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# Summaries

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# S U M M A R I E S

JAN LUTYŃSKI

## THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

The social functions of sociology have in recent years often been touched upon in the works of Polish sociologists (Ossowski, Bauman, Hochfeld). The article is concerned with the functions of different social investigations, not always connected with sociology. Three main functions are distinguished in the article, which investigations may accomplish and which justify their existence in society. They are: the scientific function, the role in the development of empirical sciences of social life; the practical function, the role in practical activity with an established purpose, and the ideological-educative function, the role in the formation of attitudes in relation to social life. All of these functions are examined in connection with the social systems within the framework of which they occur. Therefore, in order that research might fulfil the scientific function, there must be a scientific environment which acknowledges results obtained as scientific. With regard to practical functions, the scientist does not depend on the scientific environment but on people engaged in the activities of practical life, chiefly managers of large institutions and organizations. The results of research, which fulfils the ideological-educative function generally react on the general public with which the scientist enters into direct or indirect contact. There are different bonds between the social functions of research and institutions, kinds of publications of research results and, sometimes also the types of scientist. The functions discussed appear in the history of research of various countries in diverse connections.

Social research is indispensable for the development of empirical sciences of the social life of man. Recently it has also become indispensable in some fields of practical activity. The fact that diverse functions are fulfilled by research is of great significance for the research itself. The practical function ensures backing for the research especially financial backing, the ideological-educative — publicity. In the first place, the accumulation of research results and concern that they are a true reflection of the reality are bound with the scientific function. The various methodological controversies are also connected with the fact that research is expected to fulfil diverse functions. Stress on the practical usefulness of research results leads to the introduction of a quantitative approach, stress on the ideological-educative role — rather to the utilization of qualitative data. All the functions are important in the development of research. The scientific function is, however, of special importance. For that reason, the role of a social scientist is the fundamental role for the research workers.

TADEUSZ PAWŁOWSKI

### THE USE OF INDICES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The use of indices is one of the manifestations of the growing tendency towards a closer connection between sociology and the sciences. There are two categories of objects studied by the social sciences: those which can be approached through sensual experience and those which cannot. Objects of the first category can serve as indices of the second. However, the mode of connection between an index and the indicated property varies from case to case, and it is shown that the differences are related to the logical structure and to the methodological character of the relation between the index and its *indicatum*. The structure of the relation may be universal or probabilistic, while the assumption of the conventional or of the natural character of the relation leads to the distinction of definitional and factual indices. Several examples of indices are analysed which illustrate the above differentiated types of relations between an index and the indicated property.

The conception of conditional definitions introduced by R. Carnap contributed to the understanding of the difficulty inherent in defining dispositional concepts. It became clear that many sociological concepts, especially those referring to social attitudes or dispositions, are of the dispositional type. Conditional definitions do not, however, solve all the difficulties, because in the social sciences the relation between the *definiens* and the *definiendum* often has the probabilistic and not the universal character. Besides, the logical structure of many concepts denoting social attitudes is not of the classificatory but of the comparative type; and to every degree of an attitude there may correspond a different probability of showing the behaviour characteristic of this attitude. All these kinds of relationships between an index and its *indicatum* are accounted for in a systematic way by Lazarsfeld's theory of latent structures. This theory is an important step forward in the application of indices in the realm of social research.

FRANCISZEK JAKUBCZAK

### LIFE RECORDS AS SOURCE-MATERIAL IN SOCIOLOGY

The utilization of life records as source-material is of particular importance to Polish sociology. Life records and personal accounts (letters) are utilized as source-material in works renowned in Polish and world sociology — *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, by Thomas and Znaniecki, *The City in the Cognizance of Its Citizens* (about Poznań) by Znaniecki, *The Ways for the Social Advancement of the Worker* and *The Young Generation of Peasants* by Chałasiński — a work in four volumes — they also were an inspiration for such momentous theoretical-methodological conceptions as: the comprehension of the processes of social realities in the categories of dialectics of interaction and of the mutually formulated objective factor "value" and subjective factor "attitude" as well as the capital crucial conception of understanding social phenomena by their relation to the historically defined "human coefficient." There were over fifty competitions organized in Poland for life records of which 10 were organized before the war and over 40 in People's Poland.

An increase is at present observed in the interest taken by some of the Polish sociologists in life records in connection with the spectacular harvest resulting from the competition for life records of peasant youth (5,500 works).

Life records were also utilized in Polish sociology — in addition to the well known works of representatives of the Znaniecki school — in the Institute of Social Management under the direction of Ludwik Krzywicki. Life records in the Znaniecki school were mainly utilized as material depicting attitudes, patterns of behaviour, customs and the culture of the environment of the persons writing life records. Krzywicki and the Institute of Social Management utilized life records to primarily visualize the living conditions of the unemployed, peasants, emigrants, class structure and objective social relations. The reliability of the objective and subjective sides of Polish reality of the period between wars as depicted by the life records is confirmed by the extensive field research made by the Institute of Social Management and by statistical and economic analyses.

In the light of the experiences of the Institute of Social Management in contradiction to the views spread so far — life records can be utilized not only as source material to depict subjective attitudes and drifts but also as first-rate material throwing light on the living conditions and objective social relations.

The utilization of life records is bound with the formulation of ontological and epistemological views on the place and role of the objective and subjective factor in the structure and processes of social reality.

The extensive and competently collected life records present — in comparison to polls — a number of incontestable merits. The record as well as a serial narrative reveals against the background of a definite environment the formation of the personality of the author in a process of action and living together with other people. The writer of the record has at his disposal much more time than during a poll inquiry to adjust actual attitudes corresponding to biographical facts. A life record is an exclusive, authentic creation of its author — without the medium of the interviewer's mind. A life record seems to be the natural form of the humanistic shape of knowledge of the fate of man. It will also assure a uniform understanding of information contained in it about facts and attitudes.

In view of the extent and importance of the collection of life records in Poland, they should become the subject of particular attention of representatives of the social sciences and should be extensively utilized as source-material in sociology.

KRYSTYNA LUTYŃSKA

#### OPINIONS OF CLERKS CONCERNING THEIR SOCIAL POSITION

In 1960 and subsequent years an investigation on clerks was carried out in Łódź within the framework of studies on intelligentsia directed by Professor Jan Szczepański in the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. One of the subjects investigated were the opinions of clerks as to their own social position.

2,617 clerks, comprising a sample of all clerks of the city of Łódź were investigated by means of the questionnaire. The article utilizes before all 5.5

additional interviews with clerks, and 126 diaries kept by clerks. During an interview every respondent was asked to compare his own social position with that of the following occupations: salesman, physician, teacher, tailor, worker, foreman, technician, engineer.

The answers gave a hierarchical scale of the occupations compared. At the top of the scale came the physician and the engineer, the higher position of whom was recognized by more than 90% of the clerks. Below these two came the teacher, the technician, the foreman, the worker, the tailor and, at the very end, the salesman. On this scale the clerk occupies the place between the foreman and the worker.

The majority of clerks, regardless of position occupied and of sex, so determine their own social position. On the other hand clerks who graduated from high and academic schools see their place between the technician and the foreman, while clerks with primary education put themselves below the worker. Clerks coming from worker families whose spouse are workers, living in worker districts, and also those who themselves were employed sometimes as workers — consider the social position of a clerk lower than that of the worker.

The investigated persons explain the relatively low estimate of own social position by their conviction that the average education of clerks is low as compared with other professions, and that clerks lack professional qualifications.

The higher position of a clerk over some other professions was argued in most cases by referring to the general education and cultural level of clerks, recurring consequently to those qualities the possession of which the Polish pre-war intelligentsia considered as basic for its social superiority.

The investigation has shown that the opinions of clerks concerning their own profession were influenced by the social stereotypes and models. Polish press often includes negative mentions about clerks: a campaign is conducted against bureaucracy. On the other hand the social importance of workers and of technical professions, directly connected with production, is constantly undermined. This could also influence to some extent the opinions of clerks as to their own social position.

JOZEF KADZIELSKI

#### INTERGENERATIONAL SOCIAL MOBILITY OF ŁÓDŹ INHABITANTS

Sorokin and other investigators of social mobility distinguish two types of societies with opposite patterns of social mobility, one closed and the other open. Sorokin, Earler, Lipset, Lerdix, as well as other authors agree in opinion that in reality there is no society in which no social mobility appears; there are only societies with smaller or greater social mobility which may be determined by virtue of comparative investigations.

To determine the social (particularly upward and downward) mobility in Łódź, the author, with no empirical investigation data on hand, accepted a certain arbitrary conception of social class hierarchy: peasants (the lowest level of the hierarchy), workers (medium level), and intelligentsia (highest level); in social-occupational division physical workers were put at a lower level, and mental workers — at a higher level.

The following changes are observed among Łódź inhabitants: the sons of workers have changed their social membership in 25%, those of intelligentsia —

in 22%; the sons of peasants who settled in Łódź have turned into workers in 75%, and into intelligentsia — in 20%. Social mobility among manual and non-manual workers is nearly the same (23 and 25%, respectively). The general social mobility of sons is illustrated by the table below:

General social mobility of sons ( $N = 290$ )

Mobility of sons in relation to fathers	Class mobility (%)	Social- occupa- tional mo- bility (%)
Upwards	43	22
No change	53	76
Downwards	4	2

Nothing has been done so far to determine the social mobility of women. This is more difficult to investigate since the social position of women, as compared with that of men, is determined by a greater number of factors. In this article we consider social mobility of daughters, as compared with mothers, in selected social categories. The following changes took place:

1. Mothers belonging to the working class ( $N = 129$ ). Daughters: belonging to the working class — 72%, to intelligentsia — 5%, to the peasant class — 1%, to the lower middle class — 4%, not working — 8%.

2. Mothers belonging to the class of peasants ( $N = 72$ ). Daughters: belonging to the working class — 58%, to intelligentsia — 5%, to the peasant class — 1%, to the lower middle class — 1%, not working — 34%. The not working pattern of woman appears more strongly in this than in other categories.

The results of Łódź investigations concerning men have been compared with those obtained for Indianapolis and Aarhus. After proper calculation it was found that there is greater stabilization in Łódź both in manual and non-manual worker categories, and greater upward and smaller downward mobility.

All the data here presented do not indicate that the social position, particularly that of women, has not changed on the whole together with the passage from one class and social-occupational categories to another. Investigation of social mobility, taking under consideration several factors, has so far not been conducted.

ANDRZEJ ZAJACZKOWSKI

#### YOUNG AFRICAN ELITE

The first school for Africans on the area of French West Africa was founded in 1820 in Saint Luis. For a century education was carried out chiefly by the church supported in this respect by the colonial authorities. A more extensive educational action by the government took place as late as between the first two

World Wars, and was intensified in the period of the French Union. This activity crowned in the foundation in 1950 of the Institute of Higher Studies in Dakar, which, in 1957, was turned into a university. In the academic year 1957/58 the University was attended by 1,069 students, of whom 698 were Africans representing the spearhead of African youth not only from the Western but also from the Equatorial part of the continent.

In June, 1953, the Dakar students began to publish their own periodical, monthly "Dakar Étudiant". This periodical, which appeared probably until February 1959, inclusive, was the organ of the Chief Association of Dakar Students (A.G.E.D.). "Dakar Étudiant" provides valuable material for the study of new self-knowledge of the young African elite. In the first year of the periodical's existence there dominate solidaristic tendencies, ideological tendencies, which remain within the limits of the concept of the French Union, uniting "for ever" the African countries with France. Only in 1954 they tried to determine the new formula of the relation between both races, the foremost place being given to the problems of revaluation of African culture, exposed to prejudice in the thus far proceeding assimilation. Political consequences of this new tendency, so far confined to the problems of culture and personality, appear in "Dakar Étudiant" in 1955; after some development this ends in March 1957 in adopting the view that the Union should not be continued any longer. This new view of the "Dakar Étudiant" editors became clear 3 months before the publication of the *loi-cadre* on which the formation of the French Commonwealth was based, and its direct stimulus were the racist riots in the metropolis.

Besides the African self-knowledge problems, racial problems, an important place is occupied in the "Dakar Étudiant" by the problem of self-knowledge of student youth, as an elite. All publicists are of the same opinion as to the role the new elite should play. Presented with the alternative mandarin or pioneer, they all declare for the pioneer, for the service in favour of the abandoned African people. This calls for political engagement, for subordination of one's creative power — even in the realm of fine arts — to the interests of the masses at present rising from the fall caused by the colonial polity. These slogans, similar to those circulating among the elites of the socialist countries, are, however, not a result of Marxist inspiration. Marxism, socialism, communism, present themselves to the "Dakar Étudiant" publicists as alternatives for other values, and the choice will be made by the Africans themselves. The colonialists have no right to restrict this choice or to suggest it.

In connection with the problems of self-knowledge of the university youth, as a new elite, stands the problem how the role of the African university should be conceived. Characteristic is the lack of a positive conception of the university though there are important and legitimate elements of negative critique. In particular the publicists of the "Dakar Étudiant" have not perceived that which for all universities is most important, namely the proportion of that which in the way of fundamental cultural contents is in it of local importance and what of general importance, what issues and should issue from local elements and what from general human elements.

As compared with the political journalism of African youth in France, "Dakar Étudiant" appears to be a less radical periodical. May be this is so on the surface only, and results from the necessity of a greater caution on the part of the editors working in a colony, as compared with those working in a more liberal metropolis.

It may, however, be that a number of sociological factors essentially influenced the faster and deeper radicalization of African students transplanted to French conditions of living.

#### BOOK REVIEWS

Ludwik Gumpłowicz, *Outlines of Sociology*. New York, Paine, Whitman Publishers, 1963, 336 pages.

All those interested in the history of social sciences must have welcomed with satisfaction the new carefully prepared edition of the great work by Gumpłowicz *Grundriss der Soziologie* [*Outlines of Sociology*] — translated and edited with an introduction and notes by Irving L. Horowitz who is a professor of sociology and anthropology at Hobart and William Smith College in the United States. The translation is perfect, correcting all failings of the first American edition of this work (1899, translated by F. W. Moore).

Horowitz's introduction (85 pages with 10 pages of bibliography) is one of the best critical presentations of sociological views of Gumpłowicz. However, some of his analyses are rooted in completely erroneous assumptions, and this in cases connected with biographical data. Practically all the informations given by Horowitz concerning the life of Gumpłowicz are erroneous. He apparently does not know Polish works concerning Gumpłowicz, although he quotes them (F. Mirek and St. Posner, p. 12).

Basing on false information Horowitz has presented Gumpłowicz as an Austro-German sociologist. He writes that biographers consider Gumpłowicz as "a characteristic result of Polish culture, despite the fact that he was completely imbued with the influence of cultural and educational life in Austria and Germany" (p. 12). Horowitz supposes that this claim of Poles is based on the fact that Gumpłowicz participated in the "abortive" insurrection of 1863 and edited the Polish periodical "Kraj" of a left political tendency.

The author of the lengthy analysis of Gumpłowicz's sociology (*The Sociology of Gumpłowicz — Introduction*) not only errs in such details as information about the studies and doctor's degree, or "displacing" the cancer (Gumpłowicz succumbed to this disease) from the tongue to the eye... Horowitz does not know even the topics of Gumpłowicz's lectures during his 30 years long academic career! He informs the reader that Gumpłowicz engaged in law only "for his own part" being a professor of "political science". Such biographical errors reflect of course on the very analysis of Gumpłowicz's views and particularly on their sources and development.

A historian writing a monograph concerning the views of a given author is, obviously, bound to be exactly acquainted with his bibliography and, if necessary to verify it. Had Professor Horowitz complied with this duty of a scientist he would know that, Gumpłowicz, before he left for Graz, published six scientific dissertations in Polish in Cracow. He would also know that the largest work of Gumpłowicz, *System Sociologii* [*System of Sociology*], Warszawa, 1886, was written in his native language and is not a simple translation of the *Grundriss*, but a work which — making profit also of many parts of the *Outlines of Sociology* in German and of portions of an earlier work *Der Rassenkampf* — differs from the former because of different weight ascribed to particular problems and different proportions of component parts. It was considered by the author as the "fulfillment



of citizen's duty." In the introduction to that work Gumplowicz wrote "there came a moment for me to pay off my debt to my country and publish in my mother language the theory which grew up on a Polish soil" (underlined by A. G.).

Professor Horowitz seems unaware of the fact that Gumplowicz to the very end of his life contributed to Polish scientific periodicals and daily Press.

Aleksander Gella

Bronisław Malinowski, *Sex, Culture and Myth*. London, Hart-Davis 1963. 360 pages.

"As a generalisation, not much more inaccurate than are most such statements, it can be asserted that the late Professor Malinowski, single-handed, transformed British social anthropology, from a speculative, system-building, pseudo-evolutionary literature to a systematic, rationalist, fact-finding science" ("Observer", April 21, 1963).

With these words Gorer began his review of Malinowski's recently published *Sex, Culture and Myth*. Gorer does not mention that this rebel of British anthropology was not an English squire but of the Polish intelligentsia, born (1884) and brought up in Cracow, who wrote of himself in 1936: "I as a Pole have not adopted the English ways after thirty years of life in this country, but continue with a twofold social personality."<sup>1</sup>

This collection of Malinowski's English papers does not focus on the twofold personality problem. It is, however, worthwhile to call attention to his biography and scientific career considered here from this point of view.

As a student at the Jagellonian University in Cracow, Malinowski joined his study in natural sciences with his interests in humanities. There he had a fine circle of peers who became later famous in the arts and humanities in Poland. He studied ethnography and psychology under Wundt in Leipzig. In his English years (1910—1914) he studied with Frazer, Rivers, Westermarck, and Seligman. In 1914 he began his field work in Australia and Oceania which he carried on until 1918.

The beginning of Malinowski's scholarly career in ethnography and social anthropology started in Poland before he left for England. His analysis of James Frazer's book *Totemism and Exogamy* was written in Polish in 1910. Three parts of the paper, of over 80 pages, were published in the Polish ethnographic periodical "Lud" beginning with 1911 (vol. XVIII). The above mentioned review is not among the 22 papers collected in the *Sex, Culture and Myth*. The latter publication covers the years 1912—1941 and begins with Malinowski's review of Durkheim, published in English in "Folklore" (1913).

*The Family Among the Australian Aborigines: A Sociological Study* (University of London Press, 1913) was Malinowski's first book in English. His book written in Polish *Wierzenia pierwotne i formy ustroju społecznego* [*Primitive Religion and Forms of Social Structure*], Kraków, Akademia Umiejętności — was published in Poland in 1915.

<sup>1</sup> B. Malinowski, *Native Education and Culture Contact*, "The International Review of Missions", Vol. XXV, 1936, No. 505.

Malinowski wrote in English his books on Trobriands which made him famous but his personal notebook of his field work there in 1917 was written in Polish. In his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922) he wrote half-humorously that his "Slavonic nature [...] more plastic and more naturally savage than that of Western Europeans" makes it easier for him to take "plunges into the life of the natives."

After *Argonauts* came *The Sexual Life of Savages in North Western Melanesia* (1929) and *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (1935) — to mention his most important field works. His fame and position at the University of London (1922—1938) made Malinowski a top man in British anthropology.

He did not break off his connections with his native country. He was among contributors to the first issue of this "Sociological Review" (1931) with the article on the problem of kinship.

K. Symmons-Symonolewicz in his paper *Bronisław Malinowski: An Intellectual Profile* ("The Polish Review", New York, Autumn 1958) gathered interesting material on his twofold personality. He speaks of Malinowski's Preface to the English translation of *The Cassubian Civilization* written by Polish ethnographers A. Fisher and T. Lehr-Splawiński. He also pointed to Malinowski's article in "The International Reviews of Missions" (Vol. XXV, 1936, Nos. 404, 502) where Malinowski speaks as "a Pole to a Boer" and as "a Pole on behalf of the African."

Hitler's invasion of Poland strengthened Malinowski's feelings of solidarity with the Poles. At that time he was in the United States at the Yale University (1928—1941). He took part also in organizing the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America in New York.<sup>2</sup> After his death this Institute helped in the preparation for publication of his book *Freedom and Civilization* published posthumously in 1944.

Malinowski's twofold personality was alien to narrow ethnocentrism. Horowitz is right when writing that for Malinowski "the qualities of manliness [...] were present in some degree in all men — whether they be Trobriand fishermen or Polish noblemen."<sup>3</sup>

As the war progressed Malinowski became increasingly preoccupied with the problems of the peace settlement and the unity of mankind. He called attention to the disaster which would result from Hitler's victory. *Freedom and Civilization* is the final expression of his basic beliefs in the emerging united humanity consisting of free independent nations of all continents. By nation he meant a cultural unit close to Znaniecki's concept of nationality as presented in *Modern Nationalities* (New York 1952), that means "a national culture society." Both of them point to Poland as an illustration of cultural unity after its partition among Austria, Germany and Russia. Both of them stress the plurality of culture as a basic factor in the past and future creative evolution of human civilization. "Humanity, primitive and at every stage of evolution, does not consist of one culture."<sup>4</sup>

Adding Ludwik Gumpłowicz's works and biography and that of Znaniecki<sup>5</sup> to that of Malinowski we get an amazing illustration of "twofold social personalities" in the development of sociological thought.

Józef Chałasiński

<sup>2</sup> See also F. Gross, *Bronisław Malinowski*, "Lud", Vol. XXXVIII.

<sup>3</sup> I. L. Horowitz, *Crime, Custom and Culture*, "International Journal of Comparative Sociology", Karnatak University, Dharwar, India, Vol. III, No. 2, December 1962, p. 230.

<sup>4</sup> B. Malinowski, *Freedom and Civilization*, London 1947, 252 pages.

<sup>5</sup> J. Chałasiński,  *Florian Znaniecki — Polish and United States Sociologist*, „Przegląd Socjologiczny”, Vol. XVII, 1963, No. 1.

## IN MEMORIAM

## STANISŁAW OSSOWSKI 1897—1963

Polish sociology lost one of its outstanding leaders in the late Stanisław Ossowski who died on November 7, 1963. Teacher, researcher, writer, Professor of sociology at the University of Warsaw, President of the Polish Sociological Association from the date of its founding in 1957, Vice-President of the International Sociological Association 1957—1961.

Stanisław Ossowski was born on May 22, 1897. He took his doctorate in philosophy at the University of Warsaw in 1926. Till 1933 he taught in high school in Warsaw. Beginning with 1933 Ossowski with the publication of his *U podstaw estetyki (Foundations of Aesthetics)*, 1932, became assistant professor at the University of Warsaw; 1945—1947 he was professor of sociology at the University of Łódź and from 1947 till his death at the University of Warsaw.

Stanisław Ossowski combined his chief interest in social bonds and theoretical problems of sociology with his interest in theory of culture. His major theoretical contributions were *Więź społeczna i dziedzictwo krwi (The Social Bond and Bloodkinship)*, 1939, *Struktura klasowa w społecznej świadomości (Class Structure in Social Consciousness)*, 1957, and *O osobliwościach nauk społecznych (Peculiarities of the Social Sciences)*, 1962. In the latter he wrote: "I think [...] it is worthwhile to point out certain dangers resulting from a fascination with the mathematization of sociology and with the relative ease of obtaining new empirical results expressed in figures [...] The precision of quantitative operations will not eliminate the humanist elements that are introduced, often in an uncontralled manner, into the interpretation of immediate data; neither will it free the results of investigations from the influence of accurate or inaccurate insight into the attitudes that are to correspond to the indicators and statements obtained in the course of the investigations."

Stanisław Ossowski was brilliant contributor to our "Przegląd Socjologiczny" ("Social Review") from its volume IV/1936. Postwar development of sociology in Poland is largely due to his distinguished work as university teacher and sociological writer.

Józef Chalasiński