well. A trend to improve international contacts has started in the socialist countries as well, though not in an organized form. At any rate, a series of anthologies and readers have been published e.g. in Hungary, containing papers of Western European social psychologists who grew up in the American school but seek new ways, then of American and of course also of Soviet scholars (e.g. *Kolminsky, Bodialov, Jadov* etc.).

The Hungarian reader has now access to good translations of such classic as *G. H. Mead* and *Kurt Lewin*: he has at his disposal standard text books by *Secord* and *Backman* (USA), works by *Hibsch* and *Vorweg* (German Democratic Republic), and a volume each by *I. Sz. Kon* (Soviet Union), *M. Petrussek* (Czechoslovakia) etc. The critical introductions, notes and papers by the Marxist authors all reflect an effort to master the accumulated knowledge and methods of this hitherto neglected discipline. At the same time they assign the proper place of these results in the historical and materialistic interpretation of society and try to carry on their own research on this basis.

How to carry on? That is the question. Certain express the view that social psychology as a discipline has no ideological implications. They pretend that the usefulness of its tools and the validity of its theories are not linked to either bourgeois or Marxist ideology. They think, therefore, that findings and methods which were for the most part achieved by social psychologists of the English-speaking world do not need to undergo a thorough revision before being adapted to conditions of socialist development in Hungary (*Buda*, 1968).

The other extreme maintains that contemporary social psychology with all its attendant methods and theories, represents a biased attitude, a misleading trend in scholarship which is unable to present society and the individual dynamically and integrally. Accordingly, social psychological research is on a false track that ought to be rectified (*Garai*, 1973). This type of criticism mixes up different levels of abstraction and demands that partial investigations of concrete phenomena should be directly subordinated to a comprehensive image of man and society based on Marxist theorems – forgetting at the same time the methodological difficulties involved in injecting a predetermined theoretical position into an empirical investigation.

A much more fertile viewpoint is that which regards it as necessary to integrate ideological and methodological considerations into with the interpretation of social psychological findings. According to this viewpoint, ideological and philosophical considerations serve the spur on and orientate those who strive to reveal empirical reality (*Pataki*, 1967). Instead of a formal description of group phenomena removed from their context, truly critical and creative social psychology demands the consideration of the social (macrostructural) context of such findings, their finely graded and complex analysis, their dynamic but also historic-genetical interpretation (*Pataki*, 1969).



Apart from group research that has been practised for some time, Hungarian social psychology of the sixties and seventies concentrated mostly on the investigation of cognitive phenomena (opinions, expectations, aspirations, attitudes, cognitive system and styles etc.) Hungarian research thus takes into account both the sociological and psychological fields of social psychology (*Hunyady, 1973*).

The practice of research is the best validation of a theory, and the usefulness of the results obtained is the best justification of a practice. The ten years discussed here were hardly sufficient to implement all the plans and intentions of Hungarian research groups to which reference has been made. Nevertheless, some results have been achieved.

The following is a short account of the main topics of recent Hungarian social psychological research.

a) The sociometric study of the emotional structure of groups, that is of their "hidden network" has been going on for many years. A Hungarian social psychologist has developed a multi-dimensional sociogram method in this field (*Mérei, 1971*). Studies based partly on this methodical tradition are under way. They employ a Marxist approach to elaborate with the help of "field" notions, such as the category of group cohesion, one of the concepts of group research (*Pataki-Hunyady, 1971*). A characteristic feature of these first studies is the description and typological ordering of sociometric choices and conditions prevailing within groups and within wider institutional contexts (e.g. schools or other educational institutions), and to interpret the findings without detaching relations from the institutional and political life of the groups in question.

Accepting cognitive theories concerning attraction between certain persons, an attempt is being made to describe similarities of attitude between group members, the idea is to study the whole latent ideological group structure and to analyse the triple connection of attitude-similarity, its awareness and sociometric relationship in student groups of different cohesion and age.

In parallel with the empirical investigations, the social-psychological aspects of the "interpersonal relation" – positional and attitude similarities, attractions, impressions, and expressions, as well as the cooperation between individuals – have been considered as a system on a theoretical level as well. Group investigations up to now were as a rule carried out in an actual, social medium; it is still an exception to carry out an experiment as e.g. the one which is destined to show the dynamics of the relationship of a leader and his group-members, an experiment which is often discussed in the literature on the subject. Field investigations analyse the structure of managerial relationships, and the formation and role of "manager-mindedness". In the descriptive studies of formal and informal work-relationships, it is a theoretically novel and interesting aspect that a set of studies takes into consideration the "interest-content" of such relations.

b) The development-psychological approach was never far from group research in Hungary, as in the psychological research of the development of children and young



people of different age-groups the social medium and the determining partnerships of their life are also taken into consideration. The consistent application of this aspect is also characteristic of the study of student life. Research into political socialization considers the components of the family, the school, the mass media as well as of the peer groups in a systematic way.

As regards the choice of employment, wide scale and psychologically graded investigations were undertaken to study the adaptation of young professional men and women to their work-environment. (*Gazsó-Pataki-Sántha-Várhegyi*, 1970). Longitudinal research is done e.g. regarding the image formed by young medical practitioners and architects of their workplace, and their attitudinal changes concerning their job. While investigating socialization the aim of some present approach is to show, beyond the facts of acceptance and accomodation, the motives and mechanism of social criticism and the formation of society as well.

c) In the development, resp. the therapeutic formation of the personality, certain modern theories in clinical psychology attribute a great role to communication which they do not reduce in the traditional way to verbal communication but also bear in mind metacommunication, i.e. the interpretation of verbal communication. This approach proved to be relevant in the analysis and management of group-therapy (*Hidas-Buda*, 1967). The "social-hygiene" role of the mass media can be interpreted in this context (*Buda*, 1968).

d) Some important studies treated sociability as a personality trait. A readiness to establish social contacts can be manifested and studied on the basis of answers to projective tests, resp. is expressed in a well definable way in experimental-cooperative situations (*Szakács*, 1968; *Faragó-Gondos-Szakács*, 1970). (Of course, not only directly social motives play a role in the formation of the social attitude, but there is also an interaction with e.g. the achievement motivation of the personality, the role of which was studied from the point of view of both the creative work and the "consumption" of mass-media (*Varga*, 1973).

e) The image, the reflection of social relationships in the emotional-intellectual sphere of the personality is the subject of a number of interesting studies. Thus, for instance, the appearance of social relationships was investigated in the manifest dream content (*Mérei*, 1970) resp. an investigation method was elaborated to reveal the number, character and structure of interpersonal relationship experienced in the course of lifetime (*Fonyó*, 1970).

With the aid of scale-technical methods, the investigation of cognitive structures, systems and styles is being carried out as well. Comparative studies indicated the social differences concerning expectations functioning in impressions of other people (the so-called "implicit personality-theory") and the structural and contentual characteristics of perception in different strata of society. These "dispositions" differences manifest themselves in different ways and to different degrees in various circumstances, depending on the content and form of contact with people. Thus, for instance, the image formed regarding personalities figuring in



the mass media can be regarded as relatively homogenous from the point of view of society.

The position within groups, e.g. school communities can be shown to influence the judgement concerning associates, relationships within the group, and the community in general. Educational social-psychological investigations of descriptive (and in part experimental) character are sound proofs in this regard as they intend to throw light on the background of community attitudes in the social structure of community. To compare the individual image formed about the structure of the group with the "real" sociometric group-structure is a novel methodological approach (*Hunyady-Hunyady, 1973*). The process of the standardization of measuring tools, as e.g. the authoritarianism and dogmatism scales serving to measure the contentual features of individual cognitive systems is continuously developing. These were elaborated in entirely different social and ideological conditions. Standardization itself is actually an international comparison. What is the connection of the content of individual attitudes with some formal characteristics of the cognitive system as e.g. complexity-simplicity? This problem inevitably emerges in the course of such studies. In case of a difference in social and ideological circumstances the content of simplifying judgements is different. From another viewpoint, on the basis of some research the question may be put as to how far simplicity is independent of the subject matter and the content of thought, and how far it may be regarded as a formal feature of the cognitive style of personality (*Hunyady, 1973*).

Attitude investigations are carried out in the context of both (political) public opinion polls and (artistic) effect-researches. In the course of effect-investigations the Osgood semantic differential is often applied (*Halász, 1971*), the psycholinguistic, theoretic relations of which are studied in detail. Also within effect-investigations prejudices, resp. the possibility of changing them are studied among school children.

Investigations concerning broad social groups and strata, and those that study general social consciousness bring out the differences in the content and wording of opinions. They also result in valuable data regarding the categorization of society, of social phenomena in "everyday consciousness". Research touches upon the image great social groups and strata formed about one another and the dynamics of information, assessment, interest- and prestige conditions. A sort of cultural "deep drilling", the comparative investigation of the "generative" musical inclination in people belonging to different social groups is a novel way of public consciousness research (*Sági-Vitányi, 1972*).

As indicated by the long list of subjects, the research carried out in Hungary in the past 10 years touched upon all major problems of social-psychology, and it experiments with novel approaches in a number of fields.



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## VI. RESEARCH ON SCIENCE AND CULTURE





## SOCIOLOGY OF SCIENCE AND RESEARCH ON RESEARCH

by

SÁNDOR SZALAI and JÁNOS FARKAS

Sociology of science and especially the study of the socio-economic conditions and implications of scientific activities as well as of their institutional and organizational character holds an important place in Hungarian sociological research. The underlying reasons for this are partly historical. It should be sufficient to refer to the major part taken in the early development of the sociology of knowledge by Hungarian social scientists such as *György* (Georg) *Lukács* and *Károly* (Karl) *Mannheim*. Though both of them were forced into exile and worked abroad during the Horthy regime following the revolutions of 1918–19, they retained a considerable influence on the evolution of Hungarian sociological thinking both through the work they had done in Hungary earlier and the impact at home of their publications abroad during the decades of oppression. And yet, even in the quarter century dominated by the counter-revolution there were conservative scholars in Hungary such as *Gyula Kornis* and *Zoltán Magyary*, whose work on the sociology of science and the theory of science organization achieved an international reputation. Nor could it be ascribed to chance that a large number of natural scientists of considerable reputation who had emigrated from Hungary – it suffices to mention Eugene Wigner, Leo Szilárd and Albert Szent-Györgyi – thought it necessary to throw their scientific authority into the scales when it came to discussions that centred on the political, social and economic problems raised by contemporary natural science research. The social interpretation, evaluation and criticism of scientific life has deep roots in Hungarian intellectual traditions.

The writers of this paper have, in a number of international journals and other publications (*Szalai*, 1966, 1968; *Bóna–Farkas*, 1973), reported on the unprecedented scientific progress that got off the ground with the Liberation of the country following World War II; on the creation – practically out of the ruins – of the new broadly based organization of Hungarian scientific research which has since caught up with the international vanguard, and on the unfolding – starting from the particular requirements of just this progress – of large-scale activities in the fields of the sociology of science and of research on research. A good overall picture of Hungarian science policy and of the organization of Hungarian scientific research is given by a French-language Unesco publication issued a few years ago (*Unesco*,



1971). The social sciences were reviewed in a recent study likewise published by Unesco (Szántó, 1971).

These books and studies deal primarily with the developments in Hungary from the Liberation up to the late nineteen-sixties; what we aim to do here is to tell relevant Hungarian research work in the past five years or so.

Although a spirited discussion on general theoretical questions of the sociology of science and on problems of the "science of science" has been going on (Vekerdí, 1970; Farkas, 1971 (a), (b); Földvári-Manchin, 1972), the centre of theoretical interest has lately shifted somewhat towards the examination of the social planning and forecasting functions of the sociology of science and of research on research. This shift has two obvious causes. The first is that the positive and negative social consequences of the scientific and technological revolution, i.e. of the extremely accelerated rate of scientific and technological progress, pose entirely new and complex problems for socio-economic planning and the guidance of scientific activities, including the planning of research, precisely in the socialist countries where governmental planning is much more comprehensive than in the capitalist world. The second cause is that the economic reform introduced in Hungary starting with the late nineteen-sixties has profoundly changed the structure of industrial research and development and, by restricting the scope of arbitrary action in governmental planning, it has greatly increased the sociological and forecasting demands of all manner of socio-economic planning activity, including the national planning of research. (Cf. Bóna-Farkas-Klár-Lőrincz-Paczolay, 1970; Csöndes-Szántó-Vas-Zoltán, 1971; Kulcsár, 1972, 1973; Szakasits, 1973, Szalai, 1973; Szelényi, 1973.)

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences has set up a Presidential Committee to deal with the social consequences of scientific and technological development, as well as a Co-Ordination Council to organize the complex interdisciplinary research project titled "The scientific and technological revolution as an universal historical process amid the conditions of socialism and capitalism". A number of sociological research institutes and university departments participate in the whole of the latter. It is characteristic of the degree of general interest that the Hungarian Academy of Sciences publishes a bimonthly of abstracts and bibliography, *Tudományszervezési Tájékoztató* (Bulletin of Science Organization), which reports the Hungarian and foreign literature of scientific research and of the sociology of science.

The most important centres for the sociology of science and research on research in Hungary are the Institute of Sociology and the Science Organization group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the National Commission of Technical Development. A permanent Special Seminar for the Sociology of Science functions at the Karl Marx University of Economics in Budapest. The Association of Technological and Scientific Societies has a special Science of Science Department.

In the past five odd years *empirical* investigations and surveys relating to the social conditions of scientific activity in Hungary, especially the institutional and organizational features of research, as well as the motivations and living conditions of scholars and research workers have grown in number and scope at an exceptional rate. Such projects have made use of a large variety of modern data collection techniques.

A few characteristic topics which have attracted the attention of scholars are listed below. They are subjects which have already prompted the publication of important findings.

- conditions, effectiveness and obstacles to creative work in science and technology (*Szabó, 1971–72; Hegedűs, A.–Márkus, 1970, 1971; Farkas–Fukász–Pálincás–Szakasits–Váradi, 1972*);
- human relations in research (*Pálincás, 1971*).
- social, behavioural and attitudinal characteristics of social workers (*Kulcsár–Farkas, 1970; Földvári, 1971, Gelléri, 1972; Helmich, in press; Hegedűs, B. A., 1973*);
- achievement motivation in research (*Varga, 1973*);
- outlook in life and social adaptation of students and graduates (*Varga, 1968, Szesztay, 1970; Földváry–Szesztay, 1970*);
- professional and social integration of young research workers (*Bakos, 1973; Palásty, 1973; Pethes, 1973*);
- sociology or scientific schools (*Szesztay, 1970*).

Much work has been done in the observation and analysis of the process of transferring results of scientific and technological research and development into industrial production, including the obstacles hindering this process. The Institute of Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has, within the framework of a large-scale research project extending all the way from chemical research institutes to chemical plants, surveyed the long and tortuous road leading from the scientific “idea” to its “realization” in production (*Farkas, 1973, in press; Bertalan, in press; Tamás, in press*).

In addition, this topic was discussed within a more general scope in a voluminous publication, prepared by a research team on behalf of the National Commission of Technical Development, on the major social requisites of the acceleration of scientific and technological progress (*Szakasits, 1971*). This was accorded great importance at the international scientific symposium held by the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) at Moscow in February 1974, where scientists and other experts from all socialist countries of Europe, Hungary among them, dealt with the complex problems that can be summed up by the title of the symposium, “Scientific and Technological Revolution and Social Progress”.

Hungarian scholars are also intensely preoccupied with problems regarding the sociology of international scientific life and the role of social research in the work



of international organizations. A monograph on the brain drain problem, covering also the results of research in other countries, was published recently (*Vas-Zoltán*, 1973); another author has examined in the United Nations system (*Szalai*, 1970).

All this shows that the activity of Hungarian scholars in the sociology of science and in research on research is fairly intense. True, this activity is as yet somewhat scattered and perhaps a little too diversified in view of the available modest resources. No "great works" have as yet been accomplished and no "great results" achieved. But, as argued above, hardly more than a decade has passed since Hungarian sociological research, including work in the domain of the sociology of science, after overcoming certain well-known difficulties, could again start to get under way. The development that has since taken place is certainly encouraging.

Another encouraging fact is that Hungarian sociology of science keeps up and strengthens its contacts with those doing similar work abroad, not only in the socialist countries where research is similarly organized, but also within a broader framework provided by research projects, workshops, conferences and meetings under the auspices of the United Nations, Unesco, the European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in the Social Science ("Vienna Centre"), and, last but not least, the International Sociological Association and the Research Committee on the Sociology of Science. Bilateral contacts are also hopefully developing with individual scholars and centres of scholarship in all the five continents.

We are convinced that sociology has hardly any other branch in which international scientific cooperation is needed more and could at the same time be more fruitful.

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## STUDIES ON WAYS OF LIFE

by

ÁGNES LOSONCZI

Research on ways of life conducted in the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has basically been motivated a) by the practical aim of *assisting society* in perspective planning by analysing social reality, b) by the scientific and theoretical interest in *studying human life under everyday conditions* within the framework of the social system, and c) by the ideal goal of a *many-sided improvement of the quality of life* in order to realize the idea of a "meaningful life".

Since our immediate research task was to explore a concrete piece of social reality, we worked on the basis of the first two aims while maintaining a clear conception of the third "ideal" one. In other words, we tried to separate the social reality under examination from our own ideals and to void thus the projection of our ideals into a reality which does not yet function in the desired way.

The practical requirement which started off our research was the lack of information needed for the development of a relatively backward region of Hungary. This region is more of an agricultural than industrial character; its developmental indices are being those of other regions, and dynamic trends of development have by-passed it more often than they have encompassed it.

This problem has drawn attention to the fact that identical basic functions of economic activity, standardized methods of intervention, generally planned and tested principles of administration can have a different effect even on very similar socio-economic entities. They can become bogged down in intertwined roots of specific historical, structural and conscious human elements and indicate thus the existence of unrevealed social forces.

Under various historical conditions the social environment develops in different ways and gives raise to different systems of customs and habits; also human relationships become realized in differing ways. Hence, due to specific combinations of social, economic and human characteristics, the effects of identical social macro-forces may work out differently from what could have been foreseen by social planners. This is the reason why we tried to approach the analysis of this divergence through a study of the ways of life of the people involved.

In international sociological research, similar studies are being conducted under many labels: "ways of life", "style of life". "conduct of life", "quality" of life;



numerous areas of sociological research touch on the same problems. Our study had points of contact with several such international lines of research. But since our investigation aimed at a concrete goal and was conducted in a circumscribed region of the country, the methods, the objective facts, as well as the conditions of research dictated a particular approach and a concept adapted to our specific task.

We started our investigation from the notion that a person's way of life is founded on two basic conditions: on the objective possibilities offered by the external world, that is by the given material social and economic conditions, and on the internal "ability" of the person which is in turn developed, nourished and matured or made to wither by the social environment and which is therefore itself conditioned by the given, historically and socially determined level of social development.

With regard to the organization of personal life and to the shaping of the individual's way of life, the following essential questions may be posed: In view of the given material conditions what opportunities are open to the individual? (This is the objective aspect.) Which of these opportunities are known and are familiar to him? (This is the conscious subjective aspect.) Finally, what opportunities is he able to utilize or to exploit? (This is the question of activity.)

A way of life is essentially the way in which human being creates and recreates day by day the basic framework of his whole life. He tries to form and to change these conditions in accordance with his needs while he is himself changing under the influence of the conditions surrounding him. Livelihood is the existing system of man's daily repeated tasks, which in turn is based on the totality of his material, social and human conditions.

The production and reproduction of life extends from the simplest basic needs to the most differentiated spheres of human spiritual and social consciousness. This means that man must secure his own life and every element of it day by day. He must ensure the fulfillment of his primary needs for the reproduction of his social existence by reproducing and re-living all aspects of his human conditions.

A way of life is realized primarily in the quality of livelihood, in the structure of everyday activities, in the quality of material life and of human social contacts, and in the level of appropriated culture.

Practical questions of the development of a relatively backward region of the country were of primary concern to our research. It was therefore clear that the investigation had to take into account first of all questions of the environment in which people deploy their daily activities.

Fundamental differences in the way of life follow from the differing conditions in man's objective material environment, that is from the technical and civilizational level of the environment in which he creates his living conditions, satisfies his needs, displays his activities, establishes and brings up his family. The technical and civilizational level of a region expresses its role in the social division of labour and its share in the national product.



In Hungary the specific characteristics of an urban or rural settlement are especially important in shaping of the possibilities and activities of life for its inhabitants since – for historical and economic reasons – there are considerable inequalities between the level of various communities in the country.

The social and individual path permitting to overcome these extreme differences is the great socio-geographical mobility (migration) which has brought about the tremendous swelling of Hungarian cities, especially of Budapest. This mobility was made possible by the large-scale development of industry and the ensuing transformation of the whole social structure. The results, conflicts and worries of the growth of cities are all characteristics of contemporary life. In considering different ways of life, special attention has to be paid to varying community conditions, because the geographic disadvantages manifest themselves as social disadvantages and the advantageous position of a community carries in itself the possibility of social advantages for its inhabitants. In view of the significantly more dynamic development of certain regions, the relative backwardness of a region gives rise to constantly renewed tensions; the disadvantages to its inhabitants are being continuously reproduced though at a decreasing rate.

Once the part of material environment in determining the way of life was established our research focussed on activities, especially on activities of a productive character. As work determines man and form his life, it is one of the most important, or perhaps the most important factor in shaping his way of life. Work determines man's place in society; it defines also his moral and social respectability and – last but not least – his share in the goods produced. The activity by which a man participates in society and the way which he does his work have an impact on himself, especially on the manner in which he recreates day by day his own individual life.

As in a socialist society the role of private property and inherited rank and position has disappeared or practically lost its significance and people spend most of their active time on work. It is quite obvious, therefore, that in Hungary work is the basic determinant of a person's whole life and his style of living.

It is a person's relation to his work that determines whether he wants to use his free time to build himself up to the standards of his work (e.g. by getting a higher education in his own profession); or whether he wants to expand the narrowness of his work ("work is less than man himself") and to make adequate use of his unused abilities in some other freely chosen field of human activity. It also may be that he wants to shake off the memory of his daily fatigue by simply relaxing. In this sense, anything a person does in his leisure time is closely related to his work, to the complexity and level of his daily job.

In another sector of our analysis the social inequality in the distribution of material goods at various levels of the standard of living was investigated. A complex system of indices was used which referred not only to differences in material conditions but contained also a number of cultural indicators.



All objective manifestations of needs have more than a material significance; they represent a social value-content as well. If there is an inequality in the distribution of goods, if the living standards are differentiated, then this in itself maintains the social symbolism hidden in the material goods and their role in creating, differentiating and upholding social statuses. All needs take their origin in material conditions but their satisfaction is never purely material because its significance gets doubled or multiplied by its impact on the social environment.

The differences among social classes and strata may find their expression in the level of material conditions, in the system of social preferences and in the distribution of goods. A knowledge of the variations of demands and of the different chances for their fulfillment permits to draw certain conclusions with regard to the social tensions which may occur in this field.

Primary groups and communities shape the individual. They shape his intellectual and emotional judgements, his habits, his standards of behaviour, the ways in which he strives to satisfy his elementary material needs, and in a certain sense even the order in which these needs get satisfied. Communities shape the rhythm and the ways of managing conditions of life. They set and reject targets; they transmit, preserve or change customs, abolish old ones or create new ones. At the different stages of human life different communities come to play the guiding role and to provide the most important framework for orientation. Consequently, different community norms take a turn at the shaping of human life.

This is particularly valid here and now, in Hungarian villages, where the former rather closed village communities have become more open, and where the former stability of values has been replaced by new values.

Needless to say that the values and value judgements in question may, and actually do, get into conflict with one another. New requirements and old traditions are valued in dissimilar ways by different interest groups. People must reach a number of decisions on how to conduct their life under the new conditions. They must decide about new ways of eating and dressing. They must decide whether to install a bathroom in their house or to hold a traditional expensive wedding celebration for the daughter, whether to go abroad for their summer holidays or to buy new furniture. They must even decide whether they should hold the interests of the community or their personal interests in higher esteem, to what ideal and moral precepts they should submit themselves, and which alternative they should accept when they have to choose between comfort and principles. Besides individual value judgements, such decisions are also determined by the way-of-life model that is represented by the group to which the person belongs.

Finally, there are those factors of cultural behaviour which pervade people's entire course of life, permeate and explain their system of actions, dictates the sequence in which their needs ought to be fulfilled and establishes priorities also with regard to their general activities and to the creation of social conditions.

Values and ideals inform and orient people in the everyday formation of their way of life and provide a safety of conduct while binding and supporting actions in the course of everyday behaviour.

A characteristic indicator of the way of life is the behaviour demonstrated in daily activities, in the satisfaction of needs and in the relationship to freely chosen or compulsorily joined groups and communities. All these are manifestations of the hierarchy of social values. A person can adapt consciously such a hierarchy or it can simply arise out of his adaptation to social norms and become realized in fixed everyday habits.

Thus, by studying people's way of life the social use of material wealth and the influence of the cultural level on the shaping of everyday life can be simultaneously apprehended.

We endeavoured to investigate the whole structure of the way of life by seeking to capture the specific mixture of economic, social and consciousness factors in their dynamic context. Even in the fulfillment of a basic need like nutrition this complexity becomes easily apparent. Nourishment is not only a biological need, nor is it solely determined by economic factors; it reflects social conditions as well. All these factors are interwoven and interdependent; influences of culture, ethnical habits and national customs, inherited experiences and results of psychological ones manifest themselves in their context. We tried to reveal the inherent social complexity of the most basic elements of the way of life as explained by their historical development. Our investigation encompassed the dwelling, the household, the dressing, the work, all kinds of changes in family life and in everyday morals, and so forth.

What questions and what answers have finally proved to be productive in our research? What have we achieved?

First of all, it became clearer to us how and under what conditions social indicators and their interrelations can be usefully applied in this kind of research and by what methods the qualitative analysis of social living conditions can be approached.

Interesting analyses were made possible by considering systems of needs as central operational categories and by treating the various kinds of needs neither as simple indicators of the material conditions nor as separate motives of everyday behaviour but rather as components of the whole complex of interrelationships with other social values and social actions.

It proved to be very fruitful to examine the role of the family in the formation and transformation of the way of life and to analyse the complex effect of historical and economic factors on the transformation of roles within the family and on changes in the norms of family life.

We think we were successful in breaking with the traditional division between work done in household and outside of it (i.e. paid work); we were able to show how any kind of work and the whole structure of everyday activities are closely interrelated.



Within the cultural sphere in the traditional sense we studied the dialectics of the two aspects of activity viewed from the angle of interest and action. We found that it is not possible to isolate any single sphere of everyday life from all the others. Therefore the cultural sphere cannot be surveyed without taking into account daily work, production, and the role of material conditions.

Changes occurring in the macro-world are accompanied by transformations in people's micro-environment which bring about new forms of activity, new tasks, new customs and new values in almost every domain. Consequently, notable changes are going on simultaneously in all spheres of human relations.

A change in the way of life may arise on account of several factors. There are mobile elements of the way of life which facilitate change, and there are very stable elements which resist change. Our investigations have shown that while material conditions and general living conditions may have undergone very deep changes, there is a strong resistance in people's life to change because much of their life is tied to customs and norms of the past. Nevertheless, we have encountered in some cases changes in certain basic elements of the way of life even though no concomitant change could be observed in external conditions.

A change of the style of life may get started in three different ways. Firstly, the transformation expansion or growing of material living conditions may force people to adapt themselves. In this case the change begins in the material living conditions (industrialization, urbanization, increased production of commodities, development of transport, communications and general technology, etc.); the traditional hierarchy of needs breaks down: new demands, new values are introduced into people's lives. Secondly, the change may start with the modification of relationships within social groups and communities. This alters their former internal structure, their customs and systems of values. Consequently new forms of behaviour in everyday life arise. Fundamental changes within the system of general social relationships (e.g. socialist ownership of the means of production and socialist principles of distribution) furthermore structural changes in face-to-face group and small communities, such as for instance the transformation of relationships within the family have always a great impact on the style of life. Finally, the change can also start owing to the effect of new ideas. In such cases the change is signalled at first by the emergence of an ideal image which communicates in a conscious way the need for the transformation of social relationships and for the adoption of new forms of existence.

Analysing a series of various careers, it turned out that because of changes in the ways of life there are shifts between the different spheres of activities in respect to their relative importance to everyday life. Some factors push the individual into one or another direction, but there are also factors which resist any change and factors which are becoming irrelevant.

As we said before, a change can be set off by some mobile element in the way of life, but whether the change arises out of the material living conditions or out of

the transformation of small group or community relationships, it has an effect on other sets of elements or factors as well.

An important motive for change is the human endeavour to transform the existing world in order to improve it; to correct and modify man's existence in accordance with his potentiality; to reform his circumstances and expand his opportunities in a direction which he himself considers preferable to his actual situation. What this "preferability" means, is suggested to him partly by his own immediate experience partly by the way-of-life models of the society in which he is actually living and partly by examples he may have voluntarily chosen. Man's efforts in this direction may become manifest in the concentration on his own work but they may also turn towards social action aiming to reach the ideals he set to himself.

The change may become realized through a conflict, but it may also come about by stepwise quantitative or qualitative improvements. The differences between needs and possibilities and the efforts to balance them in order to overcome given conditions are highly effective factors in bringing about changes in the way of life.

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## STUDIES ON FREE TIME AND LEISURE

by

MIKLÓS SZÁNTÓ

Research on free time and leisure has been part of the programme of Hungarian sociology from the early 1960's. In Hungary sociological research always received an impetus when its requirements met with the spontaneous response of social scientists working in other disciplines. As it happens, leisure became the particular field of interest of a number of teachers and scholars who worked in adult education. They were first prompted by a desire to improve upon social conditions and this still inspires them. Their special aim has been, however, the exploration of the conditions and circumstances of education. Their work was mostly linked to an institution which by its very nature largely determined the social group to be studied and the methods used in such a study. Nevertheless, the basic question was the same everywhere: Do the various strata and groups of society devote the free time at their disposal to the raising their own cultural level? If they don't, what prevents them to do so?

Similar endeavours in other countries acted as a further incentive. The main reason for the thriving of the sociology of free time and leisure in Hungary – as in many other countries – was that industrialization, urbanization and the wide spread of television had created a new situation, and under these new circumstances, the necessity for social planning became emphatic.

As of today, the characteristic traits of this branch of Hungarian social research have taken definite shape. Already from the very beginning, Hungarian sociologists were intent to include into the time-budgets of various social groups and state their whole conduct of daily life, and did not try to analyse leisure "as such", that is abstracted from every other activity.

The time-dimension always applies to activities and can be used to measure their frequency and duration; it is along this dimension that the sequence of various activities can be recorded. Still, it was found out rather early that time-budgets are not instruments which could be applied by themselves with the necessary precision and that they are not sensitive enough to show some important differences between various sections of society and types of activity. Therefore, investigations have been gradually extended to various other dimensions, sociologists interested in problems of leisure undertook research on various complex aspects of ways of life and time-budget research served to them as one of the instruments for collecting relevant data.

## THE SITUATION OF WOMEN AT THE PLACE OF WORK AND AT HOME

In Hungary the first large-scale survey project investigating free time and leisure was undertaken by the Central Statistical Office in 1960. (*A nők helyzete*, 1962) This project was aimed at a statistical investigation of the general living conditions of Hungarian women. The national survey sample encompassed 8,200 women. The principal findings with regard to the free time and leisure of women were the following.

1. Significant differences were found in respect between employed women and housewives in respect to the intensity of cultural interests, with those in employment coming out best. However, these differences were not the same in every section of society but were primarily related to the educational level of the women in question. The greatest difference was observed in respect to the continuation of regular studies. Among employed women the ratio of those continuing their education was five times as high than among those who were only active in their own household.

2. As there were very few television sets in Hungary at that time, reading was in the lead among favoured pastimes, followed by needlework, serving food and simple relaxation.

3. 40 per cent of employed women did their housework alone, without help from their husbands. It was also established that labour-saving appliances reduced exertion but hardly diminished the time devoted to household duties. In a household with two members household duties required on the average four hours per day. This time increased with the size of the family.

"Employed women do the housework piled up during the week on holidays and on their days off. At the same time, Sunday is of course also the time for relaxation: women have then more than three hours left for entertainment, visiting and education."

## THE 24 HOURS OF THE DAY

In 1963 the staff of the Central Statistical Office undertook a national time-budget survey based on a country level representative sample of 12,000 households. From each household one adult member (between 18 and 60 years of age) was randomly chosen. (*A nap 24 órája*, 1965.)

This survey was the first to provide comprehensive information on the time-budget of the various groups and strata of the adult population: men and women, employed and dependent, professionals, clerks, and manual workers, etc. The daily rhythm of their life, the variety or monotony of their daily activities, the duties and burdens affecting various sections of society, the relative preponderance of various activities and their interdependencies were all included in the scope of the investigation.



As the findings showed, the following factors exercised the greatest influence on the structure of the daily time-budget:

a) The fact of a regular gainful occupation: in all households the life rhythm and the whole time-schedule differ significantly between those members who are employed and those who are not.

b) The agricultural or non-agricultural character of the household as such: a connection with agriculture fundamentally influences the way of life and the time-schedule of every member of the household.

c) Sex: the time-schedule of men and women differs considerably, even in otherwise identical conditions." (*A nap 24 órája*, 1965.)

The survey established also some characteristic traits of the time budget of the inhabitants of the country.

1. There is a single genuine day of rest every week: Sunday. However, the relationship between weekdays and Sundays differs in various social groups. Saturdays and Sundays have different meaning for women than for men. For the men rest days ensure more complete relaxation. Employed women try to catch up on Saturdays and especially on Sundays with household work that should have done on workdays.

2. Household work is divided rather unevenly between the sexes. 45 per cent of men did not do any housework at all on the day of the interview. The average duration of household activities varied also according to occupation. It appeared to be shorter for white-collar than for manual workers. Even within these two groups the time devoted to household duties was shorter for those who were better educated.

3. Leisure was defined by the sociologists carrying out this survey as time spent on freely chosen favoured activities such as listening to the radio, reading, receiving visitors, going to the theatre or to other places of entertainment, taking a walk, participating in sports or games, hobbies, or do-it-yourself activities, etc. Activities of this type were designed an "actively spent free time". (At the time of the survey the number of television sets in the country was still small. For this reason the average time spent watching television was 0,4 hours, less than that spent reading.) The total duration of daily leisure was different according to occupational groups and sex. In the case of male workers and employees it was 3 hours per day, in the case of female workers and employees 2,3 hours. Activities of a cultural nature filled in 7 per cent of the leisure of white-collar workers, and 61 per cent of that of manual workers. There was a large difference between the general average of time spent by the population on any single type of leisure activity and the time spent on it by those who actually engaged in that kind of passtime. Different leisure activities ranked quite differently in this two respects. Thus, watching television proved to be the most time-consuming leisure activity of those who engaged in it but reading the most wide spread leisure activity taking the population as a whole.

The survey showed that in their free time people were not doing so much what they most liked to do; they mostly chose the kind of entertainment that happened to be available at the given moment and demanded the least exertion. Many respondents considered as leisure activities just those for which they did not have sufficient time left. Some of the activities which were qualified by the sociologists as belonging to leisure were not accepted as such by certain groups of respondents who considered them as contributing little or nothing to their relaxation.

However, all these findings still did not provide sufficiently sophisticated insight into factors influencing people's behaviour in spending their free time.

#### LEISURE OF URBAN POPULATIONS IN FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

On the initiative of the editors of the periodical *Peace and Socialism*, a group of Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish and Soviet sociologists specialising in leisure research undertook coordinated research project in 1964 for the exploration of the ways in which urban populations spend their free time. Within the framework of this project 3,203 individual time-budget and leisure interviews were carried out with over 14 years old members of 1,600 families living partly in Budapest, partly in two larger and fifteen smaller towns of the Hungarian countryside (*Szántó*, 1965). Some interesting findings of the Hungarian survey were the following.

1. The frequency of leisure activities was classified according to their daily, weekly or still more infrequent repetition. Measured in this scale, the reading of newspaper was in the lead at that time among all daily leisure activities: 79.9 per cent of those interviewed read newspapers every day. Listening to the radio figured in second place, and it is interesting to note that watching television was already at that time (1964) in the third place, preceding the reading of books. Among leisure activities repeated weekly, reading of periodicals, receiving of visitors and going to the movies occupied the first three places. (On the monthly repetition scale receiving of guests, going to the movies and going to the theatre were the three leisure activities leading the list in this order.)

2. The differing rhythm of workdays and holidays was demonstrated by the fact that on the days off the most of the actively employed people relaxed and rested; relaxed resting was followed in frequency of occurrence by the reading of books, do-it-yourself activities and watching television.

3. The survey found a marked difference between men and women with regard to the structure of their activities on days of rest. "Saturday is the women's most difficult day". Although women workers spend on Saturday nearly an hour less time at their place of work than on other normal workdays of the week, the "part day off" character of Saturday is hardly noticeable in the case of the majority of employed women. They do considerably more housework on Saturday. They have



to do their shopping for two days, they engage in more thorough cleanup and there is also more laundry and ironing for them to do than otherwise. Data show that on Sunday women spend a lot of time cooking (approximately four hours the average) and again they clean the house more thoroughly, they try to finish the heap of laundry left over, etc. On the other hand, women sleep on Sundays 1-1 1/2 hours longer and many of them take a nap after lunch.

The structure of Sunday afternoons and evenings shows in general the same picture with women as with men. This indicates that weekend recreation is of a family nature, enjoyed together by husband and wife. In respect to receiving visitors or paying visits, going to the cinema, taking a walk or doing some weekend reading (as distinct from workday reading) hardly any difference between men and women became noticeable. (*Szántó, 1965*).

#### MULTINATIONAL COMPARATIVE TIME-BUDGET RESEARCH PROJECT

The European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences established by UNESCO in Vienna launched 1964 a Multinational Comparative Time-Budget Research Project covering adult urban and suburban populations of middle-sized industrial towns in 12 countries (7 in Eastern Europe and 5 in the West). The overall direction of the project was entrusted to Professor Sándor Szalai, a Hungarian sociologist. In Hungary the selected survey site was the city of Győr and places in its surroundings from which at least 5 per cent of the working population commuted to Győr. The survey sample included 1991 persons. (*Szalai, 1972*).

Although the survey preceded by three years the general reduction in working hours introduced by the Hungarian government, and the supply of the population with television receivers was at that time still at an early stage, important and useful data were obtained concerning trends in the daily activity-schedule of the urban and suburban population.

1. The Time-Budget defined "free time" by deducting from the 24 hours of the day the time spent on work, on household and family duties, and on physiological needs including sleep. Although the Győr data cannot be considered as representative of the entire urban and suburban population of Hungary, their comparison with the data of the Czechoslovak and Belgian survey sites are interesting. Employed men in Győr disposed on the average of 3.8 hours free time per day while in the case of employed women free time amounted on the average only to 2.4 hours per day. The Czechoslovak averages were 4.8 and 3.1 hours respectively, the Belgian averages 4.7 and 3.4 hours respectively. On Sundays the employed men in Győr had 7.6 hours of free time, employed women only 4.8 hours, compared to 7.8 and 5.0 hours on the Czechoslovak survey site and 8.9 and 6.8 hours on the Belgian survey site, respectively.

2. At the same time, interesting similarities were discovered between geographically, politically and culturally distant countries of the East and the West. Thus, in spite of the difference in the supply of the population with television sets watching television took up most time among leisure activities everywhere. But beside some common trends, it was also found that not only economic and technological conditions but also social and cultural traditions of the various countries – closely linked to their cultural level and system of values – exerted a strong influence on the structure of leisure activities.

3. The findings of this project confirmed once again on a vast multinational data material the fact that women have in general 1–2 hours less free time per day than men. Though they spend on the average less time on their working place than men, the “second shift” they have to undertake in their household puts them in a much more unfavourable position.

4. “There were great differences in the level of industrial development and urbanization between the countries encompassed by the Multinational Comparative Time-Budget Research Project. Nevertheless, the time-budgets of the various urban and suburban populations surveyed show with regard to their main inner proportions a conspicuous similarity. We must count therefore with a general standardising influence of the living conditions in contemporary urban industrial centres which put their imprint even on the everyday life of population groups whose living conditions are in other respects widely differing.” (*Szalai, 1972*).

#### REDUCTION IN WORKING HOURS AND THE WEEKEND WAY OF LIFE

From the mid-sixties television viewing spread rapidly in Hungary and within a few years the supply of television sets reached almost a saturation point. 1968 the gradual reduction of working hours began with the introduction of “Saturdays off” every other week. This system was first introduced in industry, and then in public administration and the servicing sector as well. 1970 the government requested the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to investigate the effect of the reduction in working hours. This survey covered industrial workers living in cities and observed the “shift” in the structure of weekend activities. The sample consisted of 1,044 persons in Budapest, two other large cities and seven medium-sized and smaller country towns.

As a control group 216 city-dwellers working in industry and owning cars in the cities and towns under investigation were questioned. (*Szántó, 1972*) Since the survey intended to provide information for long-range planning, it seemed advisable to become acquainted with the way of life of families living on a higher standard than the present average. The 216 families in question who had adequate urban housing and owned a car were investigated as a special group because it could be



assumed that their way of living would spread as a model to be followed after the housing problems of the country were solved and the planned increase in the number of motor cars had taken place.

In the course of this survey time-budgets were prepared of Saturdays off and of Sundays with and without Saturdays off; also interviews were made covering the habits and the motivation of workday and weekend activities.

The principal findings of the survey were the following

1. The reduction in working hours has so far produced little change in the structure of weekday activities. It has produced important changes on Saturday off.

2. Four conditions play an important role in the transformation of the activity structure: sex, age, cultural level, and the possession of a vehicle. The reduction in working hours led to an important progress with regard to the majority of employed women; they have now at least one genuine day of rest, namely Sunday.

3. According to the survey, the proportion of persons having a second job beside their main job has increased, but not evenly in every section of society. A relatively large number of employed married men between 20 and 50 years of age, especially those whose work is in demand on the free market, "sell" the hours which they gained by getting a Saturday off.

What is the reason for this increase of "moonlighting" jobs? Improving one's own education, this most valuable form in which free time can be used, is a line of activity requiring financial means and a sacrifice of free time. If the disposable hours can be more favourably "sold" today, then many people are less willing to invest precious minutes in their own education for the sake of a cultural requirement which is somewhat abstract and can at best only become profitable in the future. Young married couples are under the greatest pressure. There are many among them who have recently moved to town, with a trade they only learnt recently. They wish to get hold of a home and furnish it within a few years, while they also have to count with the financial consequences of having children in the future. In the last decade a level of minimum demands with regard to standards of living has developed which is much higher than it was, say, ten years ago. General welfare has risen, both in respect to per capita income and to the range of available goods. Broad sections of the population have overcome the housing problem: the average number of relatively expensive durable consumer goods per household (television sets, refrigerators, household appliances of all kinds, etc.) has increased considerably. Yet a relatively broad section of society is still at the stage of laying the foundations for an improvement of its standards of living and struggles with the solution of the housing problem, while right before its eyes another group has already entered the era of the motor car and weekend cottage or has at least come close to this threshold. It is clear that those who wish to keep up, who are competing, concentrate on the aims which are attainable to them, and wish to satisfy their real needs at all costs. If necessary, they work overtime, undertake extra work at the weekend, or sacrifice their leisure.



4. Evidently, leisure is an active factor of consumption, which, in competition with some other factors, mostly exerts its influence indirectly. It affects in different ways all the different groups and strata of society and its influence changes in time. General living conditions decide for what purposes free time will be used, to what types of leisure people will turn, and how valuable those types will be from the cultural point of view.

#### LEISURE AND THE MASS MEDIA

Hungarian sociologists dealt also with the theoretical aspects of the interdependence between ways of life and leisure. They tended to interpret leisure as "an important index of the way of life". (*Szántó*, 1967) An interesting study dealt with the problem of the "elasticity" of activities carried out under "time pressure" and touched also on the history of the leisure problem. (*Szalai*, 1964)

Another study dealt with the compensatory connections between productive activities and leisure tried to clarify the structure and the composition of the leisure of the population and especially also popular habits connected with the mass media. (*Molnár-Semjén*, 1969; *Szekfü*, 1973; *Tomka*, 1973.) Some research teams dealt with leisure problems of youth (*Jakab-Tardos*, 1970). Thus the Mass Communication Research Centre of Hungarian Radio and Television conducted 1971 a special survey of the weekly time-budget of young people. A national representative sample of 350 young people in the age-groups of 14, 18 and 22 years were investigated. It was found that the average daily leisure of these age-groups amounts to 1–2 hours more than that of adults. (*Tardos*, 1973)

One year later, that is 1972, Mass Communication Research Centre undertook in cooperation with several other research institutions a major government-sponsored research project in order to explore the interconnections between ways of life, education and recreation, with special regard to the role of leisure activities. A time-budget based on so-called "yesterday interviews" (interviews covering the full schedule of individual activities for the preceding day) was prepared. Respondents were questioned about five consecutive days in their life. A national representative sample of 1,800 persons was used, and this was complemented by the questioning of 6,000 additional persons about the availability of television and radio to them. The final data of the survey are still being analysed, but a few preliminary findings can already be formulated.

1. The first three leisure activities of daily occurrence are radio listening, television viewing and gardening, in this order. Among the less frequent leisure activities do-it-yourself activities and hobbies rank first and are followed by sports and games, playing cards, etc.

2. The proportion of those who regularly view television and/or listen to the radio is very high: 70 to 80 per cent of the population.



3. On the basis of the survey data an interesting typology of leisure activities could be elaborated combining the degree of intensity of doing certain activities with the individual or social character of the activities in question.

4. The structure and the composition of leisure could be demonstrated by forming three large circles of activity with a "very strong" activity as centre of attraction in the middle of each circle. The three centres proved to be the mass media, good music, and gardening.

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## THE SOCIOLOGY OF CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

by

IVÁN VITÁNYI

The character and significance of sociology of culture in Hungary is determined by its unique position. There exists a special Hungarian term, "közművelődés", which literally means "culture of the entire community". But the word "culture" is used in a specifically active – predicative – form which indicates the actual performance of cultural activity by the entire population in their everyday lives. An approximate translation of the Hungarian term might be something like "cultural activity of the people". In this sense, cultural activity is becoming more and more a public matter in Hungary. It is a current topic of heated debate in intellectual circles; it is a prominent item in the press, radio and television, and its problems are frequently discussed by various authorities and boards up to and including the highest ranks of governmental administration. (For example, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party analysed and passed resolutions on cultural activity.)

The widespread interest in cultural activities calls for its analysis at a scientific, above all, sociological level. There is a general need for research which presents an objective picture of the complexity of the entire issue and which provides information for scientific as well as practical purposes.

Expectations of this nature carry their own hazards: they may induce science to potter about on the surface of applications. Nevertheless, Hungarian researchers interpret the situation rather as a favourable opportunity to gain insight, through coordinate a research, into the basic system of "general cultural activity" concealed behind partial truths, and superficial phenomena.

In possession of results and experiences obtained over a period of several years, the sociology of cultural activity has developed a definite orientation in Hungary, both theoretically and methodologically, which emphasizes complexity and a multi-disciplinary approach; research of a strictly sociological character is here always linked with studies in psychology, social psychology, anthropology, semiotics, communication theory, structuralism, aesthetics etc.

The starting point of our research is a defined chain of relationships that links different phenomena. The assumption is that the *professional-occupational structure of society* (this concept encompasses also all kinds of blue-collar occupations)



determines the *class structure* and the *stratification* of society. These in turn form the basis for the structure of life styles which encompass *free-time activities* and other forms of socio-cultural behaviour. The structure of life styles provides the basis for a system of personal *educational orientations and activities* which reflect the *acquired culture*, that is the assemblage, the pattern and nature of *works of art and ideas* involved in cultural activity.

The above system of relationships is treated as a given premise in a number of theories of culture. Claude Lévi-Strauss, for instance, uses the same approach when he writes that economic structures based on the exchange of goods and social structures based on the exchange of linguistic signs are related precisely by their structural characteristics. Our view is in so far different that it relies on the Marxian theory of the economic process and its superstructure, that is we suppose a hierarchic order, rather than mere correspondence, among all these structure.

Obviously, the kind of sociological research we have in mind must go beyond the theoretical analysis of this web of relations; it must aim also at the practical interpretation of all the relations involved. This, however, raises the question how to connect the different levels of phenomena which research has thus far dealt with. Common principles must be discovered which reveal the entire system and the functioning of relationships.

Our theory is based on a pair of interconnected notions: *structure* and *generativity*. We put a special emphasis on the unity of the two; this is an important point that distinguishes our approach from that of Lévi-Strauss. Naturally, if we find structures at all levels, we can always compare them. However, this may easily lead to simple formal analogies unless we proceed from what is common among these structures, namely, that they all are generated by human activity.

By introducing the concept of generativity, we endeavour to emphasise how closely our analysis is tied to the activity aspect. Our approach is in this respect akin to that of Christopher Alexander, the systems theorist, who distinguished between a system viewed structurally (as a whole) and a system viewed in action and development (as a generating system).

Generativity as a term has been borrowed from Noam Chomsky's linguistic theory. Chomsky uses the word to denote a capacity possessed by all men to create — "generate" — an infinite number of correct sentences out of a finite number of lexical items using a finite number of rules. This capacity, however, is not confined to the production of structured sentences in practical discourse; it is applicable to all linguistic phenomena, moreover, to any structures created by man. In other words, generativity is a distinctive capacity of all men to create something and to transform nature in their likeness. More precisely, it is that degree of human creativity possessed by man in consequence of his anthropological heritage.

Psychological literature distinguishes stages in creativity. The most accepted classification is that of Irving A. Taylor, who posits five stages, namely those of

*expressive, productive, intente, innovative and emergentive creativity.* The first three stages involve the re-formation out of known elements by known rules, where the emergence of a new quality is accidental from the agent's point of view and is merely a result of the automatism of creation. Therefore, these stages can be under the general heading of *generative creativity*. The discovery and the use of *new* elements and rules begins at the fourth, innovative stage while the fifth, emergentive stage represents a higher form of the same innovative process, thus Taylor's five stages may be reduced into two main categories, namely those of *generative* and *innovative* creativity.

Our own research work leads us to suppose that the two basic categories of creativity, although they represent differences in level, do not simply make up a linear progression: they rather indicate different capacities just as we are wont to distinguish when we refer to short-term and long-term memory. The individual person combines the two capacities: there are those who have abundant generative creative capability in their profession, yet they are incapable of innovation, while others are of an inventive turn of mind, yet they cannot express themselves well for want of generative proficiency.

This psychological issue becomes a *sociological* one if studied as a *social* phenomenon existing in a given form and degree within a given society and not simply as an observation on individual creative abilities and capacities. This consideration applies also to our analysis. Questions concerning individual behaviour within a community or the structure of personality naturally fall primarily within the scope of psychology, whereas the study of works and ideas which belong to the domain of language, literature, the arts, sciences, philosophy, etc. has to be taken up by the respective disciplines (linguistics, aesthetics, semiotics, philosophy, etc.). But if we wish to discover the measure and function of *all* these structures as they operate *in social practice*, we have arrived in the domain of sociology and it is the primary concern of the sociology of culture to make inquiries into the relevant issues.

The decisive question in methodology is, ultimately, the unity of structurality and generativity. Structures should not be studied in their dead (static) forms but in their formation and in their relations to live human action. On the other hand, actions can only be analysed on the basis of structures, which are the actual manifestation, both as object and result of the actions.

This view is opposed in more than one way to traditional interpretations of culture and sociology of arts in particular. Most authors assume explicitly or implicitly that advanced industrial societies are divided, from the point of view of art, into two distinct groups: producers (artists) and consumers (the public). At most there may be room for a third mediating layer of critics, publishers, broadcasting and television companies, etc. Alphonse Silbermann's sociology of music also distinguishes these three "socio-musical groups"; Hughes Duncan takes



the interrelations of the same groups as the primary object of the sociology of arts. In our view, however, there is no reason to examine the relations between these artificially isolated since the basic premises are wrong. Not even the population of the most advanced industrial societies can be rigidly classified into art-producers and art-consumers, because every individual acts at the same time as a creator and a recipient. In truth, the *totality* of relations between the process of "production" and "consumption" has to be examined.

The proposed method and the results which can be achieved are illustrated by the following example. *Music* is an art where the possibility of a creative role of the audience is most frequently questioned. At first sight the naive observer, or even a trained sociologist for that matter, might consider the social production and consumption of music as similar to those of industrial products: the shoe-maker or the shoe factory produces the shoes, the distributor puts them on the market, and the population buys them. With music, the situation is the same: it is produced by composers and musicians, distributed by a suitable apparatus, and all that remains for a layman in music to do is to choose from the supply.

However, our studies demonstrate that there still exists a generative kind of musical creativity in almost every strata of society. We can even determine its level and forms; moreover, we have worked out a method which permits to analyse the external forms of generative musical creativity in detail. This method is based on improvisation by the test persons. With no time allowed for preparation, they are asked to sing, on the spot, melodies based on: a) poems of various styles and degrees of difficulty; b) characteristic sequences of chords in European polyphonic music; c) unfinished tunes. The test, in combination with other complementary tests, have been applied to groups of various social origins and ages: workers, peasants, intellectuals, students from different types of schools, university students, with control groups of students at the Academy of Music and foreign (Vietnamese, Arab and South American) students in Hungary. Our experiments have shown that practically everybody is able to create tunes, what is more, people who have never done so improvise with great pleasure when given the opportunity. On analysing the melodies obtained, we have isolated the musical structures closest associated with the different social strata.

What are these musical structures like? Instead of presenting the actual musical analysis, it might be more opportune to call attention to results obtained in a related study. We carried out a thorough analysis on the pop-hits of the past 40 years in Hungary. What this investigation demonstrated was that people as a rule create musical structures that they prefer as recipients. The reverse is not true however; man can appreciate music of a much wider range than creativity in musical structures would imply. However, his scope as a recipient is basically determined by his creative abilities.

A musical composition has its own semiotic language, i.e. one can only appreciate the kind of music of which at least some constitutive elements are fairly



easily activated; otherwise, the music itself become totally unintelligible. A consistent adherence to this method enables us to avoid the well-known pitfall of certain non-qualitative sociological inquiries, the type of question which arises if one asks whether two men reading the same book do or do not necessarily perform the same activity.

There is nothing new in tracing the sociology of music back to these foundations. Max Weber's posthumous work on the sociology of music and several of Adorno's writings on the subject are based on the theory that Kurt Blaukopf put in an impressively clear-cut formula: *the basis of the sociology of music is the sociology of tonal systems*. True, a piece of music is produced by a composer, but the development of tonal systems is a socio-historical product largely dependent on socio-historical conditions. (Max Weber asserts the same in his aforementioned study in connection with the progress of modern music.) These traditions of the sociology of art served as a basis for the elaboration of our theoretical position and our methodological approach in respect to the study of musical activity. We plan, however, to extend studies of this kind to other fields of art and of cultural activity in general.

It is hoped that the example of musical activity has made it clear that our method is based on the compatibility of the generativity and structurality concepts. (Generativity represents also the historical aspect of creativity.)

In the analysis of cultural phenomena, structure and generativity function as subject and predicate, respectively. The two are essentially inseparable. Their analysis, however, makes it necessary to go beyond the traditional boundaries of sociological inquiry even when the issues in question are strictly sociological ones.

If the activity of members of a certain social stratum create or use certain structures in all branches of culture, then the essence (the quiddity) and quality of these structures become a sociological question. This is because these structures (whether musical, artistic, linguistic or logical) differ not only in their aesthetic values but also in complexity in a historical-social sense. They come into existence in different historical ages, are related to different social behaviours. In learning them, one not only masters the form but also the content of a communication system. This determines then now one enters into certain human relations and adopt a certain social behaviour. Therefore it is particularly important that in the formation of such different semiotic systems like music, fine arts, logic, etc., common elements can be observed, and that their development is subjected to one and the same socially determined system of laws. This made it necessary for us to engage in research on the dynamics of structures. Some of our findings in this field have been published in English. (*Vitányi, 1973/a.*)

We may note here that the structures in question are inseparable from, and organically linked with, man's "world concept." The notion of world concept is treated as distinct from the notion of "world outlook" (*Weltanschauung*). The former refers to the structure one thinks the world has in itself, whereas the latter



includes the political, moral, etc. evaluation of the structure and the composition of the world. The communicative elements of a work of art or science (including its structural set-up) convey a world concept, yet the world outlook can only be revealed through the content of the piece. The sociologist is primarily interested in the relationship between the structure of a world concept and its constitutive semiotic elements. For instance, he may wish to discover the form and degree in which persons are capable of appreciating, that is internally re-creating in a "generative" way, a given work of art. This implies obviously a sociological approach since the intention is not merely to explore taste as such but also to find out something about the understanding and motivation of persons belonging to different social strata as they participate in certain socio-cultural processes.

It must be added that the development of this concept of sociology of culture and arts in Hungary has been slow and often interrupted. Still, research covered a broader range of subjects than those mentioned above. Quite an amount of research has been done on the scope of various cultural institutions and movements, on the appreciation of various arts and styles, on changes in tastes, etc. (*Józsa*, 1973; *Gondos*, 1971). Here again the example of music can be given where movements in musical activity (choirs, beat-music), the educational effectiveness of general school curricula involving the systematic teaching of music based on the so-called Kodály-method, the musical tastes of various social strata, workers in particular, concert audiences, etc. have all been studied. (*Lévai-Vitányi*, 1973; *Losonczy*, 1969; *Józsa*, 1972.) There has also been research on tastes in literature, fine arts, reading, museum and exhibition attendance, the influence of cultural institutions, especially in connection with radio and television and the role of youth movements in culture and education. (*Sas-Sipos*, 1965; *Sas*, 1968; *Kamarás*, 1969; *Vitányi*, 1973/b).

All these studies have contributed to gaining a more or less comprehensive picture on the state of cultural affairs in Hungary. Analyses of leisure time have indicated that 20–30 per cent of the population engage in intensive cultural activity related to so-called autonomous forms of culture (i.e. complex forms associated with higher levels of social progress). These 20–30 per cent are mostly made up of two social strata: the intellectuals and the highly skilled members of the working class. We may point out in this context that about 20 per cent of the population of the country has achieved secondary or higher education. A fair amount of data is now available on the trends and the structure of their tastes, their contacts with other forms of education and so on.

There have also been studies on the cultural patterns of the major part of the population which has not yet developed any intimate relation to the autonomous forms of culture. This mass of people is mainly made up of population strata which are now in the process of changing their life style following the large-scale social and economic progress achieved in the past few decades in Hungary. We have to think here of former agricultural workers now employed in industry and of

peasants changing from individual farming to collectivism (and for the most part, also to sharply increased material well-being). Their education and cultural progress raise a number of problems, which can only be solved through a permanent change in their way of life.

All these studies have brought together a very considerable body of concrete data on cultural activity in Hungary. It was, however, obviously necessary to derive from this huge collection of particular data the *structure of culture* as a whole. This could not be done without elucidating deeper connections between culture and other social phenomena. The size of the present paper was too limited to set forth the results of these analyses in detail, let alone to validate them with all the supporting facts and data. All we could attempt to do here was to present a summary of characteristic ideas, methods and trends observable in recent sociological research on cultural activity in Hungary.

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## VII. SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS





## A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF HUNGARIAN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS

by

LÁSZLÓ MOLNÁR

In the development of the Hungarian sociological research in the second half of the sixties a dual tendency toward professionalism and institutionalism became noticeable. The first tendency has enabled sociology to become an independent discipline, and the second has resulted in the development of an institutional system of sociological research.

### I.

The systems of institution engaged in sociological research may be outlined as follows:

1. Sociological research has been developed primarily within the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

a) The *Sociological Research Institute*, which has been the principal seat of sociological research in Hungary for over a decade, began a small group in 1963. Its director was Professor *András Hegedüs* until December 1958 when professor *Kálmán Kulcsár*, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, assumed leadership of the group. Under his direction the group, which has been functioning as an institute since 1970, has developed in expertise.

In 1971 the Institute established a branch in Szeged to conduct research on changes in the structure and way of life of village society. (The work of the Institute will be described in detail below.)

b) The Science Organization Group specializes in the Sociology of science — Professor *Sándor Szalai*, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences who was from 1966 to 1972 directing research at the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) is now active here.

c) The other institutes of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences sociological research is being undertaken in connection with various professional areas: in the *Institute of Political and Juridical Science* on the sociology of law and government, in the *Psychological Institute* on the development of social psychology, including group-psychology and the Sociology of small groups; sociological studies of various kind are carried out by the *Institute of Economic Science*, the *Historical Institute*, the *Ethnographic Research Group* and the *Pedagogic Research Group*.



2. Another important center of sociologically oriented research is the Central Statistical Office. Especially its *Demographic Research Institute* (Director: Dr. Egon Szabady), which conducts basic demographic research in Hungary and the *Department of Social Statistics* (headed by János Illés) which is engaged in social surveys and various other types of sociological research. Both units are under the supervision of Dr. Egon Szabady, Deputy-President of the Central Statistical Office. The rapid progress of sociology in Hungary is partly due to the high standards in the collection and processing of social statistical and demographical data. The data basis and methodological assistance provided by this office has greatly strengthened the statistical school within Hungarian sociology. (The work of the Demographic Research Institute is described in detail below.)

3. **Research** institutes of social-political organisations:

a) The *Institute of Social Science* of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party established in 1966 (Director: Dr. Sándor Lakos) is primarily responsible for the complex scientific preparation of political decisions of national importance. Within sociology proper, it is mainly concerned with the fundamental problems of political sociology and with research on the working class and on youth. The Institute has assisted in the training of Hungarian sociologists by organising courses in sociology. Regional sociological groups in the counties are linked to it. (The work of the Institute is to be described in detail later.)

b) The *Trade Union Research Centre* wishes to satisfy social requirements which have view in the trade union movement after 1968: in the new system of economic management the role of the trade unions in protecting the interests of their members and their independence in decision-making have been enhanced.

The Central Committee of the Communist Youth Organisation is also assisted by a *Youth Research Group*.

c) The *Research Institute of the National Association of Cooperatives* conducts sociological research mainly related to the economies, the organization and other aspects of the agricultural producers' cooperatives. (Director: Dr. Antal Gyenes.)

4. In the field of culture, the Ministry of Education and Hungarian Radio and Television have two institutes for applied social research. However, both institutes conduct fundamental research as well.

a) The *Mass Communication Research Center of Hungarian Radio and Television* is one of the largest institutes engaged in empirical social research in Hungary. (Director: Dr. Tamás Szecskő.) A public opinion research group was formed within the Hungarian Radio in the first half of the sixties, and in 1969 this was developed into a full-fledged research institute. In addition to public opinion research connected with radio and television programming, the Centre studies also sociological subjects, such as questions of political sociology, political attitudes, communication systems, and content analysis are especially emphasized in the Institute's research work. (See below for details.)



b) The *Institute for Culture* conducts sociological research concerning the functioning of the educational system (schools, adult education, etc.) and other areas of the sociology of culture (sociology of the arts, e.g. taste). (Director: Dr. *Iván Vitányi*.)

5. Sociological research in *university departments and programmes* lagged far behind the general progress of sociological research. Although a strong demand for the development of sociology arose in Hungary at the end of the fifties, the institutionalization in the universities only took place a decade later. At the beginning of the fifties the Department of Sociology, at the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Budapest which had been directed by Professor *Sándor Szalai*, was abolished, and not until the sixties were sociological programmes and somewhat later sociological departments reestablished.

a) The sociological programme of the Philosophical Faculty of the *Loránd Eötvös University of Science* in Budapest established in the sixties was transformed in 1970 into a *Department of Sociology*. The Department is headed by Associate Professor Tibor Huszár and with its inception the training of Students majoring in sociology began. The Department has become the centre of research on the Hungarian professional groups (the place and role of intellectuals in our society), and coordinates the research concerning socialist work-morale.

b) The first *Department of Sociology* in the sixties was established at the *Political College* of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in 1968 (from 1966 to 1968 a sociological programme had been in operation). The Department was first headed by Professor *László Molnár*, and since 1972 by Associate Professor *József Lick*. Its main areas of concern are studies on topics like political activity and behaviour, relationships between political activity and production, political consciousness, political information and democracy withing the industrial plant.

c) At the *Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences* Professor *Sándor Szalai*, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, has been conducting courses in sociology since 1972 when he returned from his earlier mentioned assignment to the United Nation Institute for Training and Research in New York.

Since the mid-sixties a Research Programme in Economic Sociology has been in operation at this university (headed by Ferenc Nemes). The Programme concentrates its research studies on two subjects: (a) sociological problems of economic organisations (the labour movement: mobility and labour fluctuation; social factors affecting productivity), and (b) the structure of consumerism, consumer behaviour, consumer interests and endeavours. These investigations are linked to the national research project entitled "The Socialist Enterprise". The Programme provides also sociological training to students in economics.

d) At the *Faculties of Law* sociological training and research in the sociology of law have been conducted since the beginning of the sixties. Courses are being held at the University of Budapest by Professor *Kálmán Kulcsár* and at the University of



Szeged by Professor *István Szentpéteri* and Associate Professor *Ignác Papp*. At the University of Szeged important research on the sociology of organizations and administrations has been developed.

e) There are also sociological programmes at other universities: in *Debrecen*, in addition to the training of arts students in sociology, research is being undertaken on life and democracy in the industrial plant, in *Pécs* on the sociology of medicine and at the *Miklós Zrínyi Military College* on military sociology, in *Miskolc* on living and working conditions of industrial employees and of teachers and council employees. Finally, at the *Technical University of Budapest* a research project on the human and organizational problems of the scientific and technical revolution is being considered out.

## II.

As it may be seen from this brief description, sociological research is rather widely dispersed in Hungary among many independent research organizations. Still, some coordination of research programmes has already been achieved among the four largest institutions, the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Demographic Research Institute and the Department of Social Statistics of the Central Statistical Office, the Institute of Social Sciences of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Mass Communication Research Centre of Hungarian Radio and Television. The fragmentation of tasks among numerous smaller units is mainly the result of a boom in Marxist sociology after 1965 when groups were founded, one after the other, which often were small in numbers and had but modest technical equipment. They grew out of the need for the examination of human problems to complement the social science research already going on in various specialized domains. As a result, probably too many subjects are being studied in some research workshops with only few people engaged in any single subjects. Up-to-date team work based on the collaboration of a sizeable group of researchers is still at an initial stage in Hungarian sociology.

The fragmentation of the research workshops is partly responsible for the lack of a *unified organizational* guidance of sociological research in Hungary. The responsibility for an overall guidance of national sociological research lies with the *Department of Economic and Judicial Sciences* of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. However, the supervision by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is not implemented through an organizational hierarchy as the Academy has directly only its own institutes under its control. It is whether by the discussion of programmes and reports and by making *scientific recommendation* that the Academy makes its influence felt. The various research institutes and work groups in the country enjoy a great measure of independence within their respective areas of authority.

The principal social organ for the nation-wide coordination of sociological research is the *Sociological Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*,

which operates in conjunction with the above mentioned Department. Its chairman is Kálmán Kulcsár, Director of the Sociological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; its former chairman – until his passing away – was *Ferenc Erdei*, likewise member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The head of every important research organization is a member of the Sociological Committee, which at present consists of 22 members. The Committee regularly discusses topical problems of sociological research and passes resolutions which serve as recommendations to the research institutes and groups for future development of plans. The activity of the Sociological Committee in practice amounts to a kind of coordination of research.

One of the most important factors in the guidance and coordination of sociological research was the formulation of research plans in 1969–70. The *long- and short-term plans for social science research*, worked out by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, have oriented sociological research toward timely social needs and towards teamwork. Both the long and the short range plans presuppose interdisciplinary research by encouraging a complex approach to the subjects by the various social sciences. The Academy's research plan reflects the requests of the governing organs of society (the Party, the Government) in respect to sociological research and draws sociology into the solution of problems facing Hungarian society.

The principal sociological research concerns of the National Long-Term Research Plan are:

1. The complex scientific underpinning of the development of public administration.
2. The socialist enterprise.
3. Social interrelationships of the scientific and technical revolution.

The *short-range* research tasks of the social sciences include the principal trends of sociological research:

1. Stratification of Hungarian society.
2. Development in the structure and level of awareness of the Hungarian working class.
3. Transformation of the social structure of the contemporary Hungarian village and changes in the peasant's way of life and consciousness.
4. The standard of living and living conditions of the working class and of the peasantry.
5. Composition of the Hungarian professional stratum, directions of its evolution and its social functions in the socialist system.
6. The demographic situation in Hungary.
7. The place of the family in society.
8. Forms and mechanisms for direct and representative democracy in industrial and agricultural plants.
9. Social effectiveness of mass communication media.



10. Socialist work morale.

11. The utilization of leisure time.

In 1971 the Hungarian Academy of Sciences established a periodical entitled *Szociológia*, which has been published quarterly since 1972 under the editorship of László Molnár. This is the first professional journal of sociological research in Hungary. Its task is the publication of the results of research undertaken in the various workshops. It gives preference to those studies which are related to the research interests of the long- and short-range research plans. The periodical also reviews foreign research achievements for the Hungarian reader.

The foundation of the *Hungarian Sociological Society* is currently in progress; a professional organization which will unite approximately 200 sociologists and also researchers from related disciplines engaged in sociological work. Its establishment will facilitate the development of domestic and international coordination of research.

In the future the number of sociologists is expected to increase considerably in the areas of applied research (industrial plants, cultural institutions, social organizations, etc.)

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE  
HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

Director:

SÁNDOR LAKOS

ON THE NATURE OF THE INSTITUTE'S WORK

The Institute is relatively young, it was established in 1966. The general nature of research activity is much the same as in other independent social research institutes active in Hungary, that is those not connected with universities. All these research organizations differ in some ways with regard to disciplines cultivated and results obtained along different lines of research. Consequently, the Institute here discussed has some special features as well.

These features are connected with the fact that the Institute's activities are closely related to the tasks of the general development of society. Let us characterize here briefly some of the more prominent features.

(a) Interdisciplinary research which has a growing role in the social sciences plays constantly a conspicuous role in the work of the Institute. This already becomes apparent in the choice of the fields cultivated by the Institute. As indicated by its name, the Institute does not deal with the problem of a particular branch of the social sciences (e.g. philosophy, economics, sociology, history, jurisprudence, etc.) but rather with complex groups of questions affecting several disciplines. Individual topics studied can usually be classified, at least to some extent, in terms of particular sciences but the approach always remains an interdisciplinary one. Consequently, the sociological approach and methodology (and staff trained in them) play an important role in every group of topics handled. In addition, a self-contained sociological research unit operates within the Institute, and the bulk of the predominant research topics are of an expressly sociological nature. In this way, sociology, which has interdisciplinary aspects at its very core, is not merely one of the social sciences cultivated, it puts its imprint on the work of the Institute as a whole. This refers to the professional composition of the staff as well.

(b) A considerable part of research is done on short- or medium range research topics generally taking two or three years. Wider subjects studied or coordinated by the Institute do not, of course, change at such intervals, but are at the centre of interest for some considerable time.

(c) Due to the direct connection with social practice, the concentration of research which on certain given subjects is especially heavy in the Institute. Consequently, the "end products" of research arise usually out of collective work



but since the individual research workers (or teams of two) have separately determined tasks as well, a number of reports are published individually in addition to the collective ones.

(d) It is also characteristic of the work of the Institute, for the aforesaid reasons, that, in addition to the permanent staff a number of outside contributors are invited from case to case, often seconded to the Institute for a longer period, or else outside experts are called on to give their advice or judgement.

The Institute has no direct teaching tasks. But since the rapid increase of the need for sociology occurred in Hungary when there was as yet no professional training in sociology at the universities, the substitute organised between 1968 and 1970 sociological seminars for research workers and teachers in other disciplines. As professional training in sociology has now become possible within regular university curricula, such training seminars are no longer necessary. However, some of the staff of the Institute teach at universities and colleges.

#### IMPORTANT SOCIOLOGICAL SUBJECTS STUDIED AT THE INSTITUTE

The Institute organized research on several groups of topics of great importance. Some of them, those which are of an explicit sociological nature, will be described here.

1. The study of the working class has been a centre research topic of the Institute since its foundation. This study demands a sociological approach by its very nature. The sociological character of the Institute's approach has even been strengthened by the fact that beyond the theoretical philosophical and sociological examination of the definition of the working class the scope of the Institute's research has gradually been extended to cover the concrete, empirical sociological investigation of certain sections of the working class. This research concentrates partly on workers in certain sectors of the economy, partly on workers of some large factory or trust, partly on workers living within a large territorial and administrative unit (e.g., a whole county). There has also been research on questions which are of special relevance to the situation of the working class, housing situation, cultural level and behaviour, etc.

Research covers also the stratification of the working class by trades, and, last but not least, the situation of important demographic groups (woman workers, young workers).

The bulk of research reports are made accessible to the public in the Institute's own publications and also by the publicity trade.

With regard to research on the working class, the Institute of Social Sciences has the additional task to coordinate research activities on a national scale.

2. The Institute has similar responsibilities for the coordination of nation-wide research into the position of youth.

More intensive investigation of this topic began only in recent years, hence the range of themes is not as wide and the number of publications not as large as in respect of the working class. Young workers and apprentices were covered first and research was also extended on the social role of the school and university students. Larger studies are now being prepared concerning youth. Results so far have been published or are being published primarily in the Institute's own quarterly. In the coming years intensive progress can be expected in this field of research.

3. Due to the growing number of professional people and the importance of their role in society, a major research project has been carried out already in the sixties in order to clarify the ways of life characteristic of this group. As an unusually great part of professional activity in the country happens to be concentrated in the capital, that is in Budapest, the project has been divided in two stages, one concerned with the capital and another with the rest of the country. Both investigations were standardized in order to give comparable results. The report on the part of the country outside the capital has been published by the Institute in several volumes. The processing of the Budapest data material has also been completed, and the bulk of the report on it is now at the printers.

4. In the study of the aforementioned three subjects methods of sociological investigation played a central role. However, also the fourth subject has its sociological aspects. This is the examination of the theory of the state and of democracy. By its very nature, this subject demands a legal and political approach, but some of those working on it, are primarily concerned with the sociology of organizations and of politics. Our research findings have been reported in various periodicals and in separate publications of the Institute.

5. The Institute is also involved in research on general theoretical questions of the structure of society, primarily of its social structure.

The correct interpretation of the close connection of the Institute with the practice of social policy and that of directing the development society made it necessary to give adequate room also to basic research and theoretical analyses the results of which have no direct and immediate application. These fundamental studies included in the domain of sociology primarily investigations on general theoretical problems of social structure and on the conceptual framework of certain important elements in the structure. (E.g., the definition of the working class, the definition of the professions, special questions of socialization, etc.). These investigations have not only served the operational needs of empirical research, but also the exploration of some general sociological interrelationships. Special studies are devoted to changes in the social structure of Hungary, to the most general interdependencies between the economic structure and the political structure, and to trends in their transformation. Research extends to the link between interests and the social and political structure, and to the critical analysis of certain sociological views concerning this link. Also certain stratification theories are being



critically considered. Interconnections between the conceptual interpretation of culture and the system of human activity are being examined too.

The results of these studies were partly published in books but some of the studies are still at the printers. The periodical of the Institute (*Társadalomtudományi Közlemények*) also publishes reports of work in progress.

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INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY, HUNGARIAN  
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Director:

KÁLMÁN KULCSÁR

The Sociological Research Institute has been in operation for not much more than ten years (it was founded in 1963). The research staff has twenty-eight members at present; this research team is assisted by an administrative and technical auxiliary staff of seventeen. The unfavourable ratio between these two numbers, which, to some extent, reflects remnants of an obsolete contentional attitude to research in the social sciences, suggests that scientific staff must do a fair bit of work of an auxiliary sort, though the Institute tries to make things easier by engaging casual assisting staff. Research work is served by a library, an accounts section and a technical team. Computer data processing for more extensive surveys cannot however be carried out by the Institute's own, relatively small-capacity equipment, it is farmed out to the Institute of Computer Technology and Automation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The use of the most modern computers means that the Institute can make greater use of mathematicians and of mathematical methods in sociology.

The organizational structure of the Institute reflects the main research objectives which are based on an analysis of the development in Hungarian social relations.

*Director: Dr. Kálmán Kulcsár*, Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, university professor.

*Deputy Director: Dr. István Szentpéteri*, Doctor of Law and Political Science, university professor.

*Department for Studies on the Sociology of Stratification.*

Departmental head: *Dr. Zsuzsa Ferge*, holder of the Candidate degree in Sociology, associate professor.

*Department for Studies on the Sociology of Organizations.*

Under the direct control of the director of the Institute. Head of the team: *Dr. Csaba Makó*, holder of the Candidate degree in Sociology.

*Research Team on the Sociology of the Way of Life.* Headed by *Dr. Ágnes Losonczi*, holder of the Candidate degree in Sociology.

*Urban Sociology Group.* Head of the group: *Dr. Iván Szelényi*, holder of the Candidate degree in Sociology, assistant professor.

*Scientific Secretary to the Institute: Pál Tamás.*



Research work in the Institute is based on a four-year plan. This plan is determined by two main factors. One of them encompasses all the main tasks of a sociological character arising out of the National Long-Term Plan of Research. From the Institute's point of view these tasks involve (a) research on the scientific principles of public administration; (b) a thorough study of socialist enterprises taking into account the lessons of Hungary's present economic policy; (c) an investigation of social conditions. The second determinant of the Institute's four-year plan is a complex of tasks which are not only highly meaningful for the Institute's scholarly aims but are also regarded by the authorities as very important for the purposes of national long-range economic planning. The expenses of research are defrayed by a budget of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. There are some research subjects, however, which are funded by research contracts with various authorities and enterprises. As a matter of principle, the Institute concludes only research contracts which are helpful in achieving goals set in the Institute's own program.

The main subjects of research are as follows:

### *I. Questions concerning the structure of contemporary Hungarian society*

A systematic exploration of specific classes and strata of society is only to a limited extent the task of this Institute. Nevertheless, such projects were carried out, e.g., in order to investigate the living conditions and the social adaptation of Hungarian gypsies, the situation of teachers in the country, etc. The central task, however, is an exploration of the mechanism that governs relations between different social strata. Present research mainly concentrates on sociological problems connected with the education system and social policy. (The first studies of the social aspects of the education system have already been published.)

### *II. Research in the sociology of organizations*

Research in the sociology of organizations, as determined by the aforementioned National Long-Term Research Plan, mainly endeavours to explore sociological problems connected with the system of public administration and with industrial organizations. The aim is to lay down the foundations of a political and organizational sociology. Already completed projects include a sociological analysis of the participation in legal proceedings. An investigation of interdependencies between public administration and the social environment will also be carried out, the first of a long series of studies planned over the next decade.

Regarding industrial enterprises, the aim for the present and the immediate future is to investigate, also on the basis of earlier experience the social conditions

and effects of the introduction new technologies including automation. Social problems arising from the hierarchical structure of industrial organization will also be looked into as well as those of enterprise decisions. Methods of social psychology are being employed in investigating the role of achievement motivation in research and development (R and D) programmes. A preliminary investigation has already been completed.

### *III. Research in urban sociology*

Questions covered in recent years include the social effects of ecological structures in metropolises, the sociological problems of new settlements; social factors in the allocation laid of new housing. Lately special emphasis has been laid on an analysis of the urbanization process in Hungary. Studies are concentrated on the effects of the transformation of social structures in Hungarian villages, and the consequences of the disappearance of traditional rural society. A comprehensive research project on sociological problems of the system of settlements has been initiated, taking into account especially aspects relevant to regional planning.

In the framework of the nation-wide representative survey undertaken for purposes of this last mentioned project, a study is being undertaken of the new place occupied by the village in industrialized society. Mention should be made of the fact the Institute is now working on an approach to sociological aspects of environmental pollution.

### *IV. The sociology of the way of life*

This carries on from an investigation that took place some years ago which included a national survey on the transformation of rural society in Hungary. The present objective is an elaboration of the social indicators of way of life; all the previously done empirical and theoretical work is bound to prove useful.

Research into the present state and function of the family is considered to be particularly important. The Institute has already achieved considerable successes in that field; present work is partly concentrated on a theoretical evaluation of the results. An approach to the social factors determining the stability and functions of the family was preceded by a series of, major or minor, empirical and theoretical investigations.

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Empirical and theoretical approaches are not kept apart in the work of the Institute. An exploration of the theoretical aspects of any given sociological problem requires a *historically concrete* approach which should include a



historically minded research attitude, combined with an investigation of the actual phenomenon in the present by empirical methods. This twofold principle, together with a reliance on Marxist social theory and a critical evaluation of results achieved in the course of the history of sociology, assures us of the further progress of Marxist sociology in the theoretical, conceptual and methodological fields. The historically concrete approach to sociological problems can and must be linked up with satisfying the requirements of society and scientific growth.

The Institute is extending relations with other countries. Multilateral or bilateral research relations with sociological research institutes in several countries have been established. International cooperative research is going on in the following subjects.

(a) In collaboration with the European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences (this Centre in Vienna mainly coordinates research involving East-West cooperation)

1. The place of the village in an industrialized society;
2. The importance of hierarchy in business organizations;
3. Automation and industrial workers.

b) A joint research programme by research institutes of some socialist countries is being organized to cover:

1. Structural growth in socialist society;
2. Social indicators for the way of life.

c) All the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance cooperate in investigating the social aspects of R and D processes.

The Institute engages in international book and journal exchanges and offers facilities to visiting scholars from other countries.

Apart from books and papers published individually by members of the staff, reports on the work of the Institute and on its research findings appear in the following periodical and serial publications:

1. *Szociológia* (Sociology) – a quarterly edited in cooperation with the Sociological Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (with abstracts in English and Russian);

2. *Szociológiai tanulmányok* (Essays in series of minor works published by Akadémiai Kiadó (Publishing House of the Academy): 2–3 publications annually;

3. *Az MTA Szociológiai Kutató Intézetének kiadványai* (Publications of the Research Institute of Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences) – a series mainly designed for the publication of research reports: 2–3 issues a year, occasionally in foreign languages. These are not available through the book trade, but can be obtained as exchange copies.

DEMOGRAPHIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE,  
CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE

Director:

EGON SZABADY

The Institute operates under the supervision of the President of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office with an independent budget. Its research activities are directed and coordinated by the Demographic Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The Committee discusses the working plans and reports submitted by the Institute and, whenever necessary, meetings are called to consider the most important questions related to Hungary's demographic situation.

The Institute is the centre of Hungarian demographic research and its activities are concentrated around the most important issues in this field. They include the study of the fundamental demographic processes characterized by the birth rate, death rate, reproduction and migration; the extension of demographic forecasts by relying on the results of the aforementioned study; investigations of the relationship between social and demographic facts and between economic development and demographic processes; analysis of the economic reasons and consequences of different demographic processes and an examination of the factors and processes determining the character of the biological status of the population.

Apart from carrying out its own research programme, the Institute has the duty of discovering possibilities for cooperation between demography and other disciplines. It renders practical and methodological assistance to demographic research carried on by other organizations and to such of their activities as are associated with demography. It has to satisfy the practical demands of state administration. An additional task is to coordinate the teaching of demography in colleges and universities, to elaborate related educational programmes, to train demographers and make arrangements for their post-graduate training, and to disseminate information on demography.

The Institute follows with attention developments in demography in other countries and is in close touch with demographic research institutes there. It participates in the work done by international demographic organizations within the framework of the technical assistance programme provided by the United Nations. Within the limits of its own possibilities the Institute offers assistance to the economically backward countries by making expert advice available to them in respect to their specific demographic problems.



Ever since its foundation, the Institute has arranged or participated in the arrangement of a number of symposia and conferences on demographic questions as shown by the following list:

- November 1962: 1st International Demographic Symposium on "Fertility and Social Restratisation".
- September 1964: Conference on "The Demographic and Human-Biological Questions of Research".
- September 1965: 2nd International Demographic Symposium on "Fertility and the Growth of Population".
- September 1969: Conference of the Europe and Middle Eastern Region of the International Planned Parenthood Federation on "Social Demography and Medical Responsibility".
- May 1970: Congress held jointly with the Hungarian Biological Society on "The Biology of the Human Populations".
- June 1971: Meeting of experts under the auspices of the United Nations on "The Methods of Analysing the Fertility Data of the Developing Countries".

The Institute has, in a number of research fields, established close cooperation with its partners abroad. For example, as regards fertility and family planning it has been cooperating with the Demographic Institute of Princeton University, the International Family Planning Association and the Transnational Family Research Institute. Isolate research carried on as part of research into human biology is part of the International Biological Programme under the auspices of Unesco. Discussions are held regularly with the corresponding institutes of the CMEA countries on the methodological issues of demographic forecasts. Since 1965 demographic and population genetic research has been conducted in relatively endogeneous populations (in Bodrogköz and in the village of Ivád, Hungary) in cooperation with the Anthropological Institute of the Johannes Gutenberg University (Mainz). The Director of the Institute participates in the activities of the International Coordination Committee of National Demographic Research (CIC-RED) being one of its founding members.

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Eighteen of the staff of forty have professional qualifications. They perform their duties according to the division of labour organizational setup discussed below:

1. *Department of Methodology and General Demography.* This department carries out complex research on fertility, family planning and birth control, studies the changes in the death rate, makes demographic forecasts and does bio-demographic and historical demographic research. Apart from certain strictly methodological

investigations, research on methodology is closely associated with the individual subjects and programmes of research; that is why in most cases they do not constitute independent subjects.

2. *Department of Social and Economic Demography*. This development examines correlations and relationships between social economic and demographic changes and is also engaged in analysing the process of social restratification, and problems of migration and urbanization. In addition, the Department carries out demographic family surveys and studies the social reasons and demographic factors lying behind deviating attitudes.

3. The *Economic Section* is in charge of the economic and financial matters of the Institute.

4. *Library*. Besides its normal duties the library is in charge of collecting multidisciplinary literature on demography and associated disciplines (sociology, biology, economics and so on).

5. *The Editorial Board of "Demográfia"*. "Demográfia" is a quarterly published jointly by the Demographic Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Central Statistical Office. Its publication is closely associated with the activities of the Institute. The periodical launched in 1958 reports regularly on Hungarian methodological and practical research work in demography. It promotes the strengthening of the international relations of the discipline and focuses attention on important and current problems.

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The research findings of the Institute are published in the series "A Népeség-tudományi Kutató Intézet Közleményei" (Publications of the Demographic Research Institute).

#### PUBLICATIONS OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE

The following volumes have been published to date in the series *Publications of the Demographic Research Institute*:

1. Magyarország megyénkénti népességének várható alakulása 1960. I.–1980. I. között (Population Projections for Hungary by Counties between January 1, 1960, and January 1, 1980).
2. A nyugdíjasok helyzete (The Situation of Pensioners).
3. A korbevallás megbízhatóságának vizsgálatai az 1960. évi népszámlálásnál (Investigation on the Reliability of Age-Admissions in the Population Census of 1960).



4. Magyarország népességének demográfiai jellemzői régióként (Demographic Characteristics of the Population in Hungary by Regions).
5. A válások okai (Causes of Divorces).
6. A budapesti nyugdíjasok helyzete és problémái (Situation and Problems of the Pensioners of Budapest).
7. A társadalmi átrétegződés és demográfiai hatásai. I. Budapesten és a városokban (Social Mobility and its Demographic Effects in Budapest and in the Towns I.).
8. A népesség foglalkozásának változása 1960–63 között (Change in Occupation of the Population between 1960 and 1963).
9. Vizsgálatok a népesség területi eloszlásának alakulásáról Magyarországon. 1900–1960 (A Study on the Regional Distribution of Hungary's Population 1900–1960).
10. Lakásdemográfiai adatok (Housing-Demographic Data).
11. A szociális intézetek és gondozottak helyzete (Situation of Social Institutes and Their Dependants).
12. Magyarország népességének területi előreszámítása (Regional Projections of the Population of Hungary).
13. A magyar leíró statisztika irány fejlődése (The Development of the Hungarian Descriptive Statistics).
14. Termékenységi adatok (Fertility Data).
15. A demográfiai tényezők hatása a művelődésre (The Impact of Demographic Factors on Culture).
16. Iskolai végzettség és szakképzettség (School Qualification and Professional Training).
17. Magyarország népességének gazdasági korfái (The Economic Age-Pyramids of Hungary's Population).
18. Nemzetiségek demográfiai sajátosságai Baranya megyében (The Demographic Characteristics of the Nationalities of the County of Baranya).
19. Magyarország népességének előreszámítása 1966–2001 (Population Projection for Hungary 1966–2001).
20. Hungarian Historical Demography after World War II.
21. Történeti demográfiai kollokvium, Budapest 1965. (Colloquium on Historical Demography. Budapest, 1965.).
22. Demográfiai jellemzők a települések nagyságcsoportja szerint, 1900–1960 (Demographic Characteristics by Size of Settlements, 1900–1960).
23. A Központi Statisztikai Hivatal Népeségtudományi Kutató Intézetének évkönyve, 1963–1968 (Annals of the Demographic Research Institute of the Central Statistical Office, 1963–1968).
24. Alkoholizmus (Alcoholism).
25. Gyermekgondozási segély (Allowance for Child's Care).
26. Survey Techniques in Fertility and Family Planning Research: Experience in Hungary).

27. Családtervezés Magyarországon. Az 1966. évi termékenységi és családtervezési vizsgálat (TCS) (Family Planning in Hungary. Main Results of the TCS-66 Study).
28. Gyermekgondozási segély (Allowance for Child's Care).
29. 1966. évben egyetemi (főiskolai) felvételre jelentkezők demográfiai és testfejlétségi vizsgálata (Demographic and Physical-Developmental Study of Those Who Applied for Admission to Universities (Higher Schools) in 1966).
30. Társadalmi átrétegződés és demográfiai hatásai, II. Magyarországon (Social Mobility and its Demographic Effects in Hungary II.).
31. Family Planning in Hungary. Main Results of the 1966 Fertility and Family Planning (TCS) Study).
32. Abstract of the Lectures Delivered at the 9th Hungarian Congress of Biology. Budapest, 6-7-8 May).
33. Some Aspects of the Internal Migration of Population in Hungary since 1957.).
34. Magyarország halandósági táblái 1900/01-től 1967/68-ig (Life Tables of Hungary from 1900/01 to 1967/68.).
35. Népesedéspolitika Magyarországon (Population Policy in Hungary).
36. Magyarország népességének előrszámítása 1972-2001 (Population Projections of Hungary (1972-2001)).
37. Nemzetiségek demográfiai sajátosságai Baranya megyében II. (The Demographic Characteristics of the Nationalities of the County of Baranya. II.).



MASS COMMUNICATION RESEARCH CENTER, HUNGARIAN  
RADIO AND TELEVISION

Director:

TAMÁS SZECSKŐ

The Mass Communication Research Centre is responsible for research in Hungary into the mass media and for public opinion polls. The Centre began its work in 1969, within the scope of Hungarian Radio and Television. Its range of interest covers also the printed media non-institutionalized forms of communication, that is the whole social system of communication.

Research on cognitive aspects of communication has been integrated into the national research plan. The young institute collaborates with other research institutes, its members join in the work of committees of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and teach at universities. Unesco supports the activities of the Centre, particularly the organization of comparative studies and conferences.

The Centre does not approach the mass media from the angle of one or another specific discipline but generally speaking the work done can be said to be of a sociological nature. The approach is one which tries to embed the investigated subject within a system of societal interrelationships. However, interest is extended also to psychological mechanisms of the effects of communication on groups of individuals and single persons.

Not only sociologists and psychologists participate in the studies; also historical, ethnographic and modern linguistic investigations are involved and semiotic analysis is being applied too. Mention should be made of content analysis studies dealing with communications of a political nature, cartoons as well.

The staff also examines literary aspects of the mass media. Content analysis is being used to study the effects of Hungarian poetry on radio and television programmes and attitudes expressed by critics of such programmes.

The Centre is thus interested in a complex interdisciplinary investigation of the mass media; it focusses a variety of research methods on given topics. By doing so, the Centre hopes to provide a full picture of the mass media as a whole.

The Centre keeps a close eye on the actual programmes of Hungarian radio and television stations and keeps touch of the degree of popularity enjoyed by them. It also watches the changing reception accorded by the public to the various programmes. It studies how structural changes in the programmes modify the size of the radio and television audience, what sociological and psychological factors

influence the effect of political, informative, economic, educational, art and literary programmes on certain groups of the population, and so forth. Data obtained are complemented by a comparative analysis of the impact of all the various channels, central and local transmitting stations, black-and-white and colour transmissions. Additional investigations are being carried out about the popularity of films not shown on television and about the responses of the public to them and to presentations of issues by various newspapers and magazines. Essentially the viewpoints of systems analysis are being applied by the Centre to the whole complex of mass media. Due attention is paid to the interaction of informations gained by the public through different channels, and to the connection between the effects of mass communications and cultural activities in general. Recently a project was carried out by the Centre which made surveyed the whole mass communication system of a major provincial town.

The Mass Communication Research Centre also organizes public opinion polls, some at the service of Hungarian Radio and Television, some commissioned by outside agencies. These polls cover public reaction to current events, and to new legislation and high-level decisions of an economic or socio-political character. The polls deal also periodically in manifold combinations with attitudes, opinions and views of the people concerning socialist democracy, the so-called new economic mechanism and its effects on standards of living, international affairs, historical questions, etc.

At a conference of mass communication and public opinion research workers of the socialist countries held 1971 in Budapest, the advantages of institutionally coordinated and integrated mass communication and public opinion research were summed up in concrete recommendations. A comprehensive grasp of all the involved activities within one research organization facilities quite considerably the investigation of correlations between the mass media and changes in public opinion. Researchers are put in an excellent position to explore the role of the mass media in changing public opinion; they can make use of the results of public opinion polls for the benefit of the mass media; they can study both public opinion and the mass media within the framework of the whole communication system of society.

The Centre is not only interested in general features of the relation between the mass media and public opinion. It pays special attention to the effects of the mass media on youth. Studies in this direction try to comprehend the role of the mass media within the whole system of social effects and influences that play a part in the socialization process, primarily in political socialization.

Studies on the mass media and on their impact on the public are complemented by studies on the flow of information, all the way to the mass media, including its passage through selective and filtering mechanism. Some investigations of this kind were carried out by the Centre which also conducts empirical research on specific psycholinguistic consequences of interview situations in the mass media, on



characteristics of "television (and other mass media) personalities", the process by which they achieve prominence, their careers and professional demands, all in connection with their public image.

These briefly surveyed lines of research are the responsibility of a research staff of thirty-five which is being helped in its work by forty-five assistants.

The Mass Communication Research Centre comprises three research departments and a planning team. Most of the sociological research is done in the Mass Media Department. This department is in charge of a "second-thoughts", that is by a more thorough examination of the results obtained by a continuous observation of radio and television programmes. The Public Opinion Research Department keeps an eye on changes in public opinion; in its sociologically oriented research work it approaches also problems of general theoretical character. Besides "omnibus" polls, which deal with questions of general interest, this department carries out ad-hoc public opinion polls concerning some events of particular importance. The Social Psychology Department is involved in much experimental work and also examines personalities who figure in the mass media. It compares types of personality with views held about them by the public, and investigates various attitudes, both from the aspect of form and that of content.

The facilities for research in these three departments are ensured by three service sections. One of them is the Interviewers' Section which comprises all those who carry out the extensive surveys and polls for the Centre. If necessary the interviewers function as organizers of a broad national polling network. The Data Processing Section looks after the coding and processing of data and carries out the necessary statistical work. The Publishing and Documentation Section edits all periodical, serial and other publications; it is also in charge of the research archives and of the library.

The Centre puts out six major series of publications. Empirical and theoretical works are published in the *Tanulmányok* (Essays) series; they are available to the general public. Domestic and foreign research findings are reported in *Közlemények* (Reports) while more comprehensive works form part of the *Szakkönyvtár* (Research Library) series. *Műsoréletrajzok* (Programme Biographies) the work of Hungarian Radio and Television. Internal problems of Hungarian Radio and Television are analysed in *Szemle* (Review). The quarterly *Kiadványszemle* (Review of Publications) survey recent results of the social sciences that are of interest to the general public.

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Statistikai Kiadó Vállalat, Nyomdaüzem – 129074  
 Felelős vezető: Kecskés József igazgató

MAGYAR  
 TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA  
 KÖNYVTÁRA





ISBN 963 05 0454 5

Index: 25.781



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