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Introduction
A definition of the sociology of art

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Although, not so very long ago, a sociology of art, embracing the various forms of art, was unknown and indeed almost inconceivable as an independent branch of the social sciences, ever larger numbers of sociologists are now engaging in this steadily expanding discipline which is devoted to such special subjects as literature, music, the theatre and painting; centres concerned with the sociology of art are being set up; the sociology of art is being taught at the universities and is always included in the agenda of meetings devoted to questions of art. Furthermore, many books on this subject are now being published, so that the sociology of art may truly be said to have won virtual recognition as a branch of science.

This development, however gratifying, creates two groups of problems which, at least latently, if not always manifestly, touch upon the basis of the sociology of art as an independent branch of science. Firstly, there is the question of the place of a sociology of the various forms of art within the corresponding sciences—literature, music, the theatre and aesthetics; in this connexion, it is particularly important to determine whether the sociology of art is to be regarded as an independent science or merely as an auxiliary science. Secondly, we must consider how the sociology of art can be integrated in the social sciences as a whole instead of being allotted a marginal role, which would be undesirable.

Logically, these two groups of problems are very closely related to each other, for if there were no science of literature or of music, for instance, there would be no sociology of literature or music. Hence, in any history of the development of the sociology of literature there is constant reference to the ideas of Madame de Staël;[1] in that of the sociology of music, to Amiot[2] and Kiesewetter;[3] in that of the fine arts, to Vasari,[4] and so on.

1. In: *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales*, 1800, and *De l'Allemagne*, 1810.
2. Father Jean Joseph Marie Amiot, *Mémoire sur la musique des Chinois*, Paris, 1779.
3. Raphael G. Kiesewetter, *Die Musik der Araber*, Leipzig, 1842.
4. Giorgio Vasari, *Vies des plus excellents peintres, sculpteurs et architectes*, 1542-50.

Consequently, there is no alternative but to treat these two groups of problems in conjunction, particularly since our primary concern in this introductory article must be to systematize to some extent the progressive development of the sociology of art. It would otherwise be very difficult in the long run to survey and understand its meaning, aims and widely varying methods of investigation. The fact is that a branch of science must develop from the most varied starting-points, both tried and untried, theoretical and practical, purely intellectual and empirical, if it is not to be doomed to an early death by self-adulation.

Here, we propose to make such an attempt at systematization, though naturally without exploring every avenue of investigation to its extreme limit. The author, who is himself fully engaged in the subject and has for many years been trying to make his own contribution to the development of this discipline, can hardly be expected to carry out such a systematization without voicing any criticism. Being more inclined to empirical social science, he feels bound to show a certain restraint in adopting the systematic approach, so as not to become involved in attempts to secure a scientific monopoly at all costs. For instance, whoever can write 'the establishment and development of the sociology of music depends on the extent to which it can adapt its methods and language to the field of music (and not, for instance, describe Bach as someone who produced music for consumers)',[1] or 'a sociological approach to modern art can be fully valid only if it takes a study of the arts in the past as its starting-point and vice versa'[2] shows only too clearly that he is more concerned with the preservation of the traditional than with the pursuit of intellectual progress. But the science of music and the science of art and even the science of literature, with their search for the basic structures of the unities of meaning, the symbolizing functions of the literary work and so on, are not alone in insisting on certain priority rights, which—we hasten to add—are partly grounded on the fact that, in the process of exploration in depth, confusion concerning certain concepts has occurred, as is clear from the following: 'The sociology of music will, in any case, really find a method of its own only when it has ceased to consider itself as a case to which that mathematical and linguistic symbolism which is wrongly held to be the criterion for every form of expression can be applied.'[3]

1. 'Die Begründung und Entwicklung der Musiksoziologie hängt davon ab, wieweit sie sich in Methode und Sprache dem Sachgebiet Musik anpasst (z.B. Bach nicht als Produzenten für Konsumenten bezeichnet).'—Walter Wiora, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Kassel, 1961, Vol. 9, p. 1215.

2. 'Une approche sociologique de l'art actuel ne saurait être pleinement valable qu'à partir de l'étude des arts du passé et réciproquement.'—Pierre Francastel, *La réalité figurative. Éléments structurels de sociologie de l'art*, Paris, 1965, p. 15. The same tendency is also to be found in Hanna Deinhard, *Bedeutung und Ausdruck. Zur Soziologie der Malerei*, Neuwied and Berlin, 1967.

3. 'Die Musiksoziologie wird jedenfalls erst dann ihre Arbeitsmethode wirklich gefunden haben, wenn sie aufgehört hat, sich als Anwendungsfall jenes mathematischen und sprachwissenschaftlichen Symbolismus zu betrachten, der zu Unrecht für das Richtmass jeder Ausdrucksform gehalten wird.' This is a quotation from Pierre Francastel's foreword to the German edition of François Lesure's *Musik und Gesellschaft im Bild*, Kassel, 1966, p. 7.

In regard to the sociology of art, even sociologists are alarmed by an ambiguity which appears to them at first sight to result from linking the various forms of art and sociology, the sciences of art and sociology. Thus, until quite recently, there was a complete lack of manuals and textbooks dealing with the sociology of art in any detail,[1] or else the sociological study of the arts was dismissed as follows: 'The arts, in sum, are the least important and the most variable of the elements that enter into the social structure.'[2] Even more recent, voluminous works emphasizing comprehensiveness, e.g., Georges Gurvitch's *Traité de sociologie*, do not devote so much as one whole page to the sociology of music[3] and the other sociologies of art are presented mainly as a mixture of ethnology and philosophy.

Rather than dwell on this regrettable neglect, let us excuse it as the result of a lack of information and devote ourselves to our real task, that of systematization, designed to indicate as concisely as possible, though perhaps not completely in the limited space available to us, the various directions in which different schools of thought seek to practise the sociology of art, develop its theoretical side, apply it and provide it with a methodological foundation. First, we must give a general outline, showing how the sociology of art fits into the general context of sociology.

In the above-mentioned treatise by the French sociologist Georges Gurvitch—but also in works by other writers—we find the sociologies of music, language, literature, the plastic arts, religion, etc., treated as problems of the *sociologie des œuvres de civilisation* (sociology of works of culture)—a phrase coined by Gurvitch to replace one which he had previously used in the same context, *la sociologie de l'esprit* (sociology of the mind).[4] Gurvitch says in this connexion that 'the sociology of the mind has no "imperialist" claims; it does not pretend to take the place of philosophy; it will, however, oblige the latter more and more to take account of its sociological counterpart and the work that it is doing';[5] but there still remain doubts—especially when we have read other works by him[6] and by one of this pupils[7]—as to whether such a categorization may not lead to a distraction from realities, which, as has already been frequently pointed out, is most undesirable. Moreover, as is clear from the title, the various forms of art are treated, without any specification, as an activity of the individual or social mind and thus not only lose their own individual character, but are regarded

1. As, for example, in Armand Cuvillier's otherwise excellent *Manuel de sociologie*, Paris, 1962, 4th ed.
2. Richard T. Lapierre, *Sociology*, New York and London, 1946, p. 333.
3. Paris, 1960, Vol. II, p. 297.
4. Georges Gurvitch, 'La vocation actuelle de la sociologie', in *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*, Paris, 1946, Vol. I, p. 18.
5. 'La sociologie de l'esprit n'a aucune prétention " impérialiste ", elle ne veut pas remplacer la philosophie; mais de plus en plus elle va forcer cette dernière à tenir compte de son vis-à-vis sociologique et de l'œuvre qu'il accomplit.'—ibid., p. 21.
6. See, for example, *Déterminismes sociaux et liberté humaine*, Paris, 1955.
7. Jean Duvignaud, *Sociologie de l'art*, Paris, 1967. This volume testifies, moreover, to an extraordinary ignorance of the relevant literature. In this connexion, see our article in the *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 1968, Vol. 2, p. 387 et seq.

—most questionably in our view—in a kind of uniform light along with many other intellectual activities, despite the evident fact that individual or social intellectual activities cannot be reduced to a common denominator, psychologically, sociologically, emotionally, cognitively, temporally or even physiologically. This unfortunate result of a lumping together, which is mainly the product of a system-bound view of society, can be seen very clearly in the article by the sociologist Paul Honigsheim—who has distinguished himself in particular in the sociology of music—published in Gottfried Eisermann's *Lehrbuch der Soziologie*.[1] In this article, the sociology of art, the sociology of music and the sociology of literature are treated largely in conjunction, and it must be said that their treatment, as regards both the line of argument and the evidence, oscillates between the social history approach and the religious or symbolic approach. However, Honigsheim's contribution—like certain other studies by him on the subject[2]—is exemplary inasmuch as he dissociates himself from the philosophy-of-art approach, as is made quite clear in his conclusion: 'For we are not concerned here with the philosophy of art, but with an experiment in the sociology of art, music and literature'.[3]

The sociology of art has also been classified under the speciality known as the 'sociology of knowledge', which is concerned 'to find out which type of thinking would be practised by men at this or that time'.[4] This definition —or another one which, for our purposes, says rather more clearly that, in Karl Mannheim's view, the purpose of the sociology of knowledge is 'to ascertain the correlation between philosophical, intellectual "standpoints" on the one hand, and concrete social "currents" on the other[5]—should appeal to anyone who in art only sees thought on the one hand and action on the other, each independent of the other. If we delve into the writings of Mannheim[6] and others who, although not expressly, relate to Mannheim's way of thinking and sociology of knowledge,[7] we find at best a quest for a high democratic ideal of culture capable of replacing the humanistic ideal. Lastly, as H. J. Lieber has put it, Mannheim's work shows that 'in the central concept of knowledge bound up with being, a special method of understanding the structure and nature of intellectual life was found'.[8] On

1. Stuttgart, 1958, p. 338 et seq.
2. See, for example, 'Musikformen und Gesellschaftsformen' in: *Die Einheit der Sozialwissenschaften*, edited by W. Bernsdorf and G. Eisermann, Stuttgart, 1955.
3. 'Denn nicht um Kunstphilosophie handelt es sich hier, sondern um den Versuch einer Soziologie der Kunst, Musik und Literatur.'—Paul Honigsheim in: G. Eisermann (ed.), op. cit., p. 372.
4. Paul Kecskemeti in: *Introduction to Karl Mannheim, Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, London, 1952, p. 16.
5. ibid., p. 19.
6. In particular: 'Ideologische und soziologische Interpretation der geistigen Gebilde', in: Gustav Salomon (ed.), *Jahrbuch für Soziologie*, Karlsruhe, 1926, Vol. 2, p. 424 et seq.
7. Examples are to be found in Klaus Peter Etzkorn, 'Musical and Social Patterns of Songwriters', Princeton University, 1959 (Ph.D. thesis), p. 234 et seq., and in Hans Norbert Fügen, *Die Hauptrichtungen der Literatursoziologie*, Bonn, 1964, p. 30 et seq.
8. 'dass im zentralen Begriff der Seinsverbundenheit des Wissens eine besondere Methode des Verstehens von Aufbau und Eigenart des Geisteslebens gefunden wurde'—in: Wilhelm Bernsdorf and Friedrich Bülow (ed.), *Wörterbuch der Soziologie*, Stuttgart, 1955, p. 633.

this basis, however, we find at worst naïve attempts which, generally under some heading now in vogue, such as 'from the standpoint of the sociology of art', indiscriminately, and above all arbitrarily, mingle sociological, morphological and aesthetic approaches, leading to the absurdity of a theory of society derived from art.

Both starting-points—the sociology of the mind as well as all the variants of the sociology of knowledge—must inevitably lead to an *a priori* way of thinking incompatible with an empirical approach to the sociology of art. The latter's aim is to proceed from the same basic assumptions as general sociology: observation of the facts, generalizations based on factual investigation, a general interpretative theory. Here it is the facts—and not feeling, the metaphysical or even the imaginary, to which the arts can all too easily lead us—that must always be our guiding rule. Neither of these schools of thought would appear to meet these requirements, unless the sociology of knowledge is expanded to cover 'a complex field of research with modern sociological methods and techniques, with a firm and, as far as logic is concerned, clearly defined place within a general theory of knowledge and science'.[1]

The next point to be considered is certainly whether the label 'sociology of culture' can lead to a satisfactory result in regard to the classification of the sociology of art, particularly if we bear in mind that the term 'culture' in modern sociology has come to embrace not only the theatre, painting, literature and music, but all patterns of behaviour and types of education that are socially acquired and transmitted. Although, by extension, the term 'culture' has, for many approaches, become extremely imprecise and unwieldy, this should not hamper us in our discussion, since no one disputes that the various forms or expressions of art are integral and already defined parts of culture, taken in the narrow or in the broad sense of the term.

The disadvantage of classifying the sociology of art under this research discipline,[2] however, is that the label 'sociology of culture' can very easily lead to a marked emphasis on the historical aspect, as for example in Pieter Jan Bouman's work (to mention only one work this kind).[3] This is due to the fact that, when such outstanding thinkers as Alfred Weber or A. J. Toynbee, with their historical outlook, study the sociology of culture, they concern themselves not so much with culture in the traditional sense of the term as with cultures, and so this term immediately assumes another meaning in addition to the various meanings already given to it. The resulting ambiguity, which is also linguistic in origin, can, as may be seen, for instance, from the cultural views of a writer like André Malraux,[4] lead to

1. 'zu einem komplexen Forschungsbereich mit modernen soziologischen Methoden und Techniken, mit einem festen und gegenüber der Logik klar abgegrenzten Platz in einer generellen Wissens- und Wissenschaftstheorie'.—Leopold Rosenmayr, Max Scheler, 'Karl Mannheim und die Zukunft der Wissenssoziologie', in: Alphons Silbermann (ed.), *Militanter Humanismus. Von den Aufgaben der modernen Soziologie*, Frankfurt on the Main, 1966, p. 230.
2. See René König (ed.), *Soziologie*, Frankfurt on the Main, 1967, p. 159 et seq.
3. *Kultur und Gesellschaft der Neuzeit*, Olten and Freiburg, 1962.
4. *Les voix du silence*, Paris, 1951; *Musée imaginaire de la sculpture mondiale*, Paris, 1952, et passim.

considerable confusion and, above all, to non-factual ideological thinking as consistently practised by A. J. Toynbee, following upon the model of Oswald Spengler.

A further doubt which has often been expressed is provoked by the study of a number of examples of practical sociology of culture as applied to art; in this connexion, we shall mention only Alfred von Martin's *Soziologie der Renaissance*,[1] Frederic Antal's *Florentine Painting and its Social Background*,[2] Curt Sachs's *The Commonwealth of Art*[3] and Arnold Hauser's *Sozialgeschichte der Kunst und Literatur*.[4] These and similar works on the sociology of culture attempt not only to give individual artistic trends their appropriate place but also to develop such trends, whether in music, literature or the plastic arts, out of their particular context. All these works reflect the effort to break away from the constraints of primitive social history —so often misleadingly passed off as sociology of art[5]—and to recognize what was once merely social background as essential to the study of the social existence of the artist and his work. This is certainly to be regarded as progress if we bear in mind that 'all individual adventures are founded in a more complex reality, namely the social reality or "interlaced" reality as it is called by sociology'.[6]

While not underestimating such views concerning the sociology of culture, the objection to them is 'that the development of sociology as a science depends on a progressive breaking away from this kind of philosophy of history'[7] as well as from the past itself, for otherwise the here and now as well as the existentially essential tomorrow may not find proper expression. It is striking how even the sociologically oriented art literature of English-speaking countries, in the main, still produces works on the sociology of art in the past.[8] Yet surely this cannot be the purpose of social science; for the latter, like the sociology of art—if they are to have any right to exist—has a twofold task: firstly, to analyse the processes of human behaviour, especially behavioural patterns and changes; secondly, to define norms in such a way as to open up the possibility of practical action.

For this much more far-reaching task, the term 'sociology of culture' (embracing the sociology of art) is far too inadequate, as can be seen also

1. Frankfurt, 1949.
2. London, 1947.
3. London, 1955.
4. Munich, 1947.
5. Many examples of this are to be found in writings on literature. Among recent examples of this tendency we might mention Miklavz Prosence, *Die Dadaisten in Zürich*, Bonn, 1967; Gustav Sichelschmidt, Hedwig Courths-Mahler, *Eine literatursoziologische Studie*, Bonn, 1967, etc.
6. 'toutes les aventures individuelles se fondent dans une réalité plus complexe, celle du social, une réalité, " entrecroisée ", comme dit la sociologie'.—Fernand Braudel, 'Les responsabilités de l'histoire', in: *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*, Paris, 1951, Vol. X, p. 9.
7. 'Das die Entwicklung der Soziologie als Wissenschaft abhängig ist von einer immer tiefer reichenden Trennung von dieser Art Geschichtsphilosophie', René König (ed.), op. cit., p. 160.
8. See, for example, Wilfred Meller's, *Music and Society*, New York, 1950, and Diana Spearmann, *The Novel and Society*, London, 1966.

from the fact the sociology of culture has been described elsewhere as the science concerning the social aspect of cultural life',[1] a view which, under the influence of J. M. Guyau's well-known work *L'art du point de vue sociologique*,[2] is very frequently expressed. Its self-imposed limitation must always take the sociology of culture, as still represented after Wilhelm Dilthey by scholars such as Hans Freyer,[3] Arnold Gehlen,[4] Marcel Belvianes,[5] Pierre Francastel,[6] and others, back to what may rightly be called the social history of art, but which all too often is presented under the misleading and false guise of sociology of art. If, for instance, we were to give the sociology of music such a vague and scientifically unstable definition as 'the theory of the relationship between music and society'[7] the word 'relationship' itself would imply that this branch of the sociology of art is something more than a sociology of culture, that its scope extends much further, even beyond culture—almost incorporating it—and is to be treated at least as a sociology of cultural spheres of influence (*Kulturwirkekreissoziologie*).

Since 'objective creations of the mind can never be opposed to what happens in society, but only be seen in a functional relation with it in particular cultural spheres of influence',[8] no modern-thinking social scientist today can overlook the fact[9] that the arts, like economics, law, religion, the State, etc., are ultimately expressions of culture and society, as is already clear from the fact that they can be viewed from such different angles as symbolic representation, communication processes or, in the last analysis, social processes. All thinking and research on the sociology of art—as Roger Clausse shows elsewhere in this issue—inevitably leads to the spheres of influence of art and must embrace them all.

That is why we speak of a sociology of the cultural spheres of influence, though we fully realize that it is an extremely clumsy term. If we use the term it is not only because we have not been able to find a better one, but especially because its precision enables us to see in the sociology of art something more than just a study of the social history of the arts or of sociological aesthetics.

We must now turn our attention to the already much apostrophized social history of art (or of the arts) and its relationship to the sociology of art,

1. 'die Wissenschaft von der Gesellungsseite des Kulturlebens', K. A. Fischer, *Kultur und Gesellung*, Cologne, 1951, p. 15.
2. Paris, 1930, 15th ed.
3. For example, *Theorie des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters*, Stuttgart, 1955.
4. *Zeit-Bilder, Zur Soziologie und Asthetik der modernen Malerei*, Frankfurt on the Main, 1960.
5. *Sociologie de la musique*, Paris, 1951.
6. *Art et technique*, Paris, 1956.
7. 'die Lehre vom Zusammenhang zwischen Musik und Gesellschaft'.—Hans Engel, *Musik und Gesellschaft*, Berlin, 1960, p. 9.
8. 'die objektiven geistigen Gebilde dem sozialen Geschehen niemals entgegengesetzt, sondern nur in Kulturwirkekreisen in einem funktionalen Zusammenhang mit ihm gesehen werden (können), René König (ed.), op. cit., p. 160.
9. See, for example, Harry C. Bredemeier and Richard M. Stephenson, *The Analysis of Social Systems*, New York, 1962, chapter 1, and David C. McLelland, *The Achieving Society*, New York, 1961.

particularly since the social history of art is often presented and defended —especially by those who are not always well informed—as one, if not indeed the only, valid trend in the sociology of art. It must be stressed in this connexion that the significance of the social history of art as such is just as incontestable as the coexistence and mutual enrichment of history and sociology. We must therefore demur when we hear so many who are competent in this subject refer to themselves as art sociologists, whereas in actual fact they are sociologists of history. Generally, they attempt to approach the social aspect of the history of art, that is the social aspect of the past, only from an historical and not at all from a sociological stand-point, and could thus at best present themselves and enrich the science as cultural historians, but not as art sociologists.

The distinction we have submitted may at first sight seem extremely dogmatic, yet it is not so if we consider carefully where the claim that the social history of art represents the sociology of art has led in the course of the development of the empirical sociology of art. First of all, social histo-rians are responsible for the fact that the confounding of the words 'social' and 'sociological'—so easy to confuse owing to their linguistic similarity— has deepened. Strangely enough, it is in French literature that this confusion is most common, though it is also to be found in German literature, despite the fact that it has frequently been pointed out that the term *fait social* (social fact), commonly used in literature since Durkheim, can mean either 'sociological state of affairs', 'social fact' or even 'social phenomenon', according to the context.[1] But apart from this quite excusable ignorance, which is to be found even in the writings of specialists,[2] there is a grow-ing tendency among writers on social history to use expressions like 'the sociological stress', 'the sociological question', or 'the sociological arguments' in connexion with art, artists and their public, whenever suitable social explanations are lacking or whenever something that cannot be defined is to be left in mid-air. Here there is no trace of any real sociological knowledge at all. Reference is made to historical examples; the class struggle and classless music are discussed; reality and ideology are indiscriminately mixed up in literary analyses and, finally, under the cover of art, shallow propaganda is made for some predetermined direction which should never constitute the purpose of sociology.

A serious and valid social history of art, such as has been pursued for some time past, very often focuses on the literary, musical or visual pheno-menon in its socialized form. Artistic events are not merely catalogued, but are presented and analysed in their interdependent relationship with general events and major cultural developments, thereby, as a result of modern knowledge, showing how specific cultural phenomena have become artistic criteria that, as abstractions, could later serve as the basis

1. For a full discussion, see René König's introduction to the new German edition of Emil Durkheim's *Die Regeln der soziologischen Methode*, Neuwied, 1961, p. 38 et seq.
2. For example, Jean Duvignaud makes no mention of the distinction in his booklet on Durk-heim (Paris, 1955).

for certain modern modes of thought in art.[1] But even here, where the aim
is to discover regularities, there are schools of thought which, though they
claim to be pursuing the sociology of art, in fact support an incorrect
conception of this field. What we would reproach them with is that they
propound hypotheses derived from personal grudges and thus make state-
ments such as 'Music as a social function is a kind of swindle, a fraudulent
promise of happiness that takes the place of happiness itself'.[2] Worse still,
they stick to these culturally pessimistic assumptions and completely
disregard social roles, social stratification and even social changes, which
any kind of sociological study must take into account and recognize. Many
of these schools of thought submit that the entire historical development
of art should be investigated from the standpoint of sociability which, they
preposterously claim, makes it possible to deduce the economic and social
conditions of entire communities on the basis of their artistic production.
There are many examples which show how such thinking has led to the
lumping together of historical social theory, social ethics, social pedagogics,
epistemological considerations and concepts derived from economic
history, to the exclusion of all sociological principles and methods, with the
result that social history is presented in the guise of sociology of art and ten-
dentious ideas take precedence over realities. The authentic art sociologist,
however, must insist on realities; he must, to some extent, be a positivist
or an undaunted pragmatist, just as the historian is rightly expected to be.
This also applies to the history of art. If we take, for instance, such concepts
as group, institution, art policy, the economics of art, attitudes, etc., we
see that they are all sociological facts that can be examined equally from
the standpoint of the sociologist as from that of the historian.[3]

As soon as we realize that the research worker and the observer must
deal with two different kinds of historical facts, we possess a key for deter-
mining the limits, and a further means of defining the position of the
sociology of art. Thus social history is concerned with those facts which
stand in contrast with the social condition, possessing no regular connexion
or correlation with it, because they stem from the originality of great men.
Their force and progress are neither constant nor regular. The sociology
of art, on the other hand, as a sociology concerned with cultural spheres
of influence, inquires into those historical facts which are correlated to one
another and to the progress of society. They adapt themselves and develop
in accordance with forces that it is one of the tasks of the sociology of art
to analyse and describe.

Although, at this stage, we are still far from having defined and cir-
cumscribed the whole content of the sociology of art, it is precisely here

1. An outstanding recent example of this is Robert Minder's *Dichter in der Gesellschaft*, Frank-
   furt on the Main, 1966.
2. 'Musik als soziale Funktion ist dem Nepp verwandt, schwindelhaftes Versprechen von
   Glück, das anstelle des Glücks selber sich installiert'.—Theodor W. Adorno, *Einleitung in
   die Musiksoziologie*, Frankfurt on the Main, 1962, p. 56.
3. Cf. Fernand Braudel, 'Histoire et sociologie' in: Georges Gurvitch (ed.), *Traité de sociologie*,
   Paris, 1960, vol. I, page 83 et seq.

that a number of competent sociologists take their starting-point. One of the first to do so, as far as socio-musical phenomena are concerned, was Georg Simmel, in an almost unknown work which appeared in 1887 in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie* (Vol. 13) under the title of 'Psychologische und ethnologische Studien über Musik'. Briefly, Simmel regards music as an expression of the substance of a society, that is, as an aspect of the social relations between the individuals themselves and as an aspect of the relations between the latter and the patterns of communication that maintain, structure and restructure these relations.[1] An art form, in this case music, is thus placed in the context of social relations and in the centre of the communication content—an undertaking which, with increasing refinements, can be traced right up to present-day trends in the sociology of art.

Before going further into this matter, however, we must mention Pitirim A. Sorokin's vast work *Social and Cultural Dynamics*,[2] since here too, *inter alia*, an attempt is made to examine forms and expressions of art in relation to other aspects of the social situation. In chapter 12 of this work, under the title of 'Fluctuation of Ideational, Sensate, and Mixed Forms of Music', and then in chapter 40 of his comprehensive study *Society, Culture and Personality*,[3] under the title of 'Growth, Fluctuation, and Decline of Main Forms of Fine Arts', Sorokin considers the definition of various forms of art and—of special interest to us here—variations in time and space in the main styles of art. While Sorokin points out that what he is writing about is not the history of cultures but the sociology of their evolution,[4] he stresses in particular the importance of the social environment in the creative process and the interdependence of social processes and forms of art. Since Sorokin's main aim is to incorporate theoretically in his system of general sociology the four main types of art phenomena he defined (sensate, ideational, idealistic, eclectic)—which are by no means universally recognized —together with their variations, it would lead us too far to analyse this system here. Suffice it to say that Klaus Peter Etzkorn is right when he affirms that 'With Sorokin's systematic concern with music, a landmark in the sociological study of music has been reached', because 'Sorokin concerns himself with the problems of analyses of the cultural and social integration of social system'.[5]

The path followed by the sociology of art since Simmel, Sorokin and others has led to the incorporation of knowledge relating to art in the context of social relations, that is, has brought it more and more within the purview of sociology. Owing to this course of development which led from the essence of art and from its immanent significance to the social context, and which took place neither inversely nor along parallel lines, and also

1. For a detailed analysis of Simmel's study, see K. Peter Etzkorn, 'Georg Simmel and the Sociology of Music, in: *Social Forces*, 1964, No. 43, p. 101 et seq.
2. New York, 1937, 1941, 4 vol.
3. New York, 1962, new edition.
4. *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, p. 9-10.
5. 'Musical and Social Patterns of Songwriters', op. cit., p. 251.

owing to the philosophical stress characteristic of the writings of—to mention
only a few examples—Georg Lukács and Lucien Goldmann, Walter
Benjamin and Theodor W. Adorno, Etienne Souriau, Arnold Gehlen and
Jean Cassou,[1] these thinkers saw a discrepancy between art and personality
on the one hand, and between art consumption and the existing, constantly
changing society on the other. Once this discrepancy had been recognized,
it was felt necessary to overcome it; in most cases this is done through a
return to sociology as social criticism and to cultural criticism, of which it
can safely be affirmed that it is inspired by certain 'prophets of yesterday',[2]
including among others, Friedrich Hegel, Gustave Le Bon, Karl Marx,
Ortega y Gasset and Sigmund Freud. However, in order to attain the social
context, without going beyond it, this trend in the sociology of art found
itself compelled to abandon a pure sociological methodology close to
reality and free of value judgements. There was a return to the methods of
philosophical thought and of verification in order to study and explain the
work of art in terms of cultural critique.[3] These schools of thought did not,
however, overlook the fact that the life of the work of art lies in its effect,
in so far as this emanates from its very essence; they were therefore obliged
to return to an approach aimed at a study of the essential character of the
work of art, particularly as the main task of such sociology consists, alongside
of and parallel to cultural criticism, in discovering norms to determine the
essential nature of the work of art and its effects.

A sociologist can approve this trend in so far as it is the task of philo-
sophical thought to determine, dogmatically or critically, psychologically
or sociologically, at what point a creative work (a) becomes art, and (b) as
such acquires permanent existence. What we are stressing here, and what
has already been pointed out by many distinguished sociologists, is that
sociology and philosophy are not hostile brothers; that social philosophy
—for we are now concerned with this step towards recognition in the
sociology of art—must exercise its critical powers and empirical sociology
must make use of what it has to offer. That this is also the case in the socio-
logy of art can be seen from the fact that, in connexion with the point just
mentioned, it is precisely a philosopher, John Dewey, who must be credited
with having placed the constellation of concepts concerning the 'inherent
significance of the work of art' in the centre of his reflections on the subject,
especially in his book *Art as Experience*.[4] In doing so, he turned away, like
many others after him,[5] from what may roughly be described as a concept

1. For example, Georg Lukács, *Die Theorie des Romans*, Berlin, 1920; Lucien Goldmann, *Pour
   une sociologie du roman*, Paris, 1964; Walter Benjamin, *Illuminationen*, Frankfurt on the
   Main, 1955; Theodor W. Adorno, *Philosophie der neuen Musik*, Tübingen, 1949; Etienne
   Souriau, *Les deux cent mille situations dramatiques*, Paris, 1950; Arnold Gehlen, *Zeit-
   Bilder* . . ., op. cit.; Jean Cassou, *Situation de l'art moderne*, Paris, 1950.
2. *Prophets of Yesterday*, title of a book by Gerhard Masur, New York, 1961.
3. See our Study, 'Literaturphilosophie, soziologische Literaturaesthetik oder Literaturso-
   ziologie', in: *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 1966, Vol. I, p. 139 et seq.
4. New York, 1934.
5. For example, Gregor Paulson, *Die soziale Dimension der Kunst*, Bern, 1955.

of art according to which it is for society to discover the distinctive features of the aesthetic object, irrespective of the aesthetic experience through meditation on the object itself. A precise distinction between mere perception on the one hand and reaction on the other brings us close to the sociological viewpoint. For, if what is social can exist only in and through communication expressed in reactions, communication is the foundation of the work of art and not just an accessory or by-product. In other words, art and endeavour, art and nature, but above all art and every normal human experience are inseparable from one another.

In practical terms, this means that, in the sociological analysis of artists and their works,[1] a careful distinction is first drawn between inherited instinctive talents, the nature of a creative artist and the socio-cultural unfolding of his personality, or, in other words, what is acquired. This raises the question which of the two is to be regarded as the predominant element. While Dewey admitted that, from the biological standpoint, instinct is definitely paramount, although from the sociological standpoint 'habits' occupy the foreground and relegate instinct to a subordinate position —'in behaviour the original is what is acquired', it is claimed—the socio-philosophical approach to the sociology of art rejects communication *a priori*.

To illustrate, let us turn to Theodor W. Adorno who writes, for example, that the prime purpose of the sociology of music is 'the social deciphering of music itself'.[2] Music itself must first 'burst asunder'. At the same time as communication is dismissed, however, the all-pervasiveness of the acquired is cast aside. This, to us, contradictory line of thought is due to the fact that, although, as with Dewey, the inherent significance of the work of art, or as with Lucien Goldmann and others holding similar views, the 'genetic structuralism' (*structuralisme génétique*) of the work of art (which largely comes to the same thing), forms the centre of reflection, the predominant view is the one in accordance with which art obeys the laws of human consciousness. Thus, instinct, or the mind—both the mind 'in itself' and the mind 'for itself'—again becomes paramount. When it is said that 'the higher the level of music, the more possible and adequate is its sociological interpretation',[3] it is assumed, firstly, in a manner that is contradictory from the empiricist's standpoint, that the phenomena 'music', 'literature' and 'painting', in short the phenomenon 'art', which as such does not represent any social process, can be interpreted sociologically and, secondly,

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1. We would refer to the following examples: Theodor W. Adorno, *Gustav Mahler*, Frankfurt on the Main, 1960; Klaus Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, Munich, 1962; Frederick Antal, *Hogarth und seine Stellung in der europäischen Kunst*, Dresden, 1966; Félix Brun, 'Pour une interprétation sociologique du roman picaresque', in: *Littérature et société*, Brussels, 1967; Alphons Silbermann, *Introduction à une sociologie de la musique*, Paris, 1955; Leo Lowenthal, *Literature and the Image of Man*, Boston, 1957.

2. 'Die gesellschaftliche Dechiffrierung von Musik selbst, Ideen zur Musiksoziologie', in: *Schweizer Monatshefte*, Zürich, November 1958, p. 681.

3. 'Die soziologische Interpretation von Musik ist um so adaequater moeglich, je höher die Musik rangiert.'—ibid., p. 690.

that a desired sociological interpretation can be linked with a potent value judgement; thirdly, as a concession to the 'mind' in all its glory, an approach is adopted which primarily analyses and recognizes the work of art to the exclusion of factors that have influenced it and to the exclusion of its 'emanations'. Each of these two spheres of influence, one leading to the work of art and the other leading away from it, is, of course, embraced —with Adorno, for example, it is always capitalist-bourgeois society and with Goldmann it is Jansenism[1] and Marxist society—though not as constantly changing social processes but rather as static labels transformed into artifacts. This is understandable if we accept the fact that such schools of thought are in all honesty more concerned with transforming the work of art into a lesson about the ultimate matters concerning man and society than with helping the immanent to be born.

But if it is remembered that, after all, society can hardly be deduced from art, nor can it be determined *ex cathedra* what is to occupy a higher rank, and bearing in mind also that art phenomena are often not observable because they disappear in space and are limited in time, or, to put it another way, that only the experience of art, i.e., experience of the theatre, literature, music, painting or sculpture, is a tangible and observable factor[2] —then we begin to reflect. Thus, the task of the sociology of music for instance, can be summed up as follows: 'Collection of all social facts relevant to the practice of music, classification of these facts according to their importance for the practice of music and the understanding of all the factors that determine changes in practice of music and the understanding of all the factors that determine changes in practice.'[3] This obvious reference to Durkheim's *fait social* is combined, if not always expressly, with recourse to Max Weber's line of reasoning.

We have in mind mainly Weber's fragmentary study *Die rationelen und soziologischen Grundlagen der Musik*, which though it is often quoted in connexion with studies on the sociology of art—because of its significance, it has also strongly influenced the empirical sociology of art—is nevertheless seldom understood in all its essence and implications.[4] While Weber's study is devoted largely to pure reflection on particular aspects of the increasing rationalization in the cultural fields and therefore adopts a formal approach, that is not all. Weber, like so many art sociologists since

1. See his main work, *Le dieu caché*, Paris, 1955.
2. With regard to the problems concerning the experience of art as a social factor, see Alphons Silbermann's *The Sociology of Music*, London, 1963, and 'Theater und Gesellschaft' in: Martin Huerlimann (ed.), *Das Atlantisbuch des Theaters*, Zürich, 1966, p. 387 et seq., as well as the same author's article, 'Kunst', in: René König (ed.), op. cit., p. 164 et seq.
3. 'Sammlung aller für die musikalische Praxis relevanten gesellschaftlichen Tatbestände, Ordnung dieser Tatbestände nach ihrer Bedeutung für die musikalische Praxis und Erfassung der für die Veränderung der Praxis entscheidenden Tatbestände'.—Kurt Blaukopf, in: W. Bernsdorf and F. Bülow (eds.), op. cit., p. 342.
4. The study first appeared in Munich in 1921 and has since been published in the appendix to the second half-volume of the *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*, III, in the section entitled 'Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft', Tübingen, 1925, 2nd ed. An English edition—*The Rational and Social Foundations of Music*—prepared by Don Martindale, Johannes Riedel and Gertrude Neuwirth, was published in 1958, Carbondale.

his time, is also interested in comparing the phenomena of musical or even general artistic behaviour of the past and those of today, so as to bring out the social character of music or art. It cannot therefore be maintained that 'in Max Weber's study, which is extremely brilliant, both as regards individual points and his exposition as a whole, one thing unfortunately is almost misleading: his remarks concerning the sociological foundations of music',[1] for even the socio-economic factor is touched on in the last part of the treatise.[2] It is precisely because Weber, in the course of his study, inquires into the opposition between certain principles relating to the theory of music, between expediency and aesthetic requirements, and between the emotional and the rational in music, i.e., it is precisely because he thus shows that in music—and is also true of the other forms of art—social behaviour never takes exclusively one direction or another that (unlike so many art sociologists) he departs from absolute definitions of value. He follows the same path taken before him by George Simmel and opens the way which leads directly to the behaviour of socio-musical groups, to which John H. Müller again referred recently when distinguishing in this connexion between formalistic, institutional, hermeneutic and programmatic music.[3] The fact that Weber stuck to a strictly rational, that is logical or mathematical and scientific form of analysis, in order to give a sociological picture—never completed however; the fact that nowhere did he indulge in an emotional or an artistic-aesthetic line of argument, despite the quality of art and especially of music, which leads so easily to the emotional; and lastly, the fact that nowhere did he try to steep the subject of music or art in philosophical considerations, all make this fragment a model for any study of the sociology of art, both as regards methodology and epistemology.[4] On no occasion did Weber venture into the depths of 'understanding' (verstehend) investigation, but tried to find a happy medium between the scientific-sociological approach providing causal explanations and the 'understanding' and individualizing approach. In this connexion, Weber regarded historicism as an a priori assumption to be handled sceptically. Whenever possible, he regarded it as a methodological principle for the scientific writing of history, but not as an existential proposition.

This, however, is still the guiding principle followed by the science of art, even if it allegedly seeks to acquire a sociological orientation by assuming either a socio-psychological garb or by directing its attention to comparative investigations and investigations relating to the psychology of art. Just as it is clear that, in these attempts at extension, the chief emphasis

1. 'an der im einzelnen wie im ganzen überaus geistreichen Schrift Max Webers leider eins nahezu irreführend (ist): das Wort von den soziologischen Grundlagen der Musik'.—Hermann Matzke, Musikökonomik und Musikpolitik, Breslau, 1927, p. 8.
2. See Max Weber, op. cit., p. 862. (The quotation is from the text in: Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, Tübingen, 1925, 2nd ed.)
3. 'A Sociological Approach to Musical Behaviour', in: Ethnomusicology, 1963, Vol. VII, No. 3.
4. For a detailed analysis of Weber's study see our article 'Max Webers musikalischer Exkurs', in: Special issue 7 of the Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, 1963, p. 448 et seq.

is on the historical, it is equally clear that the science of art in general will still not fully recognize that causal, historical thinking—thinking in terms of cause and effect, thinking in terms of eternal laws of nature, which is extremely useful for ordinary cataloguing work—has been superseded in so far as the weaknesses of these so-called 'eternal laws of nature' have long since been proven.

Certain art scholars have undoubtedly recognized this, and so a sociological approach has been developed that has led to a sociological system of aesthetics, outstanding representatives of which are Charles Lalo, Raymond Bayer and Thomas Munro.[1] They attempted to introduce order into the study of the sociology of art in so far as a distinction was made, as it were, between a 'direct' and an 'indirect' way of incorporating sociology in the history of art. Here 'direct' means the introduction and elaboration of a sociological theme in the sphere of the history of art, and 'indirect' the application of sociological criteria and methods of interrogation to the work of art and to particular periods in the history of art. This distinction clearly shows the sociology of art as an 'auxiliary science', for, in the last analysis, nothing more is involved than a sociological interrogation of the work of art as such.

This is the tendency of many writings on the sociology of art, for they are constantly dealing with the aesthetics of the work of art, but no longer as in the past, no longer as in the writings of Vischer, Schelling, Wölfflin or Croce, whose interest was only in the individual; today, the community is also taken into account. Thus, even in the field of art, it was suddenly discovered that there existed an *individu socialisé* (socialized individual), to use Lalo's expression, an individual who, long before the creation of the work of art, possesses a collective spirit with which he expresses himself and through which he addresses himself to the recipient groups. It was further discovered through this sociological-aesthetic approach to the work of art that artistic evolution and revolution are only the synthesis of isolated and independent attempts by numerous predecessors and that not everything was, so to speak, miraculously created from nothing by a stroke of genius. Whether these 'discoveries' represent a step forward, making it necessary to call on sociology, is a question we should prefer not to discuss here.

In this connexion, we must draw attention to the one-sided view of the science of art according to which the production-consumption relationship is considered almost exclusively from the standpoint of production, from the standpoint of the individual. In reply to this criticism, it is said that there is no intention whatsoever of inverting the social pyramid by devoting exclusive attention to the personality of the poet, composer or painter, as can be seen from the pursuit of what is today known as social background research—an approach that undoubtedly represents one of the trends in the sociology of art. Indeed, remarkable work has

1. Charles Lalo, *Notions d'esthétique*, Paris, 1948; Raymond Bayer, *Traité d'esthétique*, Paris, 1948; Thomas Munro, *Towards Science in Aesthetics*, New York, 1956.

been done and is still being done in this field. With the knowledge
gained through psychology, psychoanalysis, statistics and a system of
sociological aesthetics based on *Anthropologie structurale*,[1] developed by
C. Lévi-Strauss, research in depth was initiated, which, by its scientific
precision, has certainly achieved notable results but, as before, the main
emphasis is on the producer, the product and the production process. In
extreme cases, uncertainties arise as a result of this somewhat one-sided
approach, with the sociology of art being referred to as a *sociologie de l'imagi-
naire*, a *sociologie de la création artistique*, or a *sociologie de l'art*,[2] just because those
concerned are unwilling or unable to pay attention to all the multifarious
members of the 'art-society', apart, of course, from the producers.

The empirical art sociologist has never had any difficulty in recognizing
that in all periods—and today more than ever—art consumers form an
integral part of the world of art. In this connexion, John H. Müller appo-
sitely writes that, in such studies, 'society is conceived as essentially a
totalitarian unity; that all aspects of society are here manifestations of a
primal spirit to which source they all converge'.[3] Undoubtedly bearing in
mind works that seek to approach the 'soul of culture' (*Kulturseele*) by means
of the social background and thereby equate one with the other, Müller
goes on to say: 'This unitarian view leads to a desperate reliance on the
trivial parallelisms which speckle the whole of musicological history at the
present time. No social science, in whose province this problem actually
falls, would ever sanction those overtly metaphysical fabrications of the
organic theory which lie at the base of present musicological reasonings.'
Far from reproaching the contemporary science of music or art with 'intellec-
tual naïveté', Müller advocates 'the elimination of the survivals which clutter
up the current revisionary trends'.[4]

At this point we can definitely assert that it is the spark produced by the
tension arising from contrasts that gives the work of art its real life. This is
a truism for modern art sociology, since with art or the arts it is confronted
with a social phenomenon that manifests itself as a social process, as a
social activity, and consequently needs two partners: a giver and a receiver.
Putting it in sociological terms, this process needs a producing and a
consuming group within the 'art-society', which, whether through group
contact, group conflict, group dynamics, group transformation, etc., come
into touch with each other. And this not necessarily as cause and effect
only, but in a relationship of interdependence, interrelation and interaction
—relationships whose ramifications, in so far as the producer groups are
concerned, not only reveal new aspects, but also accord the consumer groups
the importance due to them as recipients and influencers of artistic creation.

Let it not be supposed that this relationship is overlooked, for as an

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1. Paris, 1958.
2. As, for example, by Jean Duvignaud in his *Sociologie de l'art*, op. cit.
3. 'Baroque—is it Datum, Hypothesis, or Tautology?', in: *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art
Criticism*, June 1954, Vol. XII, No. 4, p. 437.
4. ibid.

indication of the interest taken in the consumers, we can observe not only the continually renewed efforts to define the meaning and nature of art or the arts, but also the continually growing volume of works and commentaries which are addressed to the public and which, in scientific or popular terms, attempt to comment on, explain and make different branches of the arts more accessible to the consumer groups. Qualified and unqualified persons here commonly offer what they themselves know about the arts, creators of art and perhaps also their interpreters, overlooking the fact that intimacy with art also makes it necessary to perceive the spectators, listeners or readers in their social structures, functions and attitudes, so that what the sociology of art is so intent on studying, namely the experience of art, may come about.

For it is not the vague concepts 'art', 'painting', 'music', 'literature', etc., that are in the centre of the artistic life: it is characterized by the experience of art. It is this meeting—resulting from conflict or contact—between the producer and the consumer, these social processes and these social actions which concretize and assume a definite shape. Around them the art groups assemble; they alone, in accordance with the methods of empirical sociology, may and can, as sociological facts, be the centre and starting-point of observation and research. This finding and this requirement are by no means peculiar to the methods used in the sociology of art. They have long been acknowledged by all those who, either through a sufficiently widely-based analysis of form, through the arousing of a feeling for form, or through recognition of style, are striving to give expression to the living forces of art, i.e., its social action. Unfortunately, owing to the lack of sufficient sociological knowledge and over-emphasis on vague aestheticism, these and similar efforts still have limitations whenever they move away from people, or at any rate, whenever social relations cannot play any role.

It is on man, however, in his socio-artistic being, that the art sociologist focuses. While man remains a means for an antiquated science and pseudo-sociology of art, he is the end in himself for the empirical sociology of art. In short, the spheres of influence of the arts must in all circumstances be seen in the light of the relationships of the individual or of the group, as shown in the various articles in this issue. However, we should like to stress once again that there is only one thing that can help to establish these relationships, namely the experience of art, and this fact must be acknowledged, even if it may be considered to be self-evident, banal or trivial. Only the experience of art can create cultural spheres of influence, can be active and social. Only the experience of art can, as a social fact, be the starting-point and central hinge of the sociology of art; for, as a fact, it can, to begin with, be established, defined and observed with the greatest precision through three fundamental social determinants: nature, variability and dependence.[1]

1. For a more detailed discussion of this point see Alphons Silbermann, *Wovon lebt die Musik —Die Prinzipien der Musiksoziologie*, Regensburg, 1957, chapter 3; Erwin Walker; *Das musikalische Erlebnis und seine Entwicklung*, Göttingen, 1927; Bruce Allsopp, *The Future of the Arts*, London, 1959.

Once this perfectly simple and by no means novel fact is realized, a direct connexion may be established between knowledge about art and knowledge about society. The experience of art now becomes the central point of study, and the aim of the empirical approach to the sociology of art is to apprehend the experience, i.e., actually to grasp it both in its socially organizing and disorganizing effect, its beneficial or functional and—for the individual or society—pernicious or dysfunctional ramifications, and also to shed light on the imponderables surrounding it. Hence, studies of the sociology of art may just as often be a part of the sociology of leisure or the sociology of popular culture, the sociology of mass communications or ethnosociology, to mention only a few domains.

Consequently, it is already clear that, in analyses of the sociology of art, apart from a clearly recognizable distinction between structural and functional elements, the latter must be recognized as taking place at two differentiated levels. On the one hand, there are the aesthetic functions, through which producer and consumer, by way of the artistic material and by way of the form and content, are brought together and, on the other hand, there are the social functions which establish the relationships between persons, ideas, cultural standards or patterns of behaviour, in regard to which aesthetic functions also play a role, though by no means a central one. If this distinction is recognized and also taken into consideration, whatever be the socio-artistic phenomena concerned, then nothing socio-logical, nothing socially relevant or irrelevant will be tacked on to art more or less hypothetically according to the whim of the observer. On the contrary since the purpose of empirical sociology of art is neither to replace nor to complete, since it tries to avoid imperialist temptations, it refrains from formulating artistic standards and values. For the purpose of the study of the social ramifications of art is not to explain the nature and essence of the arts themselves.

None of the theoretical or practical studies of the sociology of literature,[1] none of the similar studies of the sociology of music;[2] none of the mass communication studies dealing with the arts;[3] none of the studies of the

1. For example, Leo Lowenthal, *Literature, Popular Culture, and Society*, Englewood Cliffs, 1961; Roy Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography*, London, 1960; César Graña, *Bohemian versus Bourgeois*, New York, 1964; Walter Nutz, *Der Trivialroman*, Cologne and Opladen, 1962; Robert Escarpit, *La révolution du livre*, Paris, 1965.
2. For example, Dennison J. Nash, 'Challenge and Response in the American Composer's Career', in: *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, September 1955, p. 116 et seq; Max Caplan, *Foundations and Frontiers of Music Education*, New York, 1966; John H. Müller, *The American Symphony Orchestra*, Bloomington, 1951, and *Fragen des musikalischen Geschmacks*, Cologne and Opladen, 1963; Friedrich Klausmeier, *Jugend und Musik im technischen Zeitalter*, Bonn, 1963; Alphons Silbermann, *La musique, la radio et l'auditeur*, Paris, 1954.
3. For example, Duncan MacDougald, 'The Popular Music Industry', in: Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton (eds.), *Radio Research 1941*, New York, 1941, p. 65 et seq.; Wilbur Schramm, *The Impact of Educational Television*, Urbana, 1960; Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel, *The Popular Arts*, London, 1964; Joffre Dumazedier and Aline Ripert, *Loisir et culture*, Paris, 1966.

sociology of the theatre;[1] none of the sociological studies concerned with the fine arts[2]—none of these or other similar studies devoted purely to the sociology of art, we repeat, can replace the psychology of art, the history of art or even the theory of art. They all steer clear of these disciplines, which are of no interest to and are foreign to, sociology, as may be seen, for example, from the fact that the sociology of literature is not concerned with the study of semantics or with defining literature in terms of its nature and essence.

The sociology of art will intervene—and we deliberately use the word 'intervene'—only if observations indicate that the relationship between the ideal and the real are being confused; that is, if in writings allegedly on the subject of the sociology of art, but which have an exclusively politico-ideological hue, leaning to the extreme right or the extreme left, historical facts are so over-spiritualized that the effects of reality vis-à-vis ideas are neglec.ted and the ideas are finally represented as facts. Whoever wishes to study the sociology of art must start from objective and impartial pre-misses and study the facts impartially. These facts constitute the raw material of the sociology of art, but are not in themselves its substance. The raw material must first be processed, analysed according to sociological method and reduced to abstractions; only then can laws be formulated and tested.

Let us sum up, so as to have a clear idea of the present-day aims of a modern sociology of art. It starts from the assumption that music, literature, the theatre, painting and the way in which each is experienced together form a continuous social process, involving interaction between the artist and his socio-cultural environment and resulting in the creation of a work of some kind or other, which is in turn received by the socio-cultural environment and reacts upon it. This process of reception and reaction may be described as follows. On the one hand, the work makes a certain impression on certain social groups of varying size, in the course of which the reactions of these groups determine the reputation of the work and its position within the cultural context as a whole. On the other hand, reception and reaction appear when they exert a certain influence on the artist and to some extent determine and regulate his creative activity. This conception of the art process, which forms the basis of every field of study of the sociology of art, illustrates the considerable extent to which the interaction of individuals, groups and institutions is involved and how this fundamental starting-point from man leads back to man. By departing

1. For example, Georges Gurvitch, 'Sociologie du théâtre', in: Les lettres nouvelles, Paris February 1956, p. 196 et seq.; Martin Holmes, Shakespeare's Public, London, 1960; Raymond Ravar and Paul Andrieu, Le spectateur au théâtre, Brussels, 1964; Alphons Silbermann, 'Theater und Gesellschaft', op. cit.; Adolf Beiss, Das Drama als soziologisches Phänomen, Brunswick, 1954.

2. For example, Barnard S. Myers, Problems of the Younger American Artist, New York, 1957; Bruce A. Watson, Kunst, Künstler und soziale Kontrolle, Cologne and Opladen, 1961; Bernard Rosenberg and Norris Fliegel, The Vanguard Artist, Chicago, 1965; Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel, L'amour de l'art, Paris, 1966; Willi Bongard, Kunst und Kommerz, Oldenburg, 1967.

from this complex chain of relationships, certain aspects of the art process can be examined; we can undertake concrete studies of particular aspects of the total process, in which case they remain as before, within the context of the total socio-artistic process. The first aim of the sociology of art, therefore, is to study total art processes—the interaction and interdependence of the artist, the work of art and the public—in regard to their importance as art forms.

The next aim of the sociology of art that we recognize as part of the total process is the study of the artist. This part of the art process is studied by the sociologist with a view to the description and analysis of the artist's social position and relationships, irrespective of whether the study concerns groups of creative or performing artists or the so-called highbrow or lowbrow artists. Here, such facts as the social origin of certain groups of artists are investigated; information concerning their ethnic, economic and educational background is collected and analysed, as well as data on their style of living, their residence, their leisure activities, their working habits, their social contacts and also their potential and actual attitudes.

If a total picture is to be obtained, that is if the artist's contributions to the social order are also to be apprehended, then the sociology of art's next aim is the sociological understanding of the work of art, but, as we have already pointed out, in carrying out this task it does not undertake any analysis of the work of art itself, but concentrates on ascertaining the socio-artistic process. The art sociologist is therefore not interested in analysing painting, music or literature as such, for he recognizes that it would be attempting the impossible to try to apprehend the so-called irrational content of painting, music or literature as if it were a definite object, or a palpable fact.

Art as the intimate concern of a poet, painter or musician has as little reality value for the the art sociologist, as, for example, the music produced by a man whistling to himself. It is only when literature, painting and music are objectified, only when they assume a concrete expression or an atmosphere, that they have a sociological reality value; only then do they express something that is meant to be understood or to produce a social effect. The intention of being understood is already an act involving two individual beings, while the social effect dynamically goes beyond this and produces an interaction, which—apart from exceptional cases—can never arise between individuals simply through their experiencing the same thing. Only when an identical experience—even if it is not mathematically identical—takes definite shape and is communicated in a gesture, a word or a tone, can this supposed identical experience be proved and, consequently, verified.

A member of the philosophically and aesthetically oriented school of thought will object that the arts, those 'tender vibrations of the soul', the language through which 'the soul speaks to the soul', may indeed be socio-artistic action, but are certainly not observable, because, being spiritualized and therefore concealed, they do not generally appear in visible

form. It is certainly easier to do what those who denigrate mass culture usually do, that is to confine oneself to certain actions and to regard art in an accusatory spirit as a mere product, the purchase and sale of which can be observed. In this connexion, however, it should be pointed out that art is surrounded by so many obvious actions closely linked to hidden ones that, as socio-artistic actions, they appear as essential facts in social relationships. The relation between the different artistic levels, which provoke certain social actions or situations, is not one of the subjects of inquiry of the sociology of art, and within this framework it carefully avoids any comment on the work of art itself and its structure. What is of interest is the social process, that definite fact which is brought into play by the work of art.

The last aim of the sociology of art is the study of the art public. Sociological studies of various groups among the public—the public of pop singers like that of *avant-garde* writers—who receive, consume and react to works of art, provide the art sociologist with important information on the ways in which the social environment conditions the process of artistic creation and constitute an intelligible and, we might even say, a more human approach to art than those endeavours to make it accessible by means of anecdotes, aesthetic juggling with words and technicalities. Individual behaviour during the consumption of art, art fashion, motives and patterns of behaviour during listening, beholding or reading, artistic taste, the economics of art, art policy and art education, collective behaviour during the consumption of art, social control, etc., these are some of the many groups of problems the art sociologist seeks to investigate when he turns his attention to the art public.

If we now combine the separate lines of inquiry so as to obtain an over-all picture, we see that the first aim of the empirical sociology of art is to illustrate the dynamic character of the social phenomenon 'art' in its various forms of expression. For this purpose an analysis of the forms of the world of art seen in their correlation is required, an analysis which certainly cannot be oriented in accordance with the specific value judgements which the members of every society make in respect of their own particular way of life, but which must be in accordance with the conception of structural and functional analysis.

In this way, the sociology of art achieves its second aim: a generally understandable convincing and valid approach to the work of art, since it shows how things have become what they are while the changes that are taking place and have taken place are recognized.

After this. the sociology of art can turn to its third aim, which is that of any science: developing laws which make it possible to predict that, if this or that happens, then this or that will probably follow.

In our opinion, these aims can help not only to free antiquated, though traditional, approaches to art from their sterility, but also make it easier to recognize man himself—the end and means of all art—in his artistic being in the right place and situation. In conclusion, let us again emphasize

that the art sociologist never separates art from reality; that he never investigates social facts, social processes, their origins and nature in order to see what they should be; that he never draws on knowledge that is inaccessible to him, or even develops attractive theories which are not based on observed facts.

The observation of facts gives discipline to the sociology of art, indeed makes it such that, while it acts as a link between sociology and the science of art, it is at the same time sociology in its purest form.

[*Translated from German*]

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Outline of a sociological theory
of art perception

Pierre Bourdieu

1

Any art perception involves a conscious or unconscious deciphering operation:

1.1   An act of deciphering unrecognized as such, immediate and adequate 'comprehension' is possible and effective only in the special case in which the cultural code which makes the act of deciphering possible is immediately and completely mastered by the observer (in the form of cultivated ability or inclination) and merges with the cultural code which has rendered the work perceived possible.

In Rogier van der Weyden's picture, *The Three Magi*, we perceive immediately, observes Erwin Panofsky, the representation of an apparition, that of a child in whom we recognize 'the Infant Jesus'. How do we know that this is an apparition? The halo of golden rays surrounding the child would not in itself be sufficient proof because it is also found in representations of the nativity in which the Infant Jesus is 'real'. We come to this conclusion because the child is hovering in mid-air without visible support, and we do so although the representation would scarcely have been different had the child been sitting on a pillow (as in the case of the model which Rogier van der Weyden probably used). But one can think of hundreds of pictures in which human beings, animals or inanimate objects appear to be hovering in mid-air, contrary to the law of gravity, yet without giving the impression of being apparitions. For instance, in a miniature of the *Gospels of Otto III*, in the Staatsbibliothek, Munich, it is a whole town which is represented in the middle of an empty space, while the persons taking part in the action are standing on the ground: now this actually is a real town, the one in which the resurrection of the young people shown in the foreground took place. If, in a split second and almost automatically, we recognize the aerial figure as an apparition, whereas we see nothing miraculous about the city floating in the air, it is because 'we are reading what we see according to the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, the objects and events are expressed by forms'; more precisely, when we decipher a miniature of *c.* 1000 A.D., we unconsciously assume that the

empty space serves merely as an abstract, unreal background instead of forming part of an apparently natural, three-dimensional space, in which the supernatural and the miraculous can therefore appear as such, as in Rogier van der Weyden's picture.[1]

Since he unconsciously obeys the rules which govern a particular type of representation of space when he deciphers a picture constructed according to these rules, the educated or competent beholder of our societies can immediately apprehend as a 'supernatural vision' an element which, by reference to another system of representations in which the regions of space would be in some way 'juxtaposed' or 'aggregated' instead of being integrated into a single representation, might appear 'natural' or 'real': 'The perspective concept,' says Panofsky, 'makes it impossible for religious art to enter the realm of *magic* . . . but throws open to it a completely new realm, that of the "visionary" in which the miracle becomes an experience immediately perceived by the beholder, because supernatural events burst into the visible space, apparently natural, which is familiar to him, and by that means enable him truly to penetrate into the essence for the supernatural.'[2]

The question of the conditions which make it possible to experience the work of art (and, in a more general way, all cultural objects) as at once endowed with meaning is absolutely excluded from this experience itself, because the recapture of the objective meaning of the work (which may have nothing to do with the author's intention) is completely adequate and immediately effected in the case—and only in the case—where the culture that the originator puts into his work is identical with the culture or, more accurately, the artistic competence which the beholder brings to the deciphering of the work: in this case, everything is a matter of course and the question of the meaning, of the deciphering of the meaning and of the conditions of this deciphering, does not arise.

1.2. Whenever these specific conditions are not fulfilled, misunderstanding is inevitable: the illusion of immediate comprehension leads to an illusory comprehension based on a mistaken code.[3] In the absence of perception that the works are coded, and coded in another code, one unconsciously applies the code which is good for everyday perception, for the deciphering of familiar objects, to works in a foreign tradition: there is no perception which does not involve an unconscious code and it is essential to dismiss the myth of the 'fresh eye', considered as a virtue granted to artlessness and innocence. One of the reasons why the less educated behol-

1. E. Panofsky, 'Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art', *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, New York, Doubleday & Co., 1955, p. 33-5.
2. E. Panofsky, 'Die Perspektive als symbolische Form', *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg: Vorträge 1924-25*, Leipzig-Berlin, p. 257 et seq.
3. Of all misunderstandings involving the code, the most pernicious is perhaps the 'humanist' misunderstanding which, through negation, or rather, 'neutralization', in the sense of the phenomenologists, of everything which contributes to the specificity of the cultures arbitrarily integrated into the pantheon of 'universal culture', tends to represent the Greek or the Roman as a particularly successful achievement of 'human nature' in its universality.

ders in our societies are so strongly inclined to demand realistic portrayal is that, being devoid of specific categories of perception, they cannot apply to works of scholarly culture any other code than that which enables them to apprehend, as having a meaning, objects of their everyday environment. Minimum, and apparently immediate, comprehension, accessible to the simplest observer and enabling him to recognize a house or a tree, still presupposes partial agreement (unconscious, of course) between artist and beholder concerning categories that define the representation of the real which a historic society holds to be 'realistic' (cf. 1.3.1 note).

1.3   The spontaneous theory of art perception is founded on experience of familiarity and immediate comprehension—an unrecognized special case.

1.3.1   Educated people are at home with scholarly culture. They are consequently carried towards that kind of ethnocentrism which may be called class-centrism and which consists in considering as natural (in other words, both as a matter of course and based on nature) a way of perceiving which is but one among other possible ways and which is acquired through education that may be diffuse or specific, conscious or unconscious, institutionalized or non-institutionalized. 'For one who wears glasses, which, in terms of distance, are close to him to the point of resting on his nose, this appliance is, in terms of his surroundings, less "near" to him than the picture hanging on the opposite wall. The proximity of the glasses is so great that in the ordinary way the wearer does not notice them.' Taking Heidegger's analysis in the metaphorical sense, it can be said that the illusion of the 'fresh eye' as a 'naked eye' is an attribute of those who wear the spectacles of culture and who do not see that which enables them to see, any more than they see what they would not see if they were deprived of what enables them to see.[1]

1.3.2   Conversely, faced with scholarly culture, the least sophisticated are in a position identical with that of the ethnologist who finds himself in a foreign society and is present, for instance, at a ritual to which he does not hold the key. The disorientation and cultural blindness of the less-educated beholders are an objective reminder of the objective truth that art perception is a mediate deciphering operation: since the information presented by the works exhibited exceeds the deciphering capabilities of the beholder, he perceives them as devoid of signification—or, to be more precise, of structuration and organization—because he cannot 'decode' them, or in other words reduce them to an intelligible form.

1.3.3.   Scientific knowledge is distinguished from naïve experience

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1. This is the same ethnocentrism which tends to take as realistic a representation of the real which owes the fact that it appears 'objective' not to its concordance with the actual reality of things (because this 'reality' is never perceptible except through socially conditioned forms of apprehension) but to its conformity with rules which define its syntax in its social usage with a social definition of the objective vision of the world; in applying the stamp of realism to certain representations of the 'real' (in photography, for instance) the society merely confirms its own belief in the tautological assurance that a picture of the real in accordance with *its representation of objectivity* is truly objective.

(whether this is shown by disconcertment or by immediate comprehension) in that it involves a consciousness of the conditions permitting adequate perception. The object of the science of the work of art is that which renders possible both this science and the immediate comprehension of the work of art, i.e., culture. It therefore includes, implicitly at least, the science of the difference between scientific knowledge and naïve perception. 'The naïve "beholder" differs from the art historian in that the latter is conscious of the situation.'[1] Needless to say, there would probably be some difficulty in subsuming all the genuine art historians under the concept for which Panofsky proposes a definition that is obviously ideally normative.

2

Any deciphering operation requires a more or less complex code which has been more or less completely mastered.

2.1   The work of art (like any cultural object) may disclose significations at different levels according to the deciphering stencil applied to it; the lower-level significations, that is to say the most superficial, remain partial and mutilated, and therefore erroneous, for such time as the higher-level significations which encompass and transfigure them, are lacking.

2.1.1   According to Panofsky, the most naïve beholder first of all distinguishes 'the primary or natural subject matter or meaning which we can apprehend from our practical experience', or in other words, 'the phenomenal meaning which can be subdivided into factual and expressional': this apprehension depends upon 'demonstrative concepts' which only identify the sensible qualities of the work (this is the case when a peach is described as velvety or lace as misty) or the emotional experience which these qualities arouse in the beholder (when colours are spoken of as harsh or gay). To reach 'the secondary subject matter which presupposes a familiarity with specific themes or concepts as transmitted through literary sources' and which may be called the 'sphere of the meaning of the significate' (*région du sens du signifié*), we must have 'appropriately characterizing concepts' which go beyond the simple designation of sensible qualities and, grasping the stylistic characteristics of the work of art, constitute a genuine 'interpretation' of it. Within this secondary stratum, Panofsky distinguishes, on the one hand, 'the secondary or conventional meaning, the world of specific themes or concepts manifested in images, stories and allegories' (when, for instance, a group of persons seated around a table according to a certain arrangement represents the Last Supper), the deciphering of which falls to iconography; and, on the other hand, 'the intrinsic meaning or content', which the iconological interpretation can recapture only if the iconographical meanings and

1. E. Panofsky, 'The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline', *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, op. cit., p. 17.

methods of composition are treated as 'cultural symbols', as expressions of the culture of an age, a nation or a class, and if an effort is made to bring out 'the fundamental principles which support the choice and presentation of the motifs as well as the production and interpretation of the images, stories and allegories and which give a meaning even to the formal composition and to the technical processes'.[1] The meaning grasped by the primary act of deciphering is totally different according to whether it constitutes the whole of the experience of the work of art or becomes part of a unitary experience, embodying the higher levels of meaning. Thus, it is only starting from an iconological interpretation that the formal arrangements and technical methods and, through them, the formal and expressive qualities, assume their full meaning and that the insufficiencies of a pre-iconographic or pre-iconological interpretation are revealed at the same time. In an adequate knowledge of the work, the different levels are linked up in an hierarchical system in which the embodying form becomes embodied in its turn, and the significate in its turn becomes significant.

2.1.2 Uninitiated perception, reduced to the grasping of primary significations, is a mutilated perception. Contrasted with what might be called—to borrow a phrase from Nietzsche—'the dogma of the immaculate perception', foundation of the romantic representation of artistic experience, the 'comprehension' of the 'expressive' and, as one might say, 'physiognomical' qualities of the work is only an inferior and mutilated form of the aesthetic experience, because, not being supported controlled and corrected by knowledge of the style, types and 'cultural symptoms', it uses a code which is neither adequate nor specific. It can probably be agreed that inward experience as a capacity for emotional response to the connotation (as opposed to denotation) of the work of art is one of the keys to art experience. But Mr. Raymond Ruyer very discerningly contrasts the signification, which he defines as 'epicritic', and the *expressivity*, which he describes as 'protopathic, that is to say more primitive, more blurred, of the lower level, linked with the diencephalon, whereas the signification is linked with the cerebral cortex'.

2.1.3 Through sociological observation it is possible to reveal, effectively realized, forms of perception corresponding to the different levels which theoretical analysis frames by an abstract distinction. Any cultural asset, from cookery to dodecaphonic music by way of the Wild West film, can be a subject for apprehension ranging from the simple, actual sensation to scholarly appreciation. The ideology of the 'fresh eye' overlooks the fact that the sensation or affection stimulated by the work of art has not the same 'value' when it constitutes the whole of the aesthetic experience as when it forms part of an adequate experience of the work of art. It is

1. These quotations are taken from two articles published in German: 'Über das Verhältnis der Kungstgeschichte zur Kunsttheorie', *Zeitschrift für Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenchaft*, XVIII, 1925, p. 129 et seq.; and 'Zum Problem der Berschreibung und Inhaltsdeutung von Werken der bildenden Kunst', *Logos*, XXI, 1932, p. 103 et seq. The articles were republished, with a few amendments, in Iconography and Iconology', loc. cit., p. 26-54.

therefore possible to distinguish, by abstraction, two extreme and opposite forms of aesthetic pleasure, separated by all the intermediate degrees, the *enjoyment* which accompanies aesthetic perception reduced to simple *aisthesis*, and the *delight* procured by scholarly savouring, and which presupposes, as a necessary but insufficient condition, adequate deciphering. Like painting, perception of painting is a mental thing, at least when it conforms to the norms of perception immanent in the work of art or, in other words, when the aesthetic intention of the beholder is identified with the objective intention of the work (which must not be identified with the artist's intention).

2.1.4   The most uninitiated perception is always inclined to go beyond the level of sensations and affections, that is to say *aisthesis* pure and simple: the assimilatory interpretation which tends to apply to an unknown and foreign universe the available schemes of interpretation, that is to say those which enable the familiar universe to be apprehended as having meaning, becomes essential as a means of restoring the unity of an integrated perception. Those for whom the works of scholarly culture speak a foreign language are condemned to take into their perception and their appreciation of the work of art some extrinsic categories and values—those which organize their day-to-day perception and guide their practical judgement. The aesthetics of the different social classes are therefore, with certain exceptions, only one dimension of their ethics (or better, of their *ethos*): thus, the aesthetic preferences of the lower middle-class appear as a systematic expression of an ascetic disposition which is also expressed in other spheres of their existence.

2.2   The work of art considered as a symbolic asset (and not as an economic asset, which it may also be) only exists as such for a person who has the means to appropriate it, or in other words, to decipher it.[1]

2.2.1   The degree of art competence of an agent is measured by the degree to which he masters the set of instruments for the appropriation of the work of art, available at a given time, that is to say the interpretation schemes which are the prerequisite for the appropriation of art capital or, in other words, the prerequisite for the deciphering of works of art offered to a given society at a particular time.

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1. The laws governing the reception of works of art are a special case of the laws of cultural diffusion: whatever may be the nature of the message—religious prophecy, political speech, publicity image, technical object, etc., reception depends upon the categories of perception, thought and action of those who receive it. In a differentiated society, a close relationship is therefore established between the nature and quality of the information transmitted and the structure of the public, its 'readability' and its effectiveness being all the greater when it meets as directly as possible the expectations, implicit or explicit, which the receivers owe chiefly to their family upbringing and social circumstances (and also, in the matter of scholarly culture at least, to their school education) and which the diffuse pressure of the reference group maintains, sustains and reinforces by constant recalls to the norm. It is on the basis of this connexion between the level of transmission of the message and the structure of the public, treated as a reception level indicator, that it has been possible to construct the mathematical model of museum visiting (cf. P. Bourdieu and A. Darbel, with D. Schnapper, *L'amour de l'art, les musées et leur public*, Paris, Éd. de Minuit, 1966, p. 99 et seq.).

2.2.1.1   Art competence can be provisionally defined as the preliminary knowledge of the possible divisions into complementary classes of a universe or representations: a mastery of this kind of system of classification enables each element of the universe to be placed in a class necessarily determined in relation to another class, constituted itself by all the art representations consciously or unconsciously taken into consideration which do not belong to the class in question. The *style* proper to a period and to a social group is none other than such a class determined in relation to all the works of the same universe which it excludes and which are complementary to it. The *recognition* (or, as the art historians say when using the actual vocabulary of logic, the *attribution*) proceeds by *successive elimination* of the possibilities to which the class is—negatively—related and to which the possibility which has become a reality in the work concerned belongs. It is straightway evident that the uncertainty concerning the different characteristics likely to be attributed to the work under consideration (authors, schools, periods, styles, subjects, etc.) can be removed by employing different codes, functioning as classification systems; it may be a case of a strictly artistic code which, by permitting the deciphering of specifically stylistic characteristics, enables the work concerned to be assigned to the class formed by the whole of the works of a period, a society, a school or an author ('that's a Cézanne'), or a code from everyday life which, in the form of previous knowledge of the possible divisions into complementary classes of the universe of significants and of the universe of significates, and of the correlations between the divisions of the one and the divisions of the other, enables the particular representation, treated as a sign, to be assigned to a class of significants and consequently makes it possible to know, by means of the correlations with the universe of the significates, that the corresponding significate belongs to a certain class of significates ('that's a forest').[1] In the first case the beholder is paying attention to the *manner of treating* the leaves or the clouds, that is to say to the stylistic indications, *locating* the possibility realized, characteristic of one class of works, by reference to the universe of stylistic possibilities; in the other case, he is treating the leaves or the clouds as indications or signals associated, according to the logic set forth above, with significations transcendent to the representation itself ('that's a poplar', 'that's a storm').

2.2.1.2   Artistic competence is therefore defined as the previous knowledge of the strictly artistic principles of division which enable a representation to be located, through the classification of the *stylistic* indications which it contains, among the possibilities of representation constituting the universe of art and not among the possibilities of representation constituting the universe of everyday objects (or, more exactly, of implements) or the universe of signs, which would amount to treating it as a mere monument, in other words as a mere means of communication used to

1. To show that such a sequence really is the logic of the transmission of messages in everyday life, it is enough to quote the following exchange heard in a bar: 'One beer.' 'Draught or bottled?' 'Draught.' 'Mild or bitter?' 'Bitter.' 'Home-brewed or imported?' 'Home-brewed.'

transmit a transcendental signification. The perception of the work of art in a truly aesthetic manner, that is to say as a significant which signifies nothing other than itself, does not consist, as is sometimes said, of considering it 'without connecting it with anything other than itself, either emotionally or intellectually', in short of giving oneself up to the work apprehended in its irreducible singularity, but of noting its *distinctive stylistic features* by relating it to the whole of the works forming the class to which it belongs, and to these works only. On the contrary, the taste of the working classes is determined, after the manner of what Kant describes in his *Critique of Judgement* as 'barbarous taste', by the refusal or the impossibility (one should say the impossibility-refusal) of operating the distinction between 'what is liked' and 'what pleases' and, more generally, between 'disinterestedness', the only guarantee of the aesthetic quality of contemplation, and 'the interest of the senses' which defines 'the agreeable' or 'the interest of Reason': it requires that every image shall fulfil a function, if only that of a sign, this 'functionalistic' representation of the work of art being based on the refusal of gratuitousness, the idolatry of work or the placing of value on what is 'instructive' (as opposed to what is 'interesting') and also on the impossibility of placing each individual work in the universe of representations, in the absence of strictly stylistic principles of classification.[1] It follows that a work of art which they expect to express unambiguously a signification transcendental to the significant form is all the more disconcerting to the most unitiated in that (like the non-figurative arts) it does away more completely with the narrative and descriptive function.

2.2.1.3 The degree of artistic competence depends not only on the degree to which the available system of classification is mastered, but also on the degree of complexity or subtlety of this system of classification, and it is therefore measurable by the ability to operate a fairly large number of successive divisions in the universe of representations and, through that, to determine rather fine classes. For anyone familiar only with the principle of division into Romanesque art and Gothic art, all Gothic cathedrals fall into the same class and, for that reason, remain *indistinct*, whereas greater competence makes it possible to perceive differences between the styles of the 'early', middle, and 'late' periods, or even to recognize, within each of these styles, the works of a school or even of an architect. Thus, the apprehension of the features which constitute the *peculiarity* of the works of one period compared with those of another period or, within this class of the works of one school or group of artists compared with another, or again, of the works of one author compared with other works of his school or his period, or even a particular work of an author compared with his work as a

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1. More than through opinions expressed on works of scholarly culture, paintings and sculptures, for example, which, by their high degree of legitimacy, are capable of imposing judgements inspired by the search for conformity, it is through photographic production and judgements on photographic images that the principles of the 'popular taste' are expressed (cf. P. Bourdieu, *Un art moyen, Essai sur les usages sociaux de la photographie*, Paris, Éd. de Minuit, 1965, p. 113-34).

whole—such apprehension is indissociable from that of *redundancies*, that is to say, from the grasping of typical treatments of the pictorial matter which determine a style: in short, the grasping of resemblances presupposes implicit or explicit reference to the differences, and vice versa.

2.3   The art code as a system of possible principles of division into complementary classes of the universe of representations offered to a particular society at a given time is in the nature of a social institution.

2.3.1   Being an historically constituted system, founded on social reality, this set of instruments of perception whereby a particular society, at a given time, appropriates artistic wealth (and, more generally, cultural wealth) does not depend upon individual wills and consciousnesses and forces itself upon individuals, often without their knowledge, determining the distinctions which they can make and those which escape them. Every period arranges art representations as a whole according to an institutional system of classification of its own, placing together works between which other periods drew a distinction, or distinguishing between works which other periods placed together, and individuals have difficulty in imagining other differences than those which the system of classification available to them allows them to imagine. 'Suppose', writes Longhi, 'that the French naturalists and impressionists, between 1680 and 1880, had not signed their works and that they had not had at their side, like heralds, critics and journalists as intelligent as Geffroy or Duret. Imagine them forgotten, as the result of a reversal of taste and a long period of decline in erudite research, forgotten for a hundred or a hundred and fifty years. What would happen first of all, when attention was again focused upon them? It is easy to foresee that, in the first phase, analysis would begin by distinguishing several entities in these mute materials, which would be more symbolic than historical. The first would bear the symbolic name of Manet, who would absorb part of Renoir's youthful production, and even, I'm afraid, a few works of Gervex, without counting all those of Gonzalès, Morizot and Monet as a young man: as to Monet in later years—he also having become a symbol—he would engulf almost the whole of Sisley, a good share of Renoir, and worse still, a few dozen works of Boudin, several of Lebour and several of Lépine. It is by no means impossible that a few of Pissarro's works and even, unflattering recompense, more than one of Guillaumin, might in such a case be attributed to Cézanne.'[1] Still more convincing than this kind of imaginary variation, Berne Joffroy's historical study on the successive representations of the work of Caravaggio shows that the *public image* which the individuals of a specific period form of a work is, properly speaking, the product of the instruments of perception, historically constituted, and therefore historically changing, which are supplied to them by the society to which they belong: 'I know well what is said about attribution disputes: that they have nothing to do with art, that they are petty and that art is great. . . . The idea that we form of an artist depends on the

1. R. Longhi, quoted by Berne Joffroy, *Le dossier Caravage*, Paris, Éd. de Minuit, 1959, p. 100-1.

works attributed to him and, whether we would or no, this general idea of him colours our view of each of his works.'[1] Thus, the history of the instruments for perception of the work is the essential complement of the history of the instruments for production of the work, to the extent that every work is, so to speak, done twice, by the originator and by the beholder, or rather, by the society to which the beholder belongs.

2.3.2   The modal readability of a work of art (in respect of a particular society in a given period) varies according to the divergence between the code which the work under consideration objectively requires and the code as an historically constituted institution; the readability of a work of art for a particular individual varies according to the divergence between the more or less complex and subtle code required by the work, and the competence of the individual, as determined by the degree to which the social code, itself more or less complex and subtle, is mastered. Thus, as Boris de Schloezer observes, each period has its melodic schemes which cause the individuals to apprehend immediately the structure of the successions of sounds in conformity with these schemes: 'Nowadays we need some instruction to appreciate the Gregorian chant, and many mediaeval monodies seem no less baffling than a melodic phrase of Alban Berg. But when a melody enters easily into frameworks to which we are accustomed, there is no longer any need to reconstruct it, its unity is there and the phrase reaches us as a whole, so to speak, in the manner of a chord. In this case, it is capable of acting magically, again like a chord, or a gong stroke; if on the other hand it is a melody whose structure is no longer in conformity with the schemes sanctioned by tradition—the tradition of the Italian opera, that of Wagner or the popular song—the synthesis is sometimes difficult to make.'[2]

2.3.3   Since the works forming the art capital of a particular society at a given time call for codes of varying complexity and subtlety, and are therefore likely to be acquired more or less easily and more or less rapidly by institutionalized or non-institutionalized training, they are characterized by different levels of emission, so that the previous proposition (2.3.2) can be reformulated in the following terms: the readability of a work of art for a particular individual depends upon the *divergence between the level of emission*,[3] defined as the degree of intrinsic complexity and subtlety, of

1. Berne Joffroy, op. cit., p. 9. A systematic study should be made of the relationship between the transformation of the instruments of perception and the transformation of the instruments of art production, because the evolution of the public image of past works is indissociably linked with the evolution of art. As Lionello Venturi remarks, it was by starting with Michelangelo that Vasari discovered Giotto, and by starting with Caracci and Poussin that Belloni rethought Raphael.

2. B. de Schloezer, 'Introduction à J. S. Bach', *Essai d'esthétique musicale*, Paris, NRF, 1947, p. 37.

3. Needless to say, the level of emission cannot be defined absolutely, because the same work may express significations of different levels according to the interpretation stencil which is applied to it (cf. 2.1.1): just as the Wild West film may be the subject of the naïve attachment of simple aisthesis (cf. 2.1.3) or of scholarly reading, coupled with a knowledge of the traditions and rules of the genre, so the same pictorial work offers significations of different levels and may, for instance, satisfy an interest in respect of anecdotes or the informative content (especially historical) or retain the attention by its formal qualities alone.

the code required for the work, and the *level of reception* defined as the degree to which this individual masters the social code, which may be more or less adequate to the code required for the work. Each individual possesses a definite and limited capacity for apprehending the 'information' suggested by the work, a capacity which depends on his knowledge of the generic code for the type of message concerned, be it the painting as a whole, or the painting of a particular period, school or author. When the message exceeds the possibilities of apprehension or, to be more precise, when the code of the work exceeds in subtlety and complexity the code of the beholder, the latter loses interest in what appears to him to be a medley without rhyme or reason, or a completely unnecessary set of sounds or colours. In other words, when placed before a message which is too rich for him, or 'overwhelming' as the theory of information expresses it, he feels completely 'out of his depth' (cf. 1.3.2).

2.3.4   It follows that to increase the readability of the work of art (or of a collection of works of art such as those exhibited in a museum) and to reduce the misunderstanding which results from the divergence, it is possible either to lower the level of emission or to raise the level of reception. The only way of lowering the level of emission of a work is to provide, together with the work, the code according to which the work is coded, in an expression (verbal or graphical), the code of which is already mastered (partially or completely) by the receiver, or which continuously delivers the code for his own deciphering, in accordance with the model of perfectly rational pedagogic communication. Incidentally, it is obvious that any action tending to lower the level of emission helps in fact to raise the level of reception.

2.3.5   In each period, the rules defining the readability of contemporary art are but a special application of the general law of readability. The readability of a contemporary work varies primarily according to the relationship which the creators maintain, in a given period, in a given society, with the code of the previous period: it is thus possible to distinguish, very roughly, *classical periods*, in which a style reaches its own perfection and which the creators exploit to the point of achieving and perhaps exhausting the possibilities provided by an inherited art of inventing, and *periods of rupture*, in which a new art of inventing is invented, in which a new form-generative grammar is engendered, out of joint with the aesthetic traditions of a time or an environment. The divergence between the social code and the code required for the works has clearly every chance of being less in classical periods than in periods of rupture, infinitely less, especially, than in the *periods of continued rupture*, such as the one we are now living through. The transformation of the instruments of art production necessarily precedes the transformation of the instruments of art perception and the transformation of the modes of perception cannot but operate slowly, because it is a matter of uprooting a type of art competence (product of the interiorization of a social code, so deeply implanted in habits and memories that it functions at sub-conscious level) and of substituting another

for it, by a new process of interiorization, necessarily long and difficult.[1] In periods of rupture, the inertia inherent in art competences (or, if preferred, in *habitus*) means that the works produced by means of art production instruments of a new type are bound to be perceived, for a certain time, by means of old instruments of perception, precisely those against which they have been created. Educated men who belong to culture at least as much as culture belongs to them, are always given to applying inherited categories to the works of their period and to ignoring for the same reason the irreducible novelty of works which carry with them the very categories of their own perception (as opposed to works which can be called academic, in a very wide sense, and which only put into operation a code, or, rather, a *habitus* which already exists). Everything opposes the devotees of culture, vowed to the worship of the consecrated works of defunct prophets, as also the priests of culture, devoted, like the teachers, to the organization of this worship, to the cultural prophets, that is to say the creators who upset the routine of ritualized fervour, while they become in their turn the object of the routine worship of new priests and new devotees. If it be true, as Franz Boas says, that 'the throught of what we call the educated classes is controlled essentially by those ideals which have been transmitted to us by past generations',[2] the fact remains that the absence of any art competence is neither a necessary condition nor a sufficient one for the adequate perception of innovative works or, with stornger reason, for the production of such works. Artlessness can here only be the supreme form of sophistication. The fact of being devoid of keys is in no way favourable to the understanding of works which require only that all the old keys be rejected so as to wait for the work itself to deliver the key for its own deciphering. As we have seen, this is the very attitude that the most uninitiated, confronted by scholarly art, are least inclined to take up (cf. 2.2.1.2). The ideology according to which the most modern forms of non-figurative art are more directly accessible to the innocence of childhood or of ignorance than to the competence acquired by a training which is considered as deforming, like that of the school, is not only refuted by the facts;[3] although the most innovative forms of art only yield their message first to a few virtuosi (whose *avant-garde* positions are always explained partly by the position they occupy in the intellectual field and, more generally, in the social structure),[4] the fact is that they demand a capacity for breaking with all the codes, beginning obviously with the code of everyday life, and that this capacity is acquired through association with works

1. This holds good for any cultural training, art form, scientific theory or political theory, the former *habitus* being able for a long time to survive a revolution of social codes and even of the social conditions for the production of these codes.
2. F. Boas, *Anthropology and Modern Life*, New York, Norton, 1962, p. 196.
3. A study of the characteristics of visitors to European museums shows that the museums which offer modern works of art have the highest level of emission, and therefore the most educated visitors (cf. P. Bourdieu and A. Daubel, op. cit.).
4. Cf. P. Bourdieu, 'Champ intellectuel et projet créateur', *Les temps modernes*, November 1966, p. 865-905.

demanding different codes and through an experience of the history of art as a *succession of ruptures with established codes*. In short, an ability to hold all the available codes in abeyance so as to rely entirely on the work itself, and what at first sight is the most unusual quality in it, presupposes an accomplished mastery of the code to the codes, which governs adequate application of the different social codes objectively required for the available works as a whole at a given moment of time.

<div align="center">3</div>

Since the work of art only exists as such to the extent that it is perceived, or in other words deciphered, it goes without saying that the satisfactions attached to this perception—whether it be a matter of purely aesthetic enjoyment or of more indirect gratification, such as the *effect of distinction* (cf. 3.3)—are only accessible to those who are disposed to appropriate them because they *attribute a value to them*, it being understood that they can do this only if they have the means to appropriate them. Consequently, the need to appropriate wealth which, like cultural wealth, only exists as such for those who have received the means to appropriate it from their family environment and from the school, can appear only in those who can satisfy it, and it can be satisfied as soon as it appears.

3.1   It follows on the one hand that, unlike 'primary' needs, the 'cultural need' as a cultivated need increases in proportion as it is satisfied, because each new appropriation tends to strengthen the mastery of the instruments of appropriation (cf. 3.2.1), and, consequently, the satisfactions attached to a new appropriation; on the other hand, it also follows that the consciousness of deprivation decreases in proportion as the deprivation increases, individuals who are most completely dispossessed of the means of appropriating works of art being the most completely dispossessed of the consciousness of this dispossession.

3.2   The inclination to appropriate cultural wealth is the product of general or specific education, institutionalized or not, which creates (or cultivates) art competence as a mastery of the instruments for appropriation of this wealth, and which creates the 'cultural need' by giving the means to satisfy it.

3.2.1   The repeated perception of works of a certain style encourages the unconscious interiorization of the rules which govern the production of these works. Like rules of grammar, these rules are not apprehended as such, and are still less explicitly formulated and formulatable: for instance, a lover of classical music may have neither consciousness nor knowledge of the laws obeyed by the sound-making art to which he is accustomed, but his auditive education is such that, having heard a dominant chord, he is induced urgently to await the tonic which seems to him the 'natural' resolution of this chord, and he has difficulty in apprehending the internal coherence of music founded on other principles. The unconscious mastery of the instruments of appropriation which are the basis of familiarity with cultural works is

acquired by slow familiarization, a long succession of 'little perceptions', in the sense in which Leibniz uses these words. Connoisseurship is an 'art' which, like the art of thinking or the art of living, cannot be imparted entirely in the form of precepts or instruction, and apprenticeship to it presupposes the equivalent of prolonged contact between disciple and master in traditional education, that is to say repeated contact with the work (or with works of the same class). And, just as the student or disciple can *unconsciously* absorb the rules of the art—including those which are not explicitly known to the master himself—by giving himself up to it, excluding analysis and the selection of elements of exemplary conduct, so the art-lover can, by abandoning himself in some way to the work, interiorize the principles and rules of its construction without their ever being brought to his consciousness and formulated as such, which makes all the difference between the art theorist and the connoisseur, who is usually incapable of explicating the principles on which his judgements are based (cf. 1.3.3). In this field as in others (learning the grammar of one's mother tongue, for instance), school education tends to encourage the conscious reflection of patterns of thought, perception or expression which have already been mastered unconsciously by formulating explicitly the principles of the creative grammar, for example the laws of harmony and counterpoint or the rules of pictorial composition, and by providing the verbal and conceptual material essential in order to give a name to differences previously experienced in a purely intuitive way. The danger of academicism is obviously inherent in any rationalized teaching which tends to mint, within one doctrinal body, precepts, prescriptions and formulae, explicitly described and taught, more often negative than positive, which a traditional education imparts in the form of a *habitus*, directly apprehended *uno intuitu*, as a global style not susceptible to analytical breakdown.

3.2.2   Familiarization by repeated perceptions is the privileged mode of acquiring the means of appropriating works of art because the work of art always appears as a concrete individuality which never allows itself to be deduced from principles and rules defining a style. As is seen from the facts in the case of the musical work, the most exact and best informed discursive translations cannot take the place of the execution, as a *hic et nunc* realization of the individual form, which is irreducible to any formula; the conscious or unconscious mastery of the principles and rules of the production of this form enables the coherence and the necessity of it to be apprehended by a symmetrical reconstruction of the creator's construction but, far from reducing the individual work to the general nature of a type, it renders possible the apperception and appreciation of the originality of each actualization or, rather, of each execution, in relation to the principles and rules according to which it was produced. Although the work of art always procures the twofold feeling of the unparalleled and the inevitable, the most inventive, most improvised and most original solutions can always be understood, *post festum*, in terms of the schemes of thought, perception

and action (rules of composition, theoretical problems, etc.) which have given rise to the technical or aesthetic questions to which this work corresponds, at the same time as they were guiding the creator in the search for a solution irreducible to schemes and, thereby, unpredictable yet nonetheless in accordance, *a posteriori*, with the rules of a grammar of forms. The ultimate truth of the style of a period, a school or an author is not contained as a seed in an original inspiration, but is defined and re-defined continuously as a signification in a state of flux which builds itself up in accordance with itself and in reaction against itself; it is in the continued exchange between questions which exist only for and through a mind armed with schemes of a specific type and more or less innovative solutions, obtained through the application of the same schemes, but capable of transforming the initial scheme, that this unity of style and of meaning emerges which, as least after the event, may appear to have preceded the works heralding the final outcome and which transforms, retrospectively, the different moments of the temporal series into simple preparatory outlines. If the evolution of a style (of a period, a school or an author) does not appear either as the autonomous development of an essence which is unique and always identical with itself, or as a continuous creation of unpredictable novelty, but as a progress which excludes neither the leaps forward nor the turnings back, it is because the creator's *habitus* as a system of schemes constantly guides choices which, though not deliberate, are nonetheless systematic and, without being arranged and organized expressly in relation to a final goal, are nonetheless bearers of a kind of finality which will be revealed only *post festum*. This auto-constitution of a system of works united by a set of significant relationships is accomplished in and through the association of contingency and meaning which is made, unmade and remade unceasingly according to principles which are all the more constant because they are completely unconscious, in and through the permanent transmutation which introduces the accidents of the history of techniques into the history of style while making them meaningful in and through the invention of obstacles and difficulties which are as if stirred up on behalf of the very principles of their solution and of which the short-term counter-finality may conceal a higher finality.

3.2.3   Even when the educational institution makes little provision for art training proper (as is the case in France and many other countries), even when therefore it gives neither specific encouragement to cultural activities nor a body of concepts specifically adapted to plastic art works, it tends on the one hand to inspire a certain *familiarity*—conferring a feeling of belonging to the cultivated class—with the world of art, in which people people feel at home and among themselves as the appointed addressees of works which do not deliver their message to the first-comer: on the other hand, they tend to inculcate (at least in France and in the majority of European countries, as secondary education level) a *cultivated disposition* as a durable and generalized attitude which implies recognition of the value of works of art and ability to appropriate them by means of generic

categories.[1] Although it deals almost exclusively with literary works, in-school learning tends to create on the one hand a transposable inclination to admire works approved by the school and a duty to admire and to love certain works or, rather, certain classes of works which gradually seem to become linked to a certain educational and social status; and, on the other hand, an equally generalized and transposable aptitude for categorizing by authors, by genres, by schools and by periods, for the handling of educational categories of literary analysis and for the mastery of the code which governs the use of the different codes (cf. 2.3.5), giving at least a tendency to acquire equivalent categories in other fields and to store away the typical knowledge which, even though extrinsic and anecdotal, makes possible at least an elementary form of apprehension, however inadequate it may be.[2] Thus, the first degree of strictly pictorial competence shows itself in the mastery of an arsenal of words making it possible to name differences and to apprehend them while naming them: these are the proper names of famous painters—da Vinci, Picasso, Van Gogh—which function as generic categories, because one can say about any painting or non-figurative object 'that suggests Picasso', or, about any work recalling nearly or distantly the manner of the Florentine painter, 'that looks like a da Vinci'; there are also broad categories, like 'the Impressionists' (a school commonly considered to include Gauguin, Cézanne and Degas), the 'Dutch School', 'the Renaissance'. It is particularly significant that the proportion of subjects who think in terms of schools is very clearly growing as the level of education rises and that, more generally, generic knowledge which is required for the perception of differences and consequently for memorizing—proper names, and historical, technical or aesthetic concepts—are increasingly numerous and increasingly specific as we go towards the more educated beholders, so that the most adequate perception differs only from the least adequate in so far as the specificity, richness and subtlety of the categories employed are concerned. By no means contradicting these arguments is the fact that the less educated visitors to museums are, the more they tend to prefer the most famous paintings and those sanctioned by school teaching, whereas modern painters who have the least chance of being mentioned in schools are quoted only by those with the highest educational qualifications,

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1. School instruction always fulfils a function of legitimation, if only by giving its blessing to works which it sets up as worthy of being admired, and thus helps to define the hierarchy of cultural wealth valid in a particular society at a given time. (Concerning the hierarchy of cultural wealth and degrees of legitimacy, see P. Bourdieu, *Un art moyen*, op. cit., p. 134-8.)

2. L. S. Vygotsky has established experimentally the validity of the general laws governing the transfer of training in the field of educational aptitudes: 'The psychological prerequisites for instruction in different school subjects are to a large extent the same: instruction in a given subject influences the development of the higher functions far beyond the confines of that particular subject; the main psychic functions involved in studying various subjects are interdependent—their common bases are consciousness and deliberate mastery, the principal contribution of the school years' (L. S. Vygotsky, *Thought and Language*, published and translated from the Russian by E. Hanfmann and G. Vakar, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1962, p. 102).

living in the big cities. To be able to form discerning or so-called 'personal' opinions is again a result of the education received: ability to throw off school constraints is the privilege of those who have sufficiently assimilated school education to make their own the free attitude towards scholastic culture taught by a school so deeply impregnated with the values of the ruling classes that it accepts the fashionable depreciation of school instruction. The contrast between accepted, stereotyped and, as Max Weber would say 'routinized' culture, and genuine culture, freed from school dissertations, has meaning only for an infinitely small minority of educated people for whom culture is second nature, endowed with all the appearances of talent, and the full assimilation of school culture is a prerequisite for going beyond it towards this 'free culture'—freed that is to say from its school origins—which the bourgeois class and its school regard as the value of values (cf. 3.3).

But the best proof that the general principles for the transfer of training also hold for school training lies in the fact that the practices of one single individual and, *a fortiori*, of individuals belonging to one social category or having a specific level of education, tend to constitute a system, so that a certain type of practice in any field of culture very probably implies a corresponding type of practice in all the other fields; thus, frequent visits to museums are almost necessarily associated with an equal amount of theatre-going and, to a lesser degree, attendance at concerts. Similarly, everything seems to indicate that knowledge and preferences tend to form into constellations which are strictly linked to the level of education, so that a typical structure of preferences in painting is most likely to be linked to a structure of preferences of the same type in music or literature.[1]

3.2.4   Owing to the particular status of the work of art and the specific logic of the training which it implies, art education which is reduced to a dissertation (historical, aesthetic or other) on the works is necessarily at secondary level:[2] like the teaching of the mother tongue, literature or art education (that is to say 'the humanities' of traditional education) necessarily presuppose, without ever, or hardly ever, being organized in the light of this preliminary, that individuals are endowed with a previously acquired competence and with a whole capital of experience unequally distributed among the various social classes (visits to museums or monuments, attending concerts, lectures, etc.).

3.2.4.1   In the absence of a methodical and systematic effort, involving

1. A criticism of the ideology of the 'unevennesses' of taste and knowledge in the different art fields (music, painting, etc.) and of the widespread myth of the 'cultural breakthrough' (according to which, for instance, an individual would be able, in the absence of any pictorial culture, to produce works of art in photography), all representations which combine to strengthen the ideology of the gift, will be found in P. Bourdieu, *Un art moyen*, op. cit., part I.

2. This is true, in fact, of any education. Taking the mother tongue, for instance, it is known that logical structures, more or less complex according to the complexity of the language used in the family circle, and which are acquired unconsciously, provide an unequal predisposition to the deciphering and handling of structures involved in a mathematical demonstration as well as in the comprehension of a work of art.

the mobilization of all available means from the earliest years of school onwards, to procure for all those attending school a direct contact with the works or, at least, an approximative substitute for that experience (by showing reproductions or reading texts, organizing visits to museums or playing records, etc.), art education can be of full benefit only to those who owe to their family circle the competence acquired by slow and imperceptible familiarization, because it does not give explicitly to all what it implicitly demands from all. While it is true that only the school can give the continuous and prolonged, methodical and uniform training capable of *mass production*, if I may use that expression, of competent individuals, provided with schemes of perception, thought and expression which are prerequisites for the appropriation of cultural wealth, and endowed with that generalized and permanent inclination to appropriate this wealth which is the mark of devotion to culture, the fact remains that the effectiveness of this moulding action is directly dependent upon the degree to which those undergoing it fulfil the preliminary conditions for adequate reception: the influence of school activity is all the stronger and more lasting when it is carried on for a longer time (as is shown by the fact that the decrease of cultural activity with age is less marked when the duration of schooling was longer), when those upon whom it is exercised have greater previous competence, acquired through early and direct contact with works (which is well known to be more frequent always as one goes higher up the social scale[1]) and finally when a propitious cultural atmosphere sustains and relays its effectiveness.[2] Thus, arts students who have received a homogeneous and homogenizing training for a number of years and who have been constantly selected according to the degree to which they conform to school requirements, remain separated by systematic differences, both in their pursuit of cultural activities and in their cultural preferences, depending upon whether they come from a more or less cultivated milieu and for how long this has been so; their knowledge of the theatre (measured according to the average number of plays that they have seen on the stage) or of painting is greater if their father or grandfather (or *a fortiori*, both of them) belongs to a higher occupational category and, further, in respect of a fixed value of each of these variables (the category

1. Cf. P. Bourdieu and A. Darbel, op. cit., p. 90.
2. Belonging to a social group characterized by a good rate of practice helps to maintain, sustain and strengthen the cultivated inclination; but the diffuse pressures and encouragements of the reference group are more keenly felt when the disposition to receive them (linked with art competence) is greater. (On the effect of exhibitions and tourism, more strongly inserted into collective rhythms than the ordinary visit to the museum, and consequently more likely to recall the diffuse norms of practice to those who have the highest cultural ambitions, that is to say to those who belong or who aspire to belong to the cultivated class, see P. Bourdieu and A. Darbel, op. cit., p. 51 and 115-19.) Thus, for instance, if the majority of students display a kind of cultural bulimia, it is because the stimulation to practice exerted by the reference group is, in this case, particularly strong, and also—above all—because admittance to higher education marks their entrance into the cultivated world, and therefore their access to the right, and what amounts to the same thing, to the duty, to appropriate culture.

of the father or of the grandfather), the other tends, *per se*, to hierarchize the scores.[1] *By reason of the slowness of the acculturation process, subtle differences linked with the length of time that they have been in contact with culture continue therefore to separate individuals who are apparently equal in respect of social success and even of educational success.* Cultural nobility also has its quarterings.

3.2.4.2   Only an institution like the school, the specific function of which is methodically to develop or create the inclinations which produce an educated man and which lay the foundations, quantitatively and consequently qualitatively, of a constant and intense pursuit of culture, could offset (at least partially) the initial disadvantage of those who do not receive from their family circle the encouragement to undertake cultural activities and the competence presupposed in any dissertation on works, on condition and only on condition that it employs every available means to break down the endless series of cumulative processes to which any cultural education is condemned. For if the apprehension of a work of art depends, in its intensity, its modality and in its very existence, on the beholder's mastery of the generic and specific code of the work, that is to say on his competence, which he owes partly to school training, the same thing applies to the pedagogic communication which is responsible, among other functions, for transmitting the code of works of scholarly culture (at the same time as the code according to which it effects this transmission), so that the intensity and modality of the communication are here again a function of culture (as a system of schemes of perception, expression and historically constituted and socially conditioned thinking) which the receiver owes to his family circle and which is more or less close to scholarly culture and the linguistic and cultural models according to which the school effects the transmission of this culture. Considering that the direct experience of works of scholarly culture and the institutionally organized acquisition of culture which is a prerequisite for adequate experience of such works are subject to the same laws (cf. 2.3.2, 2.3.3 and 2.3.4), it is obvious how difficult it is to break the sequence of the cumulative effects which cause cultural capital to attract cultural capital: in fact, the school has only to give free play to the objective machinery of cultural diffusion without working systematically to give to all, in and through the pedagogical message itself, what is given to some through family inheritance, that is to say the instruments which condition the adequate reception of the school message, for it to redouble and entrench by its approval the socially conditioned inequalities of cultural competence, by treating them as natural inequalities, or in other words as inequalities of gifts.

3.3   Charismatic ideology is based on parenthesizing the relationship, evident as soon as it is revealed, between art competence and education, which alone its capable of creating both the inclination to recognize a

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1. Cf. P. Bourdieu and J. C. Passeron, *Les étudiants et leurs études*, Paris, The Hague, Mouton, 1964, p. 96-7 (Cahiers du CSE, No. 1.)

value in cultural wealth and the competence which gives a meaning to this inclination by making it possible to appropriate such wealth. Since their art competence is the product of an imperceptible familiarization and an automatic transferring of aptitudes, members of the privileged classes are naturally inclined to regard as a gift of nature a cultural heritage which is transmitted by a process of unconscious training. But, in addition, the contradictions and ambiguities of the relationship which the most cultured among them maintain with their culture are both encouraged and permitted by the paradox which defines the 'realization' of culture as *becoming natural*: culture being achieved only by negating itself as such, that is to say as artificial and artificially acquired, so as to become second nature, a *habitus*, a possession turned into being, the virtuosi of the judgement of taste seem to reach an experience of aesthetic grace so completely freed from the constraints of culture and so little marked by the long, patient training of which it is the product that any reminder of the conditions and the social conditionings which have rendered it possible seems to be at once obvious and shocking (cf. 1.3.1). It follows that the most experienced connoisseurs are the natural champions of charismatic ideology, which concedes to the work of art a magical power of conversion capable of awakening the potentialities latent in a few of the elect, and which contrasts authentic experience of a work of art as an 'affection' of the heart or immediate enlightenment of the intuition with the laborious proceedings and cold comments of the intelligence, ignoring the social and cultural conditions underlying such an experience, and at the same time treating as a birthright the virtuosity acquired through long familiarization or through the exercises of a methodical training; silence concerning the social prerequisites for the appropriation of culture or, to be more exact, for the acquisition of art competence in the sense of mastery of all the means for the specific appropriation of works of art is a self-seeking silence because it is what makes it possible to legitimatize a social privilege by pretending that it is a gift of nature.[1]

To remember that culture is not what one is but what one has, or, rather what one has become; to remember the social conditions which render possible aesthetic experience and the existence of those beings—art lovers or 'people of taste'—for whom it is possible; to remember that the work of art is given only to those who have received the means to acquire the means to appropriate it and who could not seek to possess it if they did not already possess it, in and through the possession of means of possession as an actual possibility of effecting the taking of possession; to remember, lastly, that only a few have the real possibility of benefiting by the theoretical possibility, generously offered to all, of taking advantage of the works

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1. It is the same autonomization of 'needs' or 'propensities' in relation to the social conditions underlying their production which leads some people to describe as 'cultural needs' the opinions or the preferences actually expressed and actually established by surveys of cultural opinion or accomplishment and, in the absence of a statement or a denouncement of the cause, to sanction the division of society into those who feel 'cultural needs' and those who are deprived of this deprivation.

exhibited in museums, all this is to bring to light the hidden mobile of the effects of the majority of culture's social uses.

The parenthesizing of the social conditions which render possible culture and culture become nature, cultivated nature, having all the appearances of grace or a gift and yet acquired, so therefore 'deserved', is the condition precedent of charismatic ideology which makes it possible to confer on culture and in particular on 'love of art' the all-important place which they occupy in middle-class 'sociodicy'. The bourgeoisie find naturally in culture as cultivated nature and culture that has become nature the only possible principle for the legitimation of their privilege: being unable to invoke the right of birth (which their class, through the ages, has refused to the aristocracy) or Nature which, according to 'democratic' ideology, represents universality, that is to say the ground on which all distinctions are abolished, or the aesthetic virtues which enabled the first generation of bourgeois to invoke their merit, they can resort to cultivated nature and culture become nature, to what is sometimes called 'class', through a kind of tell-tale slip, to 'education', in the sense of a product of education which seems to owe nothing to education,[1] to *distinction*, grace which is merit and merit which is grace, an unacquired merit which justifies unmerited acquisitions, that is to say inheritance. To enable culture to fulfil its primary ideological function of class co-optation and legitimation of this mode of selection, it is necessary and enough that the link between culture and education, which is simultaneously obvious and hidden, be forgotten, disguised, and denied. The unnatural idea of inborn culture, of a gift of culture, bestowed on certain people by Nature, is inseparable from blindness to the functions of the institution which ensures the profitability of the cultural heritage and legitimizes its transmission while concealing that it fulfils this function: the school in fact is the institution which, through its outwardly irreproachable verdicts, transforms socially conditioned inequalities in regard to culture into inequalities of success, interpreted as inequalities of gifts which are also inequalities of merit.[2] Plato records, towards the end of *The Republic*, that the souls who are to begin another life must themselves choose their lot among 'patterns of life' of all kinds and that, when the choice has been made, they must drink of the water of the river Lethe before returning to earth. The function which Plato attributes to the water of forgetfulness devolves, in our societies, on the university which, in its impartiality, though pretending only to recognize students as equal in rights and duties, divided only by inequalities of gifts and of merit, in fact confers on individuals degrees judged according to their cultural heritage, and therefore according to their social status.

By symbolically shifting the essential of what sets them apart from other classes from the economic field to that of culture, or rather, by adding to

1. It was understood thus by a very cultivated old man who declared during a conversation 'Education, Sir, is inborn.'
2. Cf. P. Bourdieu, 'L'école conservatrice', *Revue française de sociologie*, VII, 1966, p. 325-47 and in particular p. 346-7.

strictly economic differences, namely those created by the simple possession of material wealth, differences created by the possession of symbolic wealth such as works of art, or by the pursuit of symbolic distinctions in the manner of using such wealth (economic or symbolic), in short, by turning into a fact of nature everything which determines their 'value', or to take the word in the linguistic sense, their *distinction*—a mark of difference which, according to the Littré, sets people apart from the common herd 'by the characteristics of elegance, nobility and good form'—the privileged members of middle-class society replace the difference between two cultures, historic products of social conditions, by the essential difference between two natures, a naturally cultivated nature and a naturally natural nature.[1] Thus, the sacralizating of culture and art fulfils a vital function by contributing to the consecration of the social order: to enable educated men to believe in barbarism and persuade their barbarians within the gates of their own barbarity, all they must and need do is to manage to conceal themselves and to conceal the social conditions which render possible not only culture as second nature in which society recognizes human excellence or 'good form' as the 'realization' in a *habitus* of the aesthetics of the ruling classes, but also the legitimized predominance (or, if you like, the legitimacy) of a particular definition of culture. And in order that the ideological circle may be completely closed, all they have to do is to find in an essentialist representation of the bipartition of society into barbarians and civilized people, the justification of their right to conditions which produce the possession of culture and the dispossession of culture, an estate of 'nature' destined to appear based on the nature of the men who are condemned to it.

If such be the function of culture and if it be love of art which really determines the choice which separates, as by an invisible and insuperable barrier, those to whom it is given from those who have not received this grace, it can be seen that museums betray, in the smallest details of their morphology and their organization, their true function which is to strengthen the feeling of belonging in some and the feeling of exclusion in others.[2] Everything, in these civic temples in which bourgeois society deposits its

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1. It is impossible to show here that the dialectics of divulgence and distinction are one of the driving forces for the change of patterns of artistic accomplishment, the distinguished classes being constantly driven by the divulgence of their distinctive qualities to seek elements of distinction in new symbolic accomplishments (cf. P. Bourdieu, *Un art moyen*, p. 73 et seq. and: 'Condition de classe et position de classe', *Archives européennes de sociologie*, VII, 1966, p. 201-23).

2. It is not infrequent that working-class visitors express explicitly the feeling of exclusion which, in any case, is evident in their whole behaviour. Thus, they sometimes see in the absence of any indication which might facilitate the visit, arrows showing the direction to follow, explanatory panels, etc., the signs of a deliberate intention to exclude the uninitiated. The provision of teaching and didactic aids would not, in fact, really make up for the lack of schooling, but it would at least proclaim the right not to know, the right to be there in ignorance, the right of the ignorant to be there, a right which everything in the presentation of works and in the organization of the museum combines to challenge, as this remark overheard in the Château of Versailles testifies: 'This château was not made for the people, and it has not changed.'

most sacred possessions, that is to say relics inherited from a past which is not its own, in these holy places of art, in which the chosen few come to nurture a faith of virtuosi while conformists and bogus devotees come and perform a class ritual, old palaces or great historic homes to which the nineteenth century added imposing edifices, built often in the Graeco-Roman style of civic sanctuaries, everything combines to indicate that the world of art is as contrary to the world of everyday life as the sacred is to the profane: the prohibition to touch the objects, the religious silence which is forced upon visitors, the puritan asceticism of the facilities, always scarce and uncomfortable, the almost systematic refusal of any instruction, the grandiose solemnity of the decoration and the decorum, colonnades, vast galleries, decorated ceilings, monumental staircases, both outside and inside, everything seems done to remind people that the transition from the profane world to the sacred world presupposes, as Durkheim says, 'A genuine metamorphosis', a radical spiritual change, that the bringing together of the worlds 'is always, in itself, a delicate operation which calls for precaution and a more or less complicated initiation', that 'it is not even possible unless the profane lose their specific characteristics, unless they themselves become sacred to some extent and to some degree'.[1] Although the work of art, owing to its sacred nature, calls for particular dispositions or predispositions, it brings in return its consecration to those who satisfy its demands, to the small elite who are self-chosen by their aptitude to respond to its appeal.

The museum gives to all, as a public legacy, the monuments of a splendid past, instruments of the sumptuous glorification of the great figures of bygone ages: this is false generosity, because free entrance is also optional entrance, reserved for those who, endowed with the ability to appropriate the works, have the privilege of using this freedom and who find themselves consequently legitimized in their privilege, that is to say in the possession of the means of appropriating cultural wealth or, to borrow an expression of Max Weber in the *monopoly* of the handling of cultural wealth and of the institutional signs of cultural salvation (awarded by the school). Being the keystone of a system which can function only by concealing its true function,

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1. E. Durkheim, *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, Paris, PUF, 1960, sixth edition, p. 55-6. The holding of a Danish exhibition showing modern furniture and utensils in the old ceramic rooms of the Lille Museum brought about such a 'conversion' in the visitors as can be summarized in the following contrasts, the very ones which exist between a multiple store and a museum: noise—silence; touch—see; quick, haphazard exploration, in no particular order—leisurely, methodical inspection, according to a fixed arrangement; freedom—constraint; economic assessment of works which may be purchased—aesthetic appreciation of 'priceless' works. However, despite these differences bound up with the things exhibited, the solemnizing (and distancing) effect of the museum no less continued to be felt, contrary to expectations, for the structure of the public at the Danish exhibition was more 'aristocratic' (in respect of level of education) than the ordinary public of the museum. The mere fact that works are consecrated by being exhibited in a consecrated place is sufficient, in itself, profoundly to change their signification and, more precisely, to raise the level of their emission; were they presented in a more familiar place, a large emporium for instance, they would be more accessible (cf. P. Bourdieu and A. Darbel, op. cit., p. 73-4 and 118).

the charismatic representation of art experience never fulfils its function of mystifying so well as when it resorts to a 'democratic' language:[1] to claim that works of art have power to awaken the grace of aesthetic enlightenment in any one, however culturally uninitiated he may be, to presume in all cases to ascribe to the unfathomable accidents of grace or to the arbitrary bestowal of 'gifts' aptitudes which are always the product of unevenly distributed education, and therefore to treat inherited aptitudes as personal virtues which are both natural and meritorious. Charismatic ideology would not be so strong if it were not the only outwardly irreproachable means of justifying the right of the heirs to the inheritance without being inconsistent with the ideal of formal democracy, and if, in this particular case, it did not aim at establishing in nature the sole right of the middle class to appropriate art treasures to itself, to appropriate them to itself *symbolically*, that is to say in the only legitimate manner, in a society which pretends to yield to all, 'democratically', the relics of an aristocratic past.[2]

[*Translated from French*]

1. For this reason care should be taken not to attach undue importance to the differences of pure form between the expressions 'aristocratic' and 'democratic', 'patrician' and 'paternalistic' in this ideology.
2. In this field of education, the ideology of the gift fulfils the same functions of camouflage: it enables an institution such as literary education in France, which provides an 'awakening education', to use Max Weber's words, assuming between the teacher and the pupil a community of values and culture which occurs only when the system is dealing with its own heirs to conceal its real function, namely that of confirming and consequently legitimizing the right of the heirs to the cultural inheritance.

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The creative process in the popular arts

Roger L. Brown

It is generally agreed that the development of the mass media of commun-
ication since 1900 has brought about radical changes in the cultural life
of advanced, industrialized societies. Similarly, most social historians
would agree that the growing importance of the forms of popular culture
disseminated via the mass media has hastened the final demise of many
folk cultures, and perhaps, too, of those local autonomous cultures which
developed in the nineteenth century among the working classes of great
cities. Serious discord and dissension arise concerning the effects of popular
culture on the 'serious', 'high' or 'fine' arts. And when critics consider the
quality of the newer forms of popular culture, the views expressed rapidly
become polarized and apparently irreconcilable. No doubt this is partly
due to the very vagueness of the concepts employed, and to the fact that
the majority of them—the Bauers' 'mass culture', for example, or Shils'
trichotomy of 'superior', 'mediocre' and 'brutal' cultural levels—are often
used at the same time as both heuristic tools and as evaluative labels.[1]

Various rejoinders have been made to the laments of the more pessimistic
critics. Toffler and Berelson seek to produce data which indicate that the
amount of serious art produced and enjoyed is already very considerable
and is on the increase.[2] The Bauers argue that the pessimism of the critics
can be accounted for by the fact that the critics themselves are elitist
intellectuals occupying somewhat marginal positions in society, though
this attempt at a 'sociology of knowledge' analysis of the situation has
itself been attacked.[3] An alternative line of inquiry seems to be offered by

1. See: Raymond A. Bauer and Alice H. Bauer, 'America, Mass Society and Mass Media', *The
Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 16, No. 3, 1960, p. 3-66; and Edward Shils, 'Mass Society and
its Culture', in: Norman Jacobs (ed.), *Culture for the Millions*, New York, 1961. The Bauers
paper does attempt a critical examination of the term 'mass culture', but the authors may
be charged with confusing it with 'mass society'.
2. See: Alvin Toffler, *The Culture Consumers*, New York, 1964; and Bernard Berelson, 'In the
Presence of Culture...', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 1964, p. 1-12. These reports
deal only with the situation in the United States.
3. See: Lewis A. Coser, 'Comments on Bauer and Bauer', *The Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 16,
No. 3, 1960, p. 78-84.

an examination of the manner in which contemporary popular culture is produced, and of the creative personnel involved. The approach is in fact suggested by the number of available critical characterizations of popular culture which make some direct or implicit reference to this phase of the cultural process. Thus van den Haag, for example, suggests that 'unlike any other type of culture, popular culture—a full-fledged style of living with a distinct pattern of feeling, thinking, believing and acting—was made possible and in the end necessary by mass production'.[1] Fiedler argues that 'the articles of popular culture are made, not to be treasured, but to be thrown away. . . . The sort of conspicuous waste once reserved for an élite is now available to anyone . . .',[2] while Arendt, too, posits an essential similarity between popular culture and more tangible products: 'The wares offered by the entertainment industry are indeed consumed by society just as are any other consumer goods'.[3] It is perhaps unnecessary to stress that these remarks, notably the last two, not only suggest *descriptions* of popular culture and the way it is produced, but implicitly condemn product and process at the same time.

In brief, then, it has been frequently argued that popular culture is bound to be of inferior quality because of the manner in which it is characteristically produced: but this proposition deserves considerably greater scrutiny than it usually receives. Many of the agencies which produce popular culture are rightly referred to as industries if judged by the scale of their operations, the technologies they employ, and the way they are organized. But the real question to be asked is the extent to which industrial techniques are applied to the actual creative process.[4] In as far as they are engaged in what Williams has referred to as the 'multiple dissemination' of works of popular art,[5] the responsible agencies—publishing houses, film studios, record companies and (to a limited extent) broadcasting organizations—do make use of industrial mass production techniques. Indeed, these techniques provide the only means by which standard copies of products can be sent quickly and cheaply to vast markets. Printing, the oldest of the mass media, has always been a mass-production industry in this sense: the press makes it possible to run off a virtually limitless edition of the same sheet from one forme of type. In the cinema industry, many exhibition copies of the same film can be made from the one master negative, just as many copies of a record can be pressed from the same mould. As far as the broadcasting media are concerned, the situation is different, since a modulated carrier wave is itself the technical basis of dissemination,

1. Ralph Ross and Ernest van den Haag, *The Fabric of Society*, New York, 1957, p. 167.
2. Leslie A. Fiedler, 'The Middle against Both Ends', in: Bernard Rosenberg and David M. White (eds.), *Mass Culture*, New York, 1957, p. 539.
3. Hannah Arendt, 'Society and Culture', in: Norman Jacobs (ed.), op. cit., p. 48.
4. An extended discussion of the topic is provided by Edgar Morin, *L'esprit du temps*, Paris, 1962, chapter 2, 'L'industrie culturelle'. The present paper is much indebted to this analysis of the situation.
5. The term serves to underline the fact that the media are, as technical devices, essentially neutral.

but, of course, broadcasting itself sprang from the projected development of a receiver-manufacturing industry. However, the fact that mass production techniques (and the bureaucratic, formal organizations that go with them) play a vital role in the circulation of works of popular art need not necessarily have any effect on the quality of what is produced or on the way in which creative artists go about their business.[1] Yet it is often assumed that the creative process in the world of the popular arts is itself organized in ways closely analagous to those demanded by the technologies of mass dissemination and the sheer size of the producing corporations.

The tendency to blur the line between the creative and disseminatory activities of popular culture agencies is seen clearly enough in Coser's account: 'The industries engaged in the production of mass culture share basic characteristics with other mass production industries. In both, the process of production involves a highly developed division of labour and the hierarchical co-ordination of many specialized activities. In these industries no worker, no matter how highly placed in the organizational structure, has individual control over a particular product. The product emerges from the co-ordinated efforts of the whole production team, and it is therefore difficult for an individual producer to specify clearly his particular contribution.'[2]

Coser is here, of course, leading up to a discussion of the place of the writer within the Hollywood film industry, and it may be that this description fitted the major Hollywood studios fairly accurately in their heyday before the advent of television. But it would serve rather less adequately today as a characterization of the *production* sector of the American film industry, given the recent rise of a number of smaller, essentially *ad hoc* production companies. Indeed, it is worth suggesting that our thinking about the way popular culture is produced has been far too highly coloured by the state of affairs prevailing in the film industry of one particular country at one stage of its development.[3]

One of the arguments implicit in Coser's description merits particular attention. By saying that the mass culture industries are marked by 'the hierarchical co-ordination of many specialized activities', the idea is planted that formal organizations of this sort are inherently inimical to the creation of worth-while works of art.

It would, however, in fact be misleading to suggest that the production of works of art within the framework of complex, and possibly bureaucratic organizations necessarily means that the works themselves will lack artistic merit. The world's great opera and ballet companies are themselves large organizations within which the division of labour is carried quite as far as within one of the major Hollywood film companies. Yet there are,

1. The point is discussed more fully by Richard Hoggart, 'Mass Communications in Britain', in: Boris Ford (ed.), *The Modern Age*, Harmondsworth, 1961, p. 448.
2. Lewis A. Coser, *Men of Ideas*, New York, 1965, p. 325.
3. There is a considerable literature on the topic. See, in particular: Hortense Powdermaker, *Hollywood the Dream Factory*, New York, 1950; and Leo Rosten, *Hollywood*, New York, 1941.

of course, differences (including differences in cultural 'level') between what is produced by an opera or ballet company and the type of film we associate with Hollywood, particularly in the era prior to television, and the reasons for these are not hard to find. In the first place, the *policies* of the institution concerned are of major importance in determining what the end product shall be like. In the case of the opera or ballet company, the major aim is to present the best possible performances of established and new works in the relevant media. In the case of the film companies, the overriding objective was commercial, particularly following the Depression, when Hollywood studios came and more under the control of financial and banking interests. The policy differences between these two types of artistic agencies would inevitably be reflected in the role assigned to the musical director or choreographer in the case of the opera or ballet company as against the less commanding role assigned to the film director. But it would seem just as possible to give effective control to an artistic director within a complex organization as it is to give effective control to an accountant. The same type of structure can lend itself to a wide range of objectives.[1]

Again, on the basis of the foregoing account, it might be assumed that the mass culture industries approached their creative problems in a completely rational way, and applied the full range of cost-conscious business techniques to the task of turning out a stream of new products. However, from Powdermaker's account of the way in which a major Hollywood studio went about the task of producing a shooting script it seems to have been approached in an extremely disorganized fashion, while the techniques employed to pre-cost a production were far less sophisticated than those one would expect to be applied in a normal manufacturing industry.[2] It is interesting, too, that the very looseness of the formal structure seems to have allowed studio heads, producers and directors a good deal of scope for the expression of their 'artistic' temperaments.

Of course, the technologies of the newer media—film and television—do call into being a whole new range of craft skills (those of lighting technicians, cameraman, scenery crews, and so on) and the individuals filling these roles do have to be organized and managed if the job is to be done at all. But the same set of skills can bring to birth a *Potemkin* or a *Kane*, or alternatively a 'B' Western. The type of organization may be dictated by the technology of the medium, but the artistic quality of the finished product will have a great deal more to do with the ability of those performing the major creative functions and with the general sociocultural milieu.[3] It must also be admitted, however, that an organized team of technicians is an instrument that lends itself very readily to the assembly-

1. An interesting collection of essays on the problem of encouraging creativity within various types of formal organization is contained in Gary A. Steiner (ed.), *The Creative Organization*, Chicago, 1965.
2 Powdermaker, op cit., especially chapter 8, 'Assembling the Script'.
3. A recent attempt to develop a theoretical account of how particular cycles of films came to be made is contained in George A. Huaco, *The Sociology of Film Art*, New York, 1965.

line fabrication of highly stereotyped artistic works. The drama and comedy
series which currently dominate American network television and fill a
considerable proportion of the programme time of the television services
in other countries, are produced in just this fashion, many by offshoots of
the original Hollywood 'Big Five'. It is worth asking about the conditions
which lead to this highly mechanized use of production resources, and
raising a query about its implications for the quality of the end pro-
duct.

The mass media of communication are commonly said to have a vora-
cious appetite for new material, but of course this state of affairs is partially
the media's own responsibility. Particularly with those media closely
involved in, and heavily dependent on, consumer advertising, novelty is at
a premium and becomes a major selling point. The style of the short
stories or programmes within which the advertissements are embedded can
be rendered effectively obsolescent merely by the introduction of new
fashions. More important, the economics of the media make a constant
supply of new work a necessity. A magazine retains its audience and stays
in business by offering something new each week or each month, while the
paperback-book industry depends on a complex distribution network and
the display of a wide range of titles at the point of sale. Despite market
research, public taste is only crudely predictable, so that a large number
of new products must be released annually if an adequate number of best-
sellers is to emerge. The products of a broadcasting company are in the
obvious sense inherently evanescent, and in competitive situations there is
little inducement to revise materials which have been stored on tape or
film. In all the media nowadays some new work of popular art reaches its
entire potential market if not instantaneously, then within a period of days
or weeks. Multiple dissemination itself means that the production agencies
face a chronic shortage of new artistic material.

The usual answer to this problem, of course, has been to re-use the same,
basic artistic elements again and again, refurbishing and re-combining
them so as to lend the newer versions the required appearance of novelty.
An author sitting down to write a short story for a particular women's
magazine will have at his disposal a number of stock characters, dramatic
situations, locales and ways of resolving the plot. The creative task now
becomes that of fitting these elements together (no doubt with the addition
of some genuinely new components) into a satisfactory *gestalt*. The possi-
bilities are perhaps rather similar to those offered the architect by a set
of standardized, modular constructional components, or available to the
technician in control of a car assembly line, where a range of chassis,
engines and bodies can be combined together into a number of distinct
models. Saleability may also, of course, be more easily guaranteed if story
elements already tested in the market are employed. Today, television
series and serials probably embody the principle in its most obvious form,
though film westerns and some of the longer sequences of detective novels
also illustrate it. Naturally enough, critics of popular culture have

condemned the end results of these replaceable-part operations as inevitably lifeless and stereotyped.[1]

It is, however, all too easy to import value judgements into the discussion in clandestine fashion. By saying that the plots of film westerns or of television series tend to be 'stereotyped', a negative note is struck immediately. However, the fact that a number of the necessary elements are provided for the writer when he comes to prepare the script for a new film or new programme may potentially be an artistic advantage. In one sense, the creative task is made simpler, since a number of constraints are already present: but this may allow the writer to concentrate more on the remaining tasks. Again, over time, it may be possible to explore all the permutations and combinations which the elements provided permit, and to discover which are artistically effective and which failures. Perhaps the position of the mass media artist working with already provided artistic elements is not so dissimilar in this respect to that of many hundreds of 'serious' artists who have worked within established traditions in the past. Most artists, in fact, make use of established formulae, whether it is the structure of the Elizabethan sonnet, drawing in perspective, the sonata form, or the twelve-tone scale. Of course, art does have a history, and the great landmarks of art were set by those artists who put traditional forms to radically new uses, or legitimated significant departures from established technique. But even the innovative genius builds on what has gone before: *Hamlet* is a Revenge Play, as well as being much more than that, while *Measure for Measure* is in part a Morality Play, as well as being many times more complex than its mediaeval forerunners. At a much lower level, film westerns such as *Shane* or *High Noon* make use of an established genre as well as going beyond it to make new comments and explore new human perplexities. Popular culture has its traditions, just as much as the 'high' arts: it is the way that the tradition is used which is all-important, not the fact that a tradition exists. And the popular work which explores beyond the bounds of the tradition perhaps gains force from the very tension set up between the conventions and the departures from it.

If the popular culture disseminated via the media of mass communication *does* tend towards standardization and sameness, this may spring from factors other than the assembly-line methods resorted to by particular media at particular times. Popular culture agencies which are in competition for the same audience, whether the competition springs from attempts to increase advertising revenue, by maximizing 'guaranteed sales', or from some other source, will inevitably tend to ape each other. A magazine that manages to boost sales by means of a novel content formula quickly finds its rivals producing their own versions of the same material; and the same holds true with competing television channels. In fact, increasing the number of popular cultural agencies does not necessarily mean that a

5. An interesting analysis of stereotypes is given in T. W. Adorno, 'Television and the Patterns of Mass Culture', *Quarterly of Film, Radio and Television*, Vol. 8, 1954, p. 213-35.

wider range of products becomes available: just the opposite may happen; but this has more to do with the over-all structure of the industry than with the tactics adopted by one firm to cope with a threatened famine of artistic material.

But what are the consequences of the way popular culture is produced as far as the creative individuals involved are concerned? How does being a performing or creative artist within cultural industry differ from playing the equivalent role within the world of the 'high' arts?

Unfortunately, all too little research has been conducted into the beliefs and motivations of media personnel, and only a very small fraction of what published research does exist is concerned with specifically artistic and creative workers.[1] As with descriptions of the way the creative process is organized, however, a number of generalizations about these matters are current in the critical literature and themelves deserve similar scrutiny.

It has, for example, often been suggested that working in the popular culture industries places considerable strain on the truly creative individual. Critics of popular culture argue that agencies which produce this type of output necessarily adopt an instrumental orientation towards works of popular art, while the creative personnel employed regard their task as essentially expressive.[2] Yet it can surely be argued that many creators of 'high' art in the past have demonstrated a combination of instrumental and expressive motivations. The audiences to be expected at the Globe, and later the Blackfriars, are reflected in Shakespearian drama; and Shakespeare was a working dramatist with shares in the company he wrote for. Again, much of the finest of Baroque music was written on commission, and composers' careers depended on the satisfaction of clients. Going further back in time, accounts of the extent to which many artists of the Italian Renaissance were answerable to the whims of chronically indecisive patrons suggest that the existence of instrumental and essentially extra-artistic pressures do not necessarily inhibit creative activity. In the case of popular art, the way in which managers, administrators and financiers view their audiences seems more important than the mere fact that relatively very large audiences are required to make the enterprise viable.[3]

Along the same line, it has been implied that the poor quality of 'mass' culture is due to the fact that the writers and artists responsible are characteristically forced to work under severe time pressures in order to meet

1. Researchers have experienced considerable difficulty in gaining access to the mass media institutions. Artistic personnel in particular may be unsympathetic to research, since it comes to be perceived as something which might replace their own artistic judgement of what will be artistically and otherwise successful. This attitude is, of course, particularly related to market research, but then this is what 'research' means for many media personnel.
2. There is a danger in this field of making over-confident assumptions about the artist's orientation to his work and to the larger society. The idea that art is 'expressive' dates largely from the Romantic period. See also, in this connexion, Cesar Graña, *Bohemian versus Bourgeois*, New York, 1964.
3. For an attempt to characterize the major types of mass media system, see: Raymond Williams, *Communications*, Harmondsworth, 1962, p. 88-96.

deadlines determined by the rational organization of marketing operations. But many acknowledged works of art have been produced during very brief, intense periods of activity (music perhaps provides the best examples). as well as under pressure from patrons. Sir Walter Scott produced his later novels in a vain race to repay enormous debts, while Dickens produced novels which still receive critical attention against deadlines determined by serial publication. Given these sorts of examples, it seems very hazardous to claim that the best artistic work is produced only at a certain pace and under an exactly specifiable set of conditions.

Related to the idea of an inevitable clash between instrumental and expressive orientations is the notion that popular artists are necessarily alienated from their work. Again, this warrants careful examination. Marx pointed out that the industrial employee merely sells his labour in the market and has no control over the finished products on which he performs some limited and intermediate operation, arguing that the inevitable result is alienation. The adequacy of this analysis has, of course, been challenged in the case of mass production industry itself; its applicability to popular culture agencies also needs questioning. In the first place, too, much has probably been made of the idea that the popular artist necessarily lacks effective control over what he creates. There appear to be two arguments here: first, that the institution rather than the individual decides what is to be produced; second, that a radical division of labour within cultural industry results in a fragmentation of creative responsibility.

On the first point, it seems likely that many popular artists successfully internalize the aims of the industry they work for, so that it becomes meaningless to speak of an unwilling compliance with external constraints. Perhaps artists who have never considered the possibility of working elsewhere than in a popular cultural agency are most likely to internalize the institution's aims, but this is again properly a subject for empirical research, and not a question to be settled by *a priori* speculation. In his *Men of Ideas*, Coser entitles the chapter most relevant to this discussion 'Intellectuals in the Mass Culture Industries'.[1] But this rather begs the question. Surely, too little is known about the recruitment patterns of creative personnel in the popular culture industries for us to assume that such people are necessarily members of the intelligentsia, with all the characteristics (both in terms of ability and in terms of critical detachment from social institutions) which that term connotes.

Further, although there undoubtedly are cases on record of serious artists being drawn into working within the 'mass' culture industries and experiencing considerable tension and alienation, this is perhaps not the point within a society at which feelings of alienation on the part of the artist characteristically arise today. Nash has suggested, on the basis of a social-psychological study of some two dozen 'serious' American composers, that these artists (some of whom, it is true, wrote film music) felt marginal

1. Coser, *Men of Ideas*, chapter 24.

to contemporary American society.[1] The suggested sources of their feelings of alienation include the fact that society at large regards their work with little interest, provides few opportunities for it to be performed, and hence offers little in the way of financial reward. It can indeed be argued that it is the 'serious' rather than the popular artist who is likely to feel alienated from modern society: the public for the serious artist is relatively small, while that for the popular arts is, by definition, enormous.[2] Alienation may stem just as much from the value which society in general places on a given type of expertise as from the frustrations of the work situation.

But the contention that the popular artist feels alienated from his work because he is only partially responsible for the finished product again invites specification of the particular circumstances when this is likely to occur, and in which media. In television, and particularly in films, the way in which a programme or new feature is made is necessarily complex, involving as suggested a wide range of technical and craft skills; and given these types of organization it is no doubt easier to take final control out of the hands of the producer or director. The very large capital investment often involved in one production may also predispose senior managers to play a virtually continuous role within the production process. Even here, however, the achieved status of the producer or director and the policies of the broadcasting organization or film company can make a considerable difference. And in other media the situation may be quite different.

Indeed, the actual working conditions of many writers who currently turn out novels and stories with a popular audience in mind are inevitably little different from those we traditionally associate with the craft. The authors of stories destined for popular magazines, particularly women's magazines, are mainly freelances, so that they are not in a strict sense members of the formal organizations of the publishing house. While their own abilities and the audience they are working for determine the complexity, originality and artistic value of what they write, the task itself can only be tackled in the same way that the writer's task has always had to be tackled. Whether the finished product is to be a great and innovatory novel or a short story for some 'slick' or 'pulp' magazine, there is no escape from the pen or typewriter and the stack of blank sheets. The writer is in virtually complete control of the process (subject to editorial suggestion and the necessity to revise, constraints which may also be present in the case of the 'serious' novelist); and there seems little reason for the writer to become alienated from his work on account of the way the production process itself is organized. Indeed, such testimony as is available from popular writers of fiction suggests just the opposite: they claim to derive a considerable degree of personal satisfaction from the work they do.[3] The division of

1. Dennison Nash, 'The Alienated Composer', in: Robert N. Wilson (ed.)., *The Arts in Society*, Englewood Cliffs, 1964.
2. But see the works referred to in footnote 2, page 613.
3. In this connexion, the replies to Mrs. Leavis's survey of successful popular writers are worth studying. See: Q. D. Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public*, London, 1932, particularly chapter 3, 'Author and Reader'.

labour may be carried a long way in the publishing house itself (and, of course, in the printing plant) but this may affect the specifically creative personnel very little.[1]

So far as the newer media are concerned, empirical researchers might well set themselves the task of analysing the situational factors affecting the degree of control which creative individuals can exercise over the finished product. As suggested above, there are clear and obvious differences between media (notably perhaps between the print media and the others); but there are probably also important variations within a particular medium. A record of impressive successes at the box office, or a *succès d'estime* with one's colleagues, no doubt provides an artist with considerable bargaining power, currency he can cash for an extra measure of control over what he produces. An analysis of the biographies of creative personnel in different media might well furnish material for a more subtle analysis of this career variable.

It seems possible, too, that the effects of a progressive division of labour within society may in one way bear more heavily on the 'serious' artist than on the popular. Nash has suggested that the lack of a feeling of genuine musical community in the United States at the present time is due to a number of factors which serve to distance the composer from his audience.[2] The fact that the mass media of communication now provide one of the major channels through which music is disseminated is put forward as one reason, but Nash places greater stress on the fact that roles within the musical world have now become intensively specialized, so that the composer is seldom the performer, while those filling the specialized roles of entrepreneur, critic and teacher have important parts to play in structuring his relations with the consuming public. If we argue that it is important for the serious composer to feel in close touch with his audience (particularly when his position in society is highly marginal), then the proliferation of middlemen may be more damaging for the 'high' than the popular arts. Again, the critic is considerably less important as far as the popular arts are concerned, than in respect of the serious arts. It may be traditional for the theatre-going public to read (and take notice of) reviews of new plays on Broadway or in the West End: it is far less characteristic of the general cinema-going public to take equally serious notice of film reviews. What Gans has termed the 'creator-audience relationship' may present few problems for the successful popular artist, while for the more *avant garde* composer or writer it can prove a constant source of unease.[3]

Yet even if it is admitted that the degree to which popular artists feel alienated from their work has probably been exaggerated, there are other possible sources of strain for creative personnel. Since only a small percentage

1. Becoming a free-lance writer, of course, and hence moving quite outside the immediate control of editors, is often regarded as a mark of achievement.
2. Nash, op. cit.
3. Herbert J. Gans, 'The Creator-Audience Relationship in the Mass Media: an Analysis of Movie Making', in: Bernard Rosenberg and David M. White (eds.), op. cit.

of those who serve some form of artistic apprenticeship are able to earn an adequate living from 'high' art, the agencies responsible for the production of popular works are likely to contain a number of individuals who feel that they are functioning at a lower level than their abilities justify. Their more successful peers may still serve as an important comparative reference group, and consequent feelings of relative deprivation may engender chronic dissatisfaction: but again there is all too little empirical evidence about the existence and location of individuals of this type. Further, a number of alternative reference groups exist for the popular artist. The esteem of colleagues may come to be the most sought-after reward, while the camaraderie of the work situation (in films and television particularly) may effectively insulate an artist from those other worlds to which he once aspired.

Even so, there no doubt still exist artists who feel that they are prostituting themselves by working within the domain of popular culture; yet Gans has suggested that even this situation may have its positively functional aspects: 'Much of our popular culture is produced by creators whose personal tastes are "higher" than those of their audiences. Although this relationship breeds problems of role, morale, and product quality, it may also provide the creator with enough emotional distance between himself and the audience to permit him to create for an audience of so many different publics.'[1] Here again, however, there are differences between the media: while the cinema industry has so far moved only a short distance in the direction of catering to the tastes of specialized audiences, social differentiation (in terms of leisure—and life-styles particularly) is increasingly reflected in the output of the magazine industry.[2]

When minorities become large enough to constitute markets worth catering to, the popular artist is given new inducements to specialize in a particular type of work. A writer may specialize not merely in short-story writing, but in the construction of romantic stories designed to appeal to women from a particular socio-economic background. So although the writer is in charge of turning out the story, and the division-of-labour principle is not applied to the creative task in the sense of fragmenting it, still the writer may have little chance to widen his or her scope. And it is possible to find examples of a similar degree of specialization within the performing arts, notably in the 'pop' music world, where a particular singer becomes identified with a characteristic type of song and style of presentation. Indeed, the product differentiation which springs from marketing considerations itself provides a spur towards creative specialization; and the expertise which springs from successful specialization may itself be a source of status and the ground in which a minor sort of professionalism may flourish.

1. ibid.
2. Some discussion of the current range of British periodicals is given in David Holbrook, 'Magazines', in: Denys Thompson (ed.), *Discrimination and Popular Culture*, Harmondsworth, 1964. Holbrook regards the highly specialized periodicals as the most worth while.

But even if some allowance is made for the particular creative possibilities provided by situations in which the raw materials are largely 'given', it can still be argued that constraints of this type are inimical to true creativity, rather than supportive of it. Yet the inbuilt 'dynamic obsolescence' of much popular culture,[1] the search for novelty, and the institutional need for product differentiation all mean that a considerable premium is placed on the invention or discovery of essentially new formulae, which will be progressively re-worked in their turn until themselves supplanted. It may be at this point in the creative cycle that a particular, and no doubt limited sort of originality reaps its highest rewards. More generally, the fact that tastes change (or are changed) means that the popular culture industries cannot reduce their operations to the level where automatons become adequate replacements for human beings.

Specialization, whether or not this is accompanied by fragmentation of the creative task, loss of control, or psychic withdrawal, is in fact one manifestation of a broader trend. In terms of style, medium, intended audience, level of seriousness and degree of innovation, the range of artistic products available today is far wider than a hundred years ago. Perhaps it is not surprising that social critics have tended to react to this situation by setting up a simple set of categories which furnish both a means of bringing order out of chaos, and the starting point for a hostile critique of most sorts of majority culture. To date, such schemata have perhaps been accepted too readily. By looking at the differences between media, by searching for similarities and differences between the work and working conditions of popular and other artists, and by studying the various constraints imposed by technology, marketing economics and institutional policy, it may be possible to arrive at a less rigid analysis.

1. This phrase is made a key term in Vance Packard, *The Waste Makers*, New York, 1960.

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The mass public at grips with mass communications

Roger Clausse

In the middle, the work created or produced, the substance of the message. On the left, the message-sending mechanism, constructed and organized for mass coverage. On the right, the public, the mass of the population, the target and recipient of the message. Such is the mass communication triptych.

The final critical point (temporally) in a long and hazardous process: the audience reaction, which will vitalize, neutralize or kill the message. This crucial reaction is the central element of a specific form of sociology, the sociology of mass communications through the medium of the daily press, films, radio and television, for without it, without this response by the public, all the rest is annulled and meaningless: the message is lost, whatever its value, and the mechanism is useless, whatever its power.

Of this 'public'—with the 'work' and its vehicle, a component element of the communication phenomenon—our knowledge is small and we have it on the authority of a pioneer in one field, Paul E. Lazarsfeld, that little progress is discernible in this respect. Richard Nixon goes still further with the statement that if some of our ideas based on applied research have broken down in recent years, it may be because they lacked a firm substratum of pure science.

These assertions by competent scientists, and my own observations not only in the course of a long career with the Belgian Radio and Television but also in my capacity as director of the Centre d'Étude des Techniques de Diffusion Collective, have convinced me that the reaction to the pressure of the mass media is a sociological phenomenon of which our knowledge is still small and poor and that the problem must be re-examined from its most generally accepted data and bases up.

In the present paper I shall deal broadly with two interrelated subjects: the basic typology of the mass public and the variations in the effect of messages.

Basic typology of the public

There is one fact which from the outset complicates the task of the sociologist looking into social communication. In the present age, as Girod points out, social evolution and technical progress have produced an unprecedented phenomenon—the 'mass public' or, more concretely, large-scale participation by a multitude of human beings in the same happenings, alike on the plane of thought and feeling and on that of action.

These multitudes, generally formless, become, by the nature of the situation, the principal responders to the techniques of mass communication. It is with them that we shall have to reckon, as regards the 'work' and the technique alike; it is on them that we have to act, and no longer on single individuals, small personalized groups or homogeneous communities.

The 'mass public' of the sociologist

One of the fundamental characteristics of the public of today is that it is a 'mass public', a huge, inchoate socio-cultural compost in which everything is mixed up together.

My colleague, the sociologist Henri Janne, describes this compost as follows in an article in the Belgian review *Socialisme* (May 1960):

'A social class, i.e., a social group distinguished by homogeneity of activity and status, a common outlook and culture, group solidarity and a characteristic way of life, is a sociological category. . . .

'What is tending to replace the class-based situation is an emergent urban mode of living represented by what is called the "mass public". The trend is for this new social milieu to gather in the majority of the people in Western societies and it exerts a cultural influence, unconscious but real, on the whole of the society. . . .

'We are witnessing the crystallization of a group which is a sociological monstrosity, inasmuch as the "mass public" is neither a crowd, nor a new social class, nor a stratum. . . .'

This 'mass public' which the sociologists are studying, not without perplexity and confusion, is definable in terms of certain original attributes which I have abstracted from the relevant literature and which are outlined below:

1. Monstrous sociological grouping gradually crystallizing.
2. Urban mode of life in huge concentrations of population, imitated and widely current even in the countryside; high intensity-level of contact, physical closeness, sustained mingling; absence of community bonds, intimacy and primary connexions.
3. High intensity-level of intellectual communications, multiple pressures on the public—diverse, incoherent and divergent, coherent and convergent, ephemeral and sustained; invasion of men's minds by the milieu (noise, images, entertainments, newspapers, radio, cinema, television, publicity, lighting, etc.).

4. A standardized culture, superficial, psychologically penetrating, homo-
   genizing, permeant, unremitting, pressuring, barring any turning back,
   brushing aside the barriers of the critical spirit, emotionally seductive,
   effective.
5. Predominance of tertiary activities, of 'organizations', of facelessness;
   fractionated work, dehumanized, without appeal or fixating force,
   complex-forming and constricting.
6. Loss of way of traditional ideologies which are replaced by concrete
   offers of service; depolitization; quest for functional efficiency *per se*
   situating it in a spiritual frame of reference; projection instead of myths,
   utopianism, shift from respect for persons (intrinsic signs) to respect for
   things (external signs).
7. Consumer societies, affluent societies, societies at grips with a growing
   excess of leisure (leisure societies), societies at grips with the democra-
   tization of education as a result of demographic pressure (study-centred
   civilization).

The 'mass public' of the information media

It is here, in this 'mass public', thus broadly defined, in this socio-cultural
milieu of singular complexity in its incoherence, that we get the primary
beaten zone of the messages put out haphazardly by the mass communica-
tion techniques. It is among that public that the mass media will acquire
an audience as best they may and get a hearing, drawing in thousands,
millions, of individuals of all classes, races, creeds, and ages and of either
sex.

Among this 'mass public'—diversified, formless, shifting, artificial—
which our civilization engenders and makes prosper, the information
media will seek their own mass public, whose fundamental characteristic
is likewise the isolation of every member in consequence of the disruption
of the primary links and of the profound and irremediable heterogeneity
of the component groups and individuals.

However, the audience thus built up by the mass media acquires dis-
tinctive characteristics which differentiate it—even profoundly—from
the 'mass public' of the sociologists.

Under the relentless pressure of the messages emitted by the press, the
films, radio and television (the information media *par excellence*) this fun-
damentally heterogeneous audience becomes organized—at least at times,
and under certain circumstances—into a bona fide sociological category,
even a kind of social class. In other words, at particular times and under
particular circumstances, this fortuitous and ephemeral combination of
separate individuals adopts a mode of living marked by similar ways of
thinking and feeling, supports common interests and aims, reacts as a homo-
geneous bloc to identical pressures or stimuli, starts off on the same foot at
the same pace, and calls with one voice for the satisfaction of the same needs.

There is thus a phenomenon of homogenization—be it only momentary—

of heterogeneous groups, which, without the techniques of mass communication, would remain isolated and hermetically sealed off from one another. As a result of the persistent action of the major information media, a progressive crystallization of a sociological monstrosity (as Henri Janne calls it) is necessarily taking place by a fortuitous but effective cohesion and structuration of the heterogeneous multitudes. A community of needs, of aspirations, of intents, of cultural tastes and whims is acquiring substance and structure. It gives unmistakable evidence of its existence in moments of tension and crisis, like panics, but it is also discernible daily in commonplace conversations and exchanges of ideas or views where the messages of the information techniques figure constantly and decisively.

Consequently, with the prior aid of a collection of factors which create and perpetuate the 'mass public'—demographic concentration, urbanization, functional isolation, anonymity, social conformism, leisure, etc.—the mass information techniques are creating and maintaining a 'mass solidarity and mass processes of interaction' (R. Girod), which they would probably be powerless to create and develop alone.

They homogenize the mass public, at least intermittently and in certain circumstances. On the plane of culture and civilization, where they reign supreme, they mould the formless masses and give them a framework. They seek and exploit the masses' cultural 'highest common factor' and provide them with a standardized, not to say vulgarized, pabulum which will satisfy the largest possible number. They influence, excite and assuage. And all this—we would suppose—without any concerted intention or systematic plan, but by a slow and continuous infiltration, with unbelievable wastage of messages and in an indescribable hurly-burly.

Another fundamental characteristic of the mass communication techniques' public is directly visible even to the least experienced observer. That is its essential instability, evinced qualitatively in the varying intensity of each individual's participation in the totality, the 'We', and quantitatively in the ever-shifting extent of the audience.

The intensity of participation in the 'We' is in constant fluctuation between numerous states of differential linking and unlinking, participation and withdrawal, merging or dissociation by the individuals who form it. To use Georges Gurvitch's terminology in a slightly different sense, these differing states of fusion boil down to three fundamental notions: mass, community, communion.

Mass, community and communion do not signify physical groups or collectivities, but simply degrees of mental fusion in the 'We' (total public under consideration)—to a minimum extent at the level of the mass, to a medium extent at that of the community and to a maximum extent at that of communion.

The techniques of information are a cause of intermittent fusion, to varying degrees according to the nature of the messages sent out, each of which has a different potential of attraction. The effect of the mass media on the public would be hard to understand if one did not take into account

the fact that the cohesion and homogenization of a naturally heterogeneous audience fluctuate continually in strength and intensity between simple contact and very casual participation at one end of the scale and veritable fusion at the other.

When newspaper readers, radio listeners and television viewers are put into direct contact ('living the incident') with the great events which awaken and sharpen interest and sensibility, such as the brutal death of the head of a State, the splendours of a queen's coronation or a thrilling sporting event, a tremor runs from person to person through the discrete 'We', a common soul is born and takes shape, a common impulse stirs and excites the whole audience. All these strangers, isolated or congregated, far or near, are wholly at one; contact is made between them, overriding obstacles and distances.

A communion, a profound merging in the 'We', buds, grows and flowers, making hearts beat as one, cancelling distance and obstacles, to unite the isolated individuals in a great expression of togetherness.

When these same persons turn their concerned and anxious attention to the news of the day, good or bad, pleasant or unpleasant, and—when the announcement comes—join together at the same times on the same incoercible impulse to learn what is happening in the vast, threatening world, the same interest and the same need which conjoin them at a common time for a common purpose make them into a bona fide community, scattered no doubt but coherent, where everyone feels he has his place with the rest. All of them have a feeling of togetherness, of being linked, and at that moment they form a coherent collectivity. However, it is a matter of observation that this immersion in the 'We' is precarious, at the mercy of the slightest distraction, and unlike the previous example does not procure for the individual the warmth of a contact physically sensed.

Finally, when the same newspaper readers, listeners or viewers turn as a matter of habit to 'their' mass medium in their hours of relaxation to pick out the varied fare their gluttony demands, to satisfy their hankerings for 'culture', and for amusement and release from the constraints of their daily lives, this vast assemblage, getting its homogeneity from a common pabulum, is little more than a conglomeration of individuals, a fortuitous encounter where the association with the 'We' is weak, as is the pull exerted by the whole on the individual participants. This mass 'assembles' daily for its appointment with the information media, but its cohesion and even its coherence are slight; it is mere 'contact'.

Thus the audience shifts from state to state—communion (with merging), community (with participation), and mass (with contact)—under the impact of messages whose persuasiveness and efficacity vary constantly with the time and the day.

The importance of this situation lies in the fact that the receivability and penetrating power of messages or communications are strictly dependent on the listener's degree of association with the 'We': the more intense the latter, the more efficacious the diffusion of the message and the greater its

significance. Here we have a state of affairs taken into account by the 'sender', often unconsciously. By increasing the 'receiver's' participation level, even artificially, the sender optimizes his communication's chances of being at once understood and more effective. Hence the frenzied search for the sensational.

The essential instability of the public is also apparent in the constant quantitative fluctuations of audiences, leading in some quarters to the postulation of 'publics' (for this or that), coupled with denial of the existence of the global 'mass public'. The fact is that, under the combined or competing influence of two factors, the intrinsic nature of the communication and the distractive pressure of external circumstances, audiences increase, diminish, widen, shrink or thin out. They vary from huge to large, large to small, small to non-existent. From day to day, hour to hour, and minute to minute, the number of mass media 'customers' or consumers varies enormously and twofold, tenfold or a hundredfold increases are attained without apparent effort.

A glance a the curve of radio audiences (Fig. 1) provides concrete evidence of these quantitative variations under the combined or competing action of the two factors noted above, i.e., the nature of the communication and the surrounding circumstances. We see that, on the one hand, according to the greater or lesser appeal, essentiality or utility of the messages grouped in programmes (functions), and, on the other, according to the moral, physical or emotional obstacles arising from constantly changing circumstances, audiences increase or shrink abruptly and massively.

But this is not all; within the public reached or affected by the messages, there are constant variations, difficult to evaluate, in the distribution of the individuals by social categories—socio-economic, socio-professional, or socio-cultural, age group, sex, etc.

An additional phenomenon complicating the situation is that of the succession of drastic contractions or reductions from the extensive public (the total population or sociological universe) to the potential public (simply exposed to the action of the mass media), from the potential to the effective public (reachable at a given time and place), and from the effective public to the public reached by the particular message and, finally, to the public affected (which retains an impress from the message).

These observations themselves raise serious questions. For what is observed at one given time and place is not necessarily true at another time and place; what is true of one audience is not necessarily so of another differing quantitatively and qualitatively from the first.

Consequently, the essential instability of the public involved is a major obstacle to sociological analysis which here encounters almost insoluble problems, inasmuch as social science is ill-equipped methodologically when required to grasp the dynamics of reactions and situations.

To recapitulate: the mass information techniques, i.e., for our purposes, the press, films, radio and television, automatically and inevitably turn to
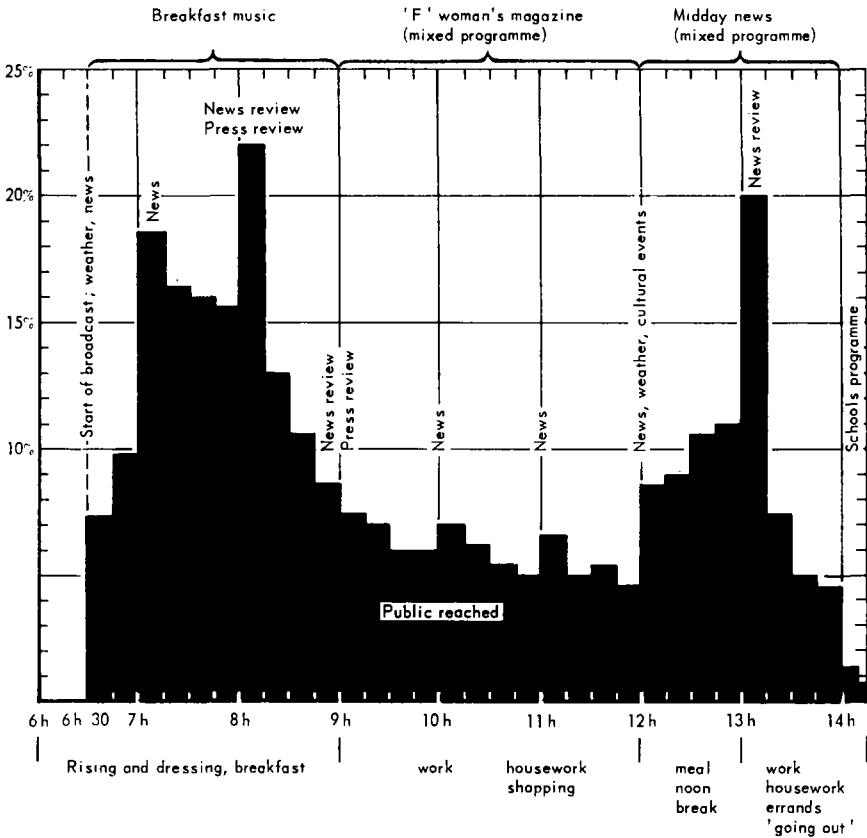
FIG. 1. Curve of variations in numbers of the 'public'. According to message (the programme) and situation (occupations). Numbers listening in to Belgian radio broadcasts; on one day selected at random in 1966—between 6 a.m. and 2 p.m.

the global 'mass public' of the sociologists for their own public, their specific audience. The latter, after the pattern of the mass public in general, is a socio-cultural agglomeration of heterogeneous groups. Under the impact of the messages and the action of external circumstances and occurrences, the audience achieves organization and homogeneity, at least for a while and in certain situations. But its basic instability is high as regards both individual involvement in the whole and the nature of the whole's social content and in the quantitative extent of the whole.

The public and diffused 'culture'

Suppose we set ourselves at a selected point in space and time. We shall find a vast bulk of 'cultural' messages of every description, from all points

of the compass, and with a whole range of vehicles (papers, films, radio waves) converging on us, hemming us in and assailing us on every side.

It is from this abundant fall of manna that we shall draw out spiritual and intellectual sustenance, driven as we are by incoercible needs and subject as we are to clamorous importunity.

What leaps to the eye is that it is a practical impossibility, both mentally and physically, for us to take, assimilate and retain everything that is offered to us. Abundantly diffused in every direction and nicely packaged to tempt our insatiable appetites, this cultural material will not and cannot be assimilated in its entirety. Each of us will grasp only a tiny fragment of it, differing quantitatively and qualitatively with the individual as his personal choice and the situations and circumstances of his life may determine.

The quantitative aspect

Here there is an immense purely mechanical wastage which is illustrated in Figure 2.

FIG. 2. The quantitative aspect.

Cultural messages offered
Receivable
Received
Registered
Internalized
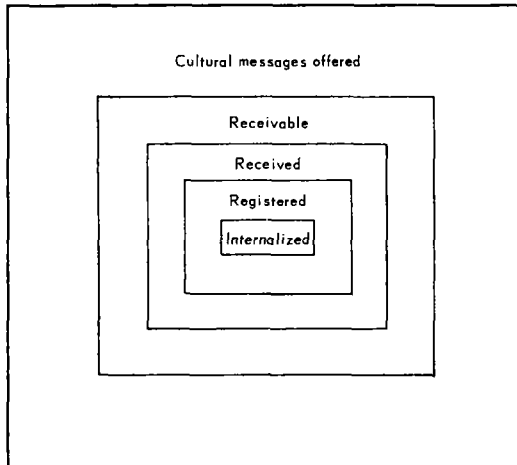
Cultural messages offered: all the messages diffused by all the mass media at any time in any place.

Receivable messages: all the messages put out by all the mass media at a given time in a given place.

Messages received: all the messages put out by a particular mass medium at a given time in a given place and received by an individual.

Message registered: a particular message diffused by particular information media at a given time in a given place, received by an individual and appropriated to himself.

Message internalized: message registered, impressed on the memory and taking its place in our cultural frames of reference.

If we take 100 to represent the sum of the messages offered by all the mass media at a given time in a given place, then, in this place and at the moment of this writing, the total number of messages received will be

represented by zero, and similarly for the messages registered and, *a fortiori*, for those internalized.

This evening, at home, the figure representing the number of messages received will be 1 at any moment with a wastage of 99 for 100 messages offered. As regards messages registered, there will be a wastage, varying with the individual, from the succession of single messages received. This must be added to the over-all wastage and the phenomenon will be repeated in aggravated form in respect of internalized messages.

The picture is thus one of shameless extravagance with material, effort disproportionate to the results, prodigality rationally unjustifiable and shocking waste of substance and energy.

The qualitative aspect

On this plane, that of the content of the messages diffused, there is also considerable loss of substance.

Let us assume that the totality of the messages diffused—classified according to function for the sake of simplicity—gives us, at a given time and place, the representation shown below in the diagram of message structure (Fig. 3).

At the 'registered' message level, we get—allowing for the unavoidable wastage already noted at the purely quantitative level—a representation completely different both in the content of each function and in the distribution of the functions.

But what we have here is not only mechanical, but also 'psychological' wastage, as two psychological laws come into play in the 'registration' and internalization of the messages diffused, whose effect is to reduce the number and modify the nature of such messages.

The first, which is also most important as regards the efficacity of mass media, is the law of functional registering and the internalizing selectivity, whereby the registering in the first place and then the internalization of external stimuli depends on the individual functional characteristics of each person. We make a systematic choice and deliberately exclude whatever does not accord with our needs, our tastes and even our momentary whims.

This law of selectivity has a corollary in which the conscious, more or less organized act of choosing is renounced: this is an unconscious defence mechanism against external assaults on the psyche, be they physical—noise for instance—or mental, as is the case with the massive diffusion of messages. Here the individual defends himself by developing a strong barrier against all stimulations, whether favourable or unfavourable, good or bad. The effect of the aggressions—messages in the present case—is kept within physically and psychically tolerable limits and sometimes suppressed altogether.

Under the threefold action of mechanical wastage, the law of selectivity and the defence mechanism, the representation of the messages registered
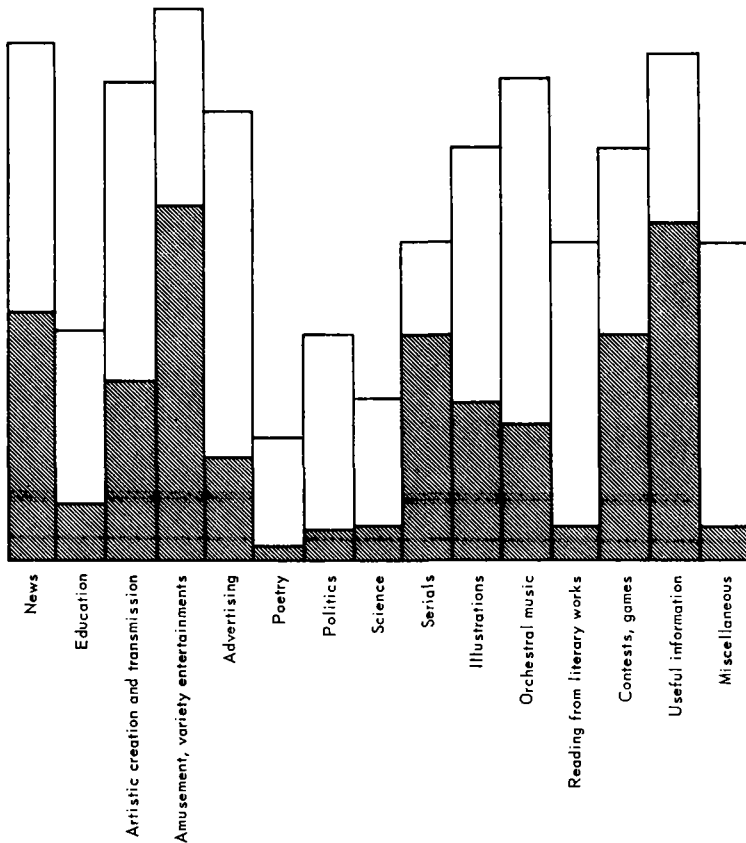
FIG. 3. Functional structures of messages diffused and messages registered (shaded) in a given place and at a given time.

(and even more the image of the messages internalized) will differ greatly from the representation of messages diffused, as Figure 3 shows.

This situation, here illustrated childishly but eloquently, has extremely important consequences in the domain of sociological reflection.

If, as some critics affirm, there is an element of cultural levelling in the activities of the information media, it undoubtedly applies to the total mass of messages for diffusion by reason of both the manifestly indigestible volume of communications and their ordering in the social functions which are systematizations of activities.

However, our diagram shows that it is not necessarily true at either the 'registration' or the 'internalization' level. The characteristics observable at the emission level—mass orientation, standardization, vulgarization, 'snippets', distortion of cultural values, incoherence, etc.—are not necessarily found at the registering and internalizing levels, thanks to the triple filter of external constraints, unconscious selectivity, and the defence mechanisms.

And even if they do recur at these levels it is with neither the same force, the same meaning nor the same consequences.

Moreover, thanks to the aggregate action of the variations from person to person in message registration and internalization, the public exhibits a degree of imperviousness to the pressure of the mass media and safeguards the strongest and most intimate part of its personality without too much difficulty. Its resistance to attempts at mass conditioning is greater than is commonly believed, as the classical example of political elections clearly shows.

It might be said that within the little-known processes of mass conditioning other still less known individualization processes are taking root which can be conceived of as safeguarding the essential part of individual and collective personality, notwithstanding the insistent pressure of an enormous mass of slanted messages.

To talk of 'mass culture', to write whole books about it, to pass judgement on it as such, whether adverse or favourable, is *a priori* suspect and even reprehensible, unless what we have seen to be an elementary precaution is taken, namely to begin by determining the level of observation. For, I repeat, what is true on the emission level is not necessarily true at the registering or internalizing levels.

Variations in the effect of communications on the public

In the course of long professional experience in Belgian radio and television, and particularly in the course of 'explosive' events, both national and international (the panic of 1940, the Liberation, the abdication of the king, the Korean War, the Marcinelle mine disaster, etc.), my own direct and unfettered observation made it clear to me that the reaction of the mass media public presents at least two very different phases, that there are two types of reaction, two intensity levels in the effect produced by the messages diffused. On first becoming abruptly aware of the event, the immediate reaction is generally violent, unreasoned, unidirectional, ephemeral, obsessing. Thereafter the diverse and often divergent pressures of the situational milieu make the reaction less violent, less obsessing, more pondered, stabler and more open to other influences, though sometimes with recrudescences of the first reaction.

For any given message, then, there is likely to be a difference of intensity in the effect according to the social level and moment at which it strikes.

However, message-effect has another characteristic involving its actual nature: it varies with the function of the message. For each of the social functions served by the mass media (information, training, artistic expression, 'pressuring', or psychotherapy) the effects are qualitatively different. For instance, the impact on the learner and his reaction at learning the news (information) are highly characteristic and cannot be confused with other message effects; thus they are very different from—even the reverse

of—the impact of, and reaction to, first acquaintance with artistic produc-
tions (expression).

Let us examine this situation a little more closely, considering successively
the nature of the effect according to the function of the message and its
intensity according to social level and moment in time set out in a bi-
dimensional schema, and thereafter the consequences of this for the sociology
of the mass media.

Nature of the effect

In Table 1 a face-to-face comparison is made of the nature of the immediate
impact and reaction produced first by news and secondly by an artistic
programme.

The considerable differences which are apparent here are also to be
found, *mutatis mutandis*, in the effect on the public of messages governed by
the other social functions of the mass media. This situation confirms the
argument of those sociologists who maintain that it is impossible to define
the action on the public of the press, radio, television and the films in
global terms. They have a specific action according to the function sub-
served.

The intensity of the effect

I have been led to re-think the sociology of the mass media in terms of a
combination of two orders of considerations, those proper to the vertical
perspective of the journalist-sociologist who is dealing with the public at
the moment of emission, particularly when it is a question of 'sensational
and explosive' (F. Braudel) events; and, secondly, those of the historian
pondering the phases of the phenomenon in a horizontal perspective.

Viewed schematically, there are three levels or stages of what Gurvitch
would call the 'social reality', indissolubly associated with successive
temporal durations of three orders of magnitude.

The 'occurrent' level. This is a superficial level of very brief duration covering
the moment of shock caused by the 'arrival' of the message (let us call it
the primary shock) and the 'radiation' born of the 'immediate' version,
the one which spreads by word of mouth, before the intervention, at the
'conjunctural' level, of the leaders of opinion, guides, key people and the
'mediate' version which the latter instigate and inspire.

At this 'occurrent' level and during the short space of time it occupies,
the individual is relatively isolated; he is left to his own and his nearest
neighbours' mercies; he has neither support nor protection and is obliged to
deal unaided with his first reactions to the message. He is not yet re-immersed
in the situations and circumstances of the 'conjuncture'.

The 'conjunctural' level. The conjuncture referred to, the shifting situation
arising from a simultaneous and momentary concourse of circumstances
and events, runs longer and slower and is also more highly elaborated

TABLE 1.

Impact: news	Impact: dramatic work
Surprise factor The news item is a fortuity. No prior choice. No readying for its reception. Total surprise.	*Choice factor* Choice in regard to subject and content. Suitable predisposition. Expectation of what has been deliberately chosen.
Brusque shock Shock of the unexpected. 'Living' the incident. Attitude of participation, of involvement.	*Cushioned shock* No surprise. Uninvolved expectation. Pleasure-seeker's attitude.
Mentally disruptive force of repeated and random minor shocks Torrential flow. Electric shock of news. War of nerves even in time of peace. Disturbance of thought structures.	*No equivalent.*
Uncontrolled global reaction Reaction before apprehension. Difficulty in 'looking for the meaning'. Breaching of the defences of the perception.	*Prior readying of censorship functions* Censorship functions fully operative. Meanings looked for normally.
Collectivization of the message in mass milieux Penetration into vast, heterogeneous masses ill-defended against the affective reverberations of words or images.	*Collectivization of the message in élite milieux* Penetration of small homogeneous groups, well able to defend themselves against verbal or visual spellbinding.
Non-structuration of the messages in mental frames of reference General absence of mental frames of reference for immediate actualities. The message drifts at the level of sensibility. Instability.	*Structuration of messages in mental frames of reference* Mental frames of reference created by the pursuit of education and culture. The message is automatically situated in the above frames of reference. Stability.
Crude reaction vis-à-vis *the sender* Reaction is lively, partial without qualifications, emotional.	*Pondered reaction* vis-à-vis *the sender* Reaction is controlled, reasoned and supported by aesthetic references.

than the contingent, unstable, ephemeral and unorganized occurrent set-up. The 'conjunctural' set-up is at all times 'restructuring itself, seeking or inventing fresh equilibria, mobilizing ingenuity, or at the least leaving it a free hand' (F. Braudel).

It is from the interweavings and combinations of the economic, the

political, the cultural, the social conjunctures, etc., that the total 'conjunctural' set-up arises, and the same elements determine its organization and evolution. The pressures operative within it—clashes of opinion, propaganda, the effort to spread education and culture, institutions and settings, circumstances, the action of reformist groups, the action of the leaders and mediate versions of events, the examples and symbols supplied by the behaviour of these, constraints and controls, etc.—all these pressures, external to the mass media, become organized into powerful but diffuse interaction processes, by which all the forces of the society express their exigencies, explicitly or implicitly, bluntly or insidiously. They act on the primary shock and the immediate version (of messages) at the occurrent level, modifying and diluting, assimilating them to control them and fit them forcibly into pre-established limits relatively impermanent in the perspective of historical duration. Thus, for example, panics start at the occurrent level, but develop or peter out at the 'conjunctural' level.

The structural level. A structure is architecture and workmanship. It is also permanence, often more than secular. Here, after the screenings needed, we are at the level of fixating in solid constructions which successfully challenge 'historical' time and show themselves sound, unshakable and unmoved amid the effervescences of the occurrent level and the impermanence of the conjunctures. The structures stand like a back-drop for the stage of history. They are like a girdle around the actions and reactions of the other levels, constraining, toning, accepting or annulling them.

The execution of Louis XVI is of the occurrent level; the struggle to achieve the threefold separation of powers is of the level of conjunctures, the democratic frameworks of our society are 'structural'.

Two-dimensional schema of the effects of the mass media

A look at the effects of the mass media on a society shows that this effect can be dealt with by a two-dimensional study (P. F. Lazarsfeld). This conclusion was my starting point for the preparation of a graphical representation (Fig. 4) in which the ordinate gives the complexity of the social functions (single-source function—plural-source functions—plural-source combination of functions) while the abscissa shows the radiation of the effect through the society (at the three levels in terms of the three basic durations).

Between the 'conjunctural' and the structural levels I have introduced an 'open potentiality' zone. Observation shows that not all effects register on the structures of the society. There is a period of variable length taken up by a screening process, a selection whose mechanism is wholly unknown to us. Why do some effects of the mass media leave an imprint on the structures while others, in appearance more profound, disappear for ever? There must be a process which either matures or destroys them.

Conceived on these lines, the schema describes the effect phenomenon graphically, and enables us to situate more adequately the many and varied
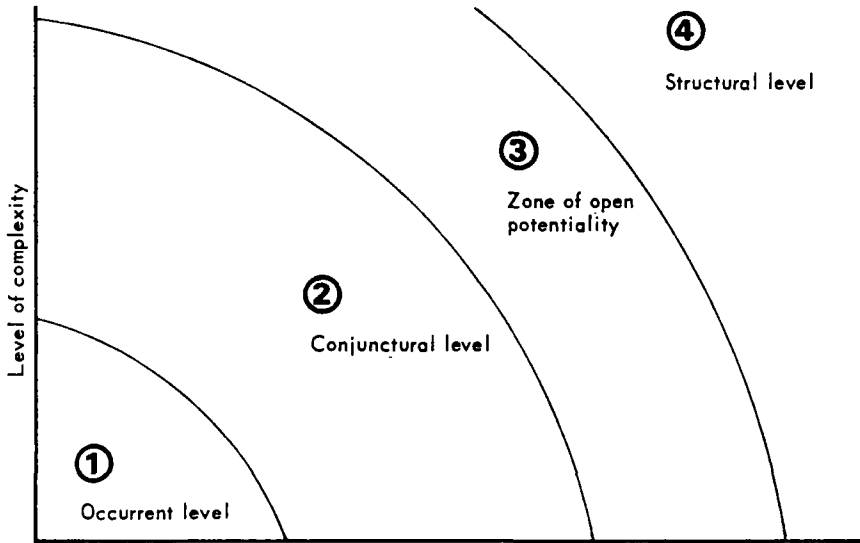
FIG. 4. Two-dimensional diagram of effects of mass media.

Radiation of the effect in the society
First impact: Transience in immediate effect.
Longer duration: Relative instability in the short term.
Indefinite duration: Screening: maturation or destruction.
Long duration: Relative stability in the long term.

problems posed by the reaction of the public. At the occurrent level (1), for instance, has a particular news item on first impact and at that moment only had an effect on behaviour and, if so, what effect? At the conjunctural level (2), has a particular political speech influenced opinion, and has it thereby introduced a new factor into the conjunction? What pressures influence the effect? Is it stronger, weaker, distorted or negatived? In the zone of open potentiality (3), has the broadcast music which has in fact modified the needs and tastes of listeners done so in such a manner as to create the possibility of this essentially 'conjunctural' situation one day becoming part of the stable structures of the society? At the structural level (4), are the modifications which the status of radio has brought about in the traditional freedom of information and expression part of the juridical structures of the liberal society?

Sociological consequences

In the communication of the messages put out by this mass media, the most characteristic stage, perhaps the most efficacious and certainly the least distorted (inasmuch as it is subject to no disturbing 'interferences'), is at the occurrent level (1), the instant of first reception, before the person 'hit' by the message comes under the diverse and heterogeneous

pressures enhancing, attenuating, neutralizing it at the 'conjunctural' level.

At this occurrent level, the consequences of message-impact on opinions, attitudes, behaviour and intellectual frames of reference are determined by the content and form of the message and the medium and moment of its dissemination. We then get a specific pressure, limited in time and in depth, producing a characteristic, clearly discernible reaction which affects the mental structures in a way of its own.

This reaction, even if fleeting or superficial in appearance, will, to an extent which could only be determined by systematic analysis, condition the subsequent reactions produced by the pressures introduced by the 'conjunctural' set-up into the process of communication and will in turn be conditioned and modified by them.

Here we are in the specific field of the sociology of the techniques of mass communication.

At the 'conjunctural' level, the sociology of the messages diffused by the mass media must to a large extent give way to another, different in purpose and more general.

Here the sociologist will remain alert to the resurgences of the primary or occurrent shock occasioned by similar events or situations, for it is permissible to think that the hangover of the primary shock returns to the consciousness, if confusedly, and influences opinions, attitudes and behaviour when, within a certain time limit, an event occurs or a situation develops which resembles the original one in certain particulars. Thus, there is every indication that the public's reactions at the time of the Korean War, for instance, were conditioned to an appreciable degree by the recollection of reactions during the panic of 1940, themselves conditioned by the events of 1914; they took the form of extreme irritability and nervousness, reckless and pointless buying, the search for a refuge at all costs, runs on the banks, violent fluctuations on the stock market, brusque and inconsistent retro-actions on the message senders, etc. At any rate, I myself, as a broadcasting professional at the time, was unmistakably conscious of the resurgence in the public of the earlier shock.

Moreover, at the 'conjunctural' level, the sociology of the information techniques (within whose field study of the resurgence of primary shock properly lies) will make way for a broader and different sociology, that of social communication and the propagation of culture. The latter will take as study and research subjects, within the complexity of the conjuncture, those sociological assemblages in which the information techniques are only elements and minor elements, media and minor media, among others equally efficacious (milieux, leaders of opinion, educational action, propaganda, etc.).

Finally, at the structural level, the sociology of information techniques will disappear, and leave the field to history, which can then identify and describe the effects which have subsisted and entered into the structures of the society after the variable 'settling' period in the 'zone of free potentiality'.

Variational factors

At the conclusion of this very general analysis, it remains for us to assemble, and thereby demonstrate the complexity of, the factors of variation in the registering and internalization of messages or, if the term be preferred, the factors tending to modify effects.

We have already met them, here and there, but it is of great importance to appreciate that they are numerous and that their action is not uni-directional. Here we really have a sociological observational complexity, which must be kept well in mind at the inception of any study on research on the effects of social communication. It is for this reason that it is pro-posed to present the factors in the form of a synoptic diagram (Fig. 5) which, on the threshold of any research undertaking, will provide a mental frame of reference.

Conclusion

My conclusion will be brief. It consists of two observations.

First of all, the relationships existing between the mass media and the public constitute a sociological observational complex, i.e., an unordered but agglutinant collection of a diversity of sequences or series of social actions, of systematizations of activities (and hence of functions), which, starting from a specified source, or from several such sources, the same or different in nature, follow divergent lines for specific ends, with perturbing or distorting interferences by one sequence with another.

Owing to its heterogeneity, and despite its cohesion, it would be dangerous, at least at the start, to tackle this complex as it stands; it is necessary, for a clear view, to break it down into homogeneous segments which I propose to call sociological observation perimeters, combinations of systematizations of activities which, starting from one specific source, or several such sources the same or different in nature, pursue a common line for a common end, with one systematization strengthening the efficacity of another, even if it happens that there is interference between the systematizations. For example, the news, sequences of messages aiming at making known what is happening in the world, is a sociological perimeter.

For the sake of convenience, the sociological perimeter will be broken down into sociological observation units, i.e., into particular systematizations from various sources, e.g., information on current events from the daily papers.

In this way, the observation covers a coherent whole where the danger of confusion is practically non-existent. It is then possible to delimit a homogeneous field of research and devise methods adapted to the purpose of the research.

Second conclusion: the largest possible number of survey techniques must be used on a continuous basis and the results appraised and systema-tically cross-checked.
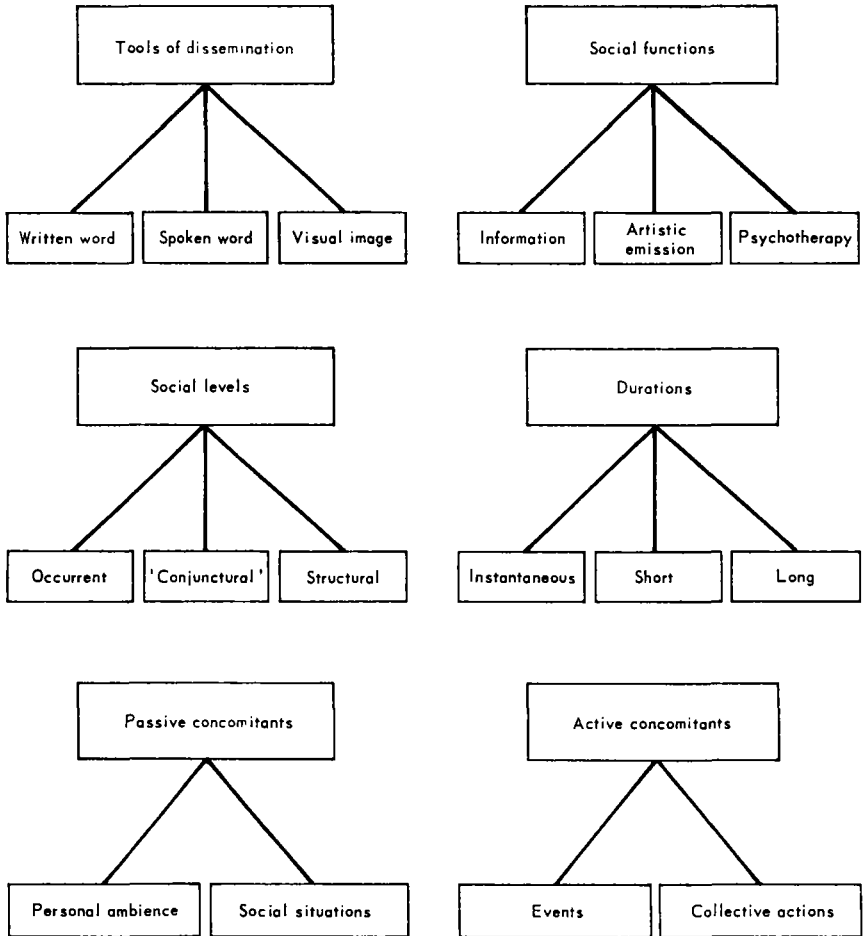
FIG. 5. Synoptic diagram of modifying factors. Psychological law of functional selectivity of items registered and items internalized with its corollary (non-selective) mental defence mechanism against internal physical or mental aggressions.

Nothing is more dangerous than to work on the result of a single survey effected by a particular method. In isolation and taken by itself such a result is suspect, and the element of truth it contains cannot be determined with confidence: it is soon called in question by reason of the rapid evolution of situations and buried in the complexity of things.

The only escape open to us is to adopt a policy of multiple surveys, to install our investigating machinery permanently on the research terrain, to use all the research techniques available concurrently, thereby to cumulate the results (synthesis of observations) and to cross-check them systematically after an appraisal process determining the elements of truth and their place in the whole.

Such an operation, slow, arduous and persevering, which I have called running 'doxometry' by intersection is obviously a severe test of patience. But it is the only way by which it is possible to collect shards of truth and assemble them in an ordered and reliable whole, to separate the essential from the accidental and the permanent from the contingent.

[*Translated from French*]

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The interaction between 'reality - work of art - society'

Vladimír Karbusicky

No one can deny that a work of art stems from reality and that it has an influence on society. There will be less agreement on the actual nature of the interrelations between reality, a work of art, and society and on the place and possible influence therein of social and cultural institutions and communication media.

Many attempts have recently been made to provide theoretical answers to these questions through the application of information theory. This is, in fact, such a common approach that, before we start analysing the various aspects of these interrelations, we have to make clear why we are so 'out of date' as to be unwilling to adopt the language and methods of information theory. We do not, of course, wish to play down the usefulness of information theory but, for historical reasons, its application is, for the time being, limited. What interests us here is what this method offers today, although we do not wish to cast doubt on the possibility that, in future, the experimental models which are at present incompatible with contemporary practice may lead to theoretical formulations on a higher level of thinking in the context of information theory. It must also be mentioned that, in formulating theoretical models in aesthetics and the sociology of art, the mere fact of using the terminology of information theory has a noetic significance. For example, a convincing model of the extent of 'understanding of serious music' in relation to the degree of education, i.e., the acquired perception capacity of the individual (a correlation which has been empirically established in the sociology of music) can be constructed by using the concepts and terminology of information theory. But these are, at present, special cases, not valid for music or art as a whole. There are, for the time being, two main difficulties in the general application of the theory of information.

Firstly, the mathematical and statistical methods used to determine the amount of information and redundancy best express regular systems and structures with high probabilities, whilst art is naturally inclined to violate 'rules', and the very principle of aesthetics often lies in the artist's 'rebellion'.

For this reason, tedious mathematical analyses usually result, in the end, in a poor, abstract 'vocabulary' of recurring phenomena. So far as music is concerned, for instance, this might be likened to reducing the language of Kafka's *The Trial* to basic English, used to describe where Mr. K. went and what he did, so as to measure the 'information content' of Kafka's novel. Secondly, the influence of living art can scarcely be expressed through the classic pattern of the transmission of information. There are forms of art, such as music, which seemingly conform to such transmission: the score is the code, the performer is the transmitter, the medium of transmission is the channel, listening is the reception of the message, understanding is the decoding of information, etc. But what about other forms of art? Where does transmission of information enter into architecture, non-representational art, the dance, etc.? And, as we shall see, things are not quite so simple as they may seem even in the case of music and certainly not in the case of poetry or drama. Is the obtaining of 'information' from the 'messages', which the artist 'encodes' for us, really the final effect and meaning of art? This question must be asked even when 'information' is very broadly interpreted.

The over-simplified application to art of 'information transmission' schemes is mainly due to failure to understand the multifunctional character of art. Most of those applying these schemes completely forget that the communication function is only one of many functions of art. They make abstractions regardless of what they are abstracting from, so that they are liable to overlook other functions (which they regard as 'inessential') which may sometimes be the very essence of a given work or genre.

Let us consider, for example, what is the difference, in a 'communication' model of art, between the gnoseological, and the hedonistic and recreational functions. The more original a work of art, the less stereotyped, and therefore the less susceptible of treatment by information theory, the more it has to teach us. The fewer stereotyped, 'alphabetical', stylized elements it comprises, the less will it be 'comprehensible' in only one way. The wider the 'range of information', the greater the gnoseological significance. Conversely, a system of probabilities based on stereotyped forms, with the redundancy required for optimum 'transmission of information', may show a very high value from the point of view of information content even though the value from the point of view of knowledge is almost nil. Nevertheless, it will be extremely functional from the hedonistic and recreational point of view: perception of such structures follows the regular paths of neurons without encountering any real resistance. The final effect is not the decoding of information but simply stimulation of the 'receiving apparatus'. A typical example is listening to a background of light music on the radio, where the half-conscious perception of well-known tunes produces a sense of relaxation and pleasure.

Another instance of the relations between a work of art and society in which the communication function—paradoxical as it may seem—has scarcely any place, is the so-called 'sociogenic' effect of art, which may take

various forms. It may, for example, be a subsidiary, adventitious effect of a genre associated with a quality akin to 'aesthetic enjoyment', which is influenced by a given environment (sculpture and painting, music and singing in church, etc.). Or it may be the function of art as a 'signal' for the introduction of social and psychological factors (cf. conventional, symbolic elements in national anthems, where the 'primary information', hidden in the anachronistic text, representing a 'petrification' of the nation's history, no longer matters and where, in most cases, people do not even remember the words at all). A sociogenic effect may also be produced, however, when, for example, a group refuses to accept a certain type of art. An instance is a group of people who dislike modern art, representing a group of 'receivers' which will not 'decode the message transmitted'. This paradoxical situation where 'the social effect of art is inoperative' would provide material for a humorist.

Art itself, in any case, resists the pressure of communication requirements. Certain trends in art, regarded by society as 'extreme', in fact represent non-communication or the absolutely 'non-obligatory' character of information. Aesthetically effective structures may be produced which merely provide an impulse, representing a visual or auditory 'happening' (Stockhausen's *Ereignis*). They stimulate the consciousness of the percipient but suggest only: 'choose what you like, think what you like, react as you like'. This can be explained in several ways. It may be a non-institutional reaction by the individual against the totalitarian demands of industrial society—or an appeal to the individual to become a co-creator instead of being a purely passive receiver. But it may also be a reaction against the teaching still found in schools and institutes about the direct relations between reality, works of art and society.

Most modern writings on art teaching and interpretation suggest that the models described above, applying the theory of information in more or less popular form, provide the institutional and pragmatic conception of the meaning of art. The model may be expressed roughly as in Figure 1. Thus, what was put into the work of art and encoded (that is, in explanatory terms, 'what the poet wanted to say') radiates from the work to the destination. The idea embodied in a work of art is simply released to act on the recipient and thus influence society. There is no textbook which can resist quoting, as proof of this, the cases of suicide among readers of *The Sorrows of Werther*. The same argument is also used by those who believe in the necessity of institutional and State censorship: may not a work of art lead to an undesirable movement in society (especially where youth is concerned)? There has probably never been a cultural Inquisition in the world which has not justified its action by reference to the interests of the young whose brilliant future that inquisition is in duty bound to protect with holy zeal.

As this model shows, the role of social and cultural institutions is, in general, very simple: it consists, firstly, in making a suitable 'choice' of educationally desirable works of art and, secondly, in directing them to the consumer in such a way as to promote perception of the 'content'. The
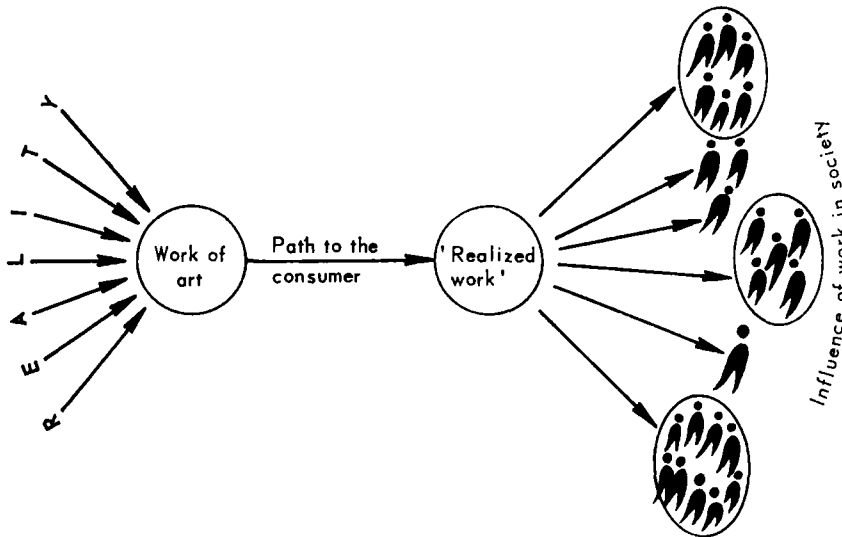
FIG. 1.

important thing is that the work is made available and appropriately 'presented' institutionally.

From this position it is logically only a step to simple intervention when the model does not operate, when the consumer does not 'understand' the work: as there cannot possibly be anything wrong with the institutional channels through which the work reaches the receiver, the fault must lie in the work itself, or in the artist whose creations are 'incomprehensible'. It is not fortuitous that in our century, when the pressure of the economic systems of industrial society is bringing totalitarianism to more and more spheres of human activity, we find the strongest tendencies towards control in art that history has ever seen.

The main target of the aggressivity of society (and sometimes of the State) are those elements which are incompatible with the pragmatic, educational conception of art, which are 'good for nothing', art for art's sake, evidence of the 'irresponsibility' of the artist. In the nineteenth century, it was chiefly the subjective element in expression which infuriated respectable society; in the twentieth century, it is principally the essentially meaningless 'aesthetic play of materials' (colours, words, tones and sounds, shapes, movements, etc.), which is branded as undesirable, heretical 'formalism'. The way in which this sort of 'formalism' has been attacked on ideological grounds in our century will remain one of the most grotesque phenomena in the history of art: the Nazis called it 'cultural bolshevism', the Stalinists, a 'product of the rotting decay of imperialism'—in both instances with the consent of the mass of consumers who mistrust such art on principle, because of its 'incomprehensibility'. Nor can it be said that the various ideologies have even yet quite given up hurling the accusation

of formalism at one another; it would be truer to say that it is now done in more subtle ways.

On the other hand, there is a tendency to give greater prominence to elements which are capable of more definite meaning, and therefore of practical, ideological use: symbolic and figurative elements. By 'figurative', we mean showing direct correlations between the structure of the work and reality as it is familiar to the average consumer—descriptions in literary works, likeness of shape and colour in the visual arts, pleasant melodies which are easily remembered in music, spectacular film sets, etc. These totalitarian tendencies—whether apparent in the all-powerful 'consumer art' industry or in the support afforded by the Establishment—are directly counter to real art or, in other words, to the natural dispersion of ideas. There is a perpetual psychological struggle against the normal human intentionality of perception, preventing the consumer from perceiving a work as he should and could. The mass consumer is not entitled to choice: he will either react precisely as intended (take, for example, the well-ordered sequences of excitement and emotion in the film *War and Peace*, with their expurgated, reduced content) or else he will not react at all—sitting in an armchair, eating his sandwiches, he will watch on the television screen, one after the other, the effects of the napalm bomb, a scooter race, a helicopter crash, the birth of quintuplets, and the havoc caused by an earthquake, without being required, or indeed able, to react sympathetically—to be afraid at what is frightening, to weep with those who weep, to laugh with those who are happy.

Whenever new art emerges, institutions have to decide what to do with it, how desirable it is, how useful it may be. I shall quote one example from my own country. In 1955, Czechoslovakia heard for the first time about the existence of electronic and concrete music.[1] Two main institutions were to be expected to take a stand on the matter, being directly concerned: the monopoly institution, the Union of Composers, which might be expected to have a typical defence reaction against the unknown; and the institutions making up the cultural industry, which were in a position to make practical use of the theory and might therefore be expected to show interest. The Union of Composers indeed reacted in accordance with the ideological tone of those days and denounced this music as an 'invention of decadent bourgeois society'. The strong institutional resistance was maintained until about 1961. In spite of this ideological condemnation and denunciation electronic and concrete music was introduced into films and heard on the radio. The first film with electronic music, *Invention of Destruction*, based on a novel by Jules Verne, came out in 1958, and was followed by a whole series of science-fiction films and sound-montage programmes on the radio. In 1965 a survey of response to musical forms was made by playing to selected audiences a whole range of recorded music, from folk music to electronic. Only a small percentage confessed to liking electronic music (3-12 per

1. J. Matejcek, 'Poznámky o elektronické a konkrétní hudbe' (Some notes on electronic and concrete music), *Hudebni rozhledy (Musical review)*, No. 6, Prague, 1965.

cent) but a relatively high percentage (40-70 per cent) had already heard electronic music.[1] The institutional influence of the cultural industry had thus marked up a considerable success in the space of five to eight years. The context in which electronic and concrete music had been used had obviously had a strong influence on the trend of listeners' imagination.

To the question 'What images does this music evoke' the majority of replies mentioned: things connected with outer space (space flight, unknown galaxies, space, infinity, the twinkling of stars in the universe, meteors, other planets, a Martian landscape, great distances, emptiness, something ethereal, eternal silence) or terror and catastrophe (fear, cruelty, despair, anxiety, chaos, explosion of atomic bomb, destruction of the world, death, approach of evil, foreboding, a tragic end, an accident) or phantasy and movement (supernatural, abstract, harmony of spheres, transparency, excursion into the future, the twenty-second century, Utopia, metamorphoses, beginning of movement, unfolding of shapes, wandering) or mystery (the unknown, the fabulous, supernatural beings, life after death, prehistoric creatures, heaven, shadows, darkness, haunted castles, darkness of the forest), etc. All these show a strong conventional influence, but there were also unconventional images (sunrise, sheep in the mountains, the underwater world, etc.) This is not the place for a full examination of the psychological problems involved in such a survey (e.g., the semantic influence of the word *predstava*[2] used in the questionnaire; the association of the impulse imparted by this word with the impulse from the sound of the music, its structure; the influence of its concrete meaning on the listener's response to the question; the influence of the listener's own tendencies in observation, assimilation, etc.). We simply wish to point out that these statistics confirm a notion already familiar in experimental aesthetics: that the images evoked by music (and by other 'semantically free' forms of art) are varying, and that it is only when a number of associated conditions of perception are satisfied that the images suggested are sometimes identical or similar. This percentage of similarity (e.g., the conventional image of the universe) is the only foundation of common 'comprehensibility' and similar representation, i.e., 'communicability' and therefore also the basis for possible use of a 'transmission of information' model. This is, however, not a special case; a typical, natural case, involves a whole range of images. For example, an excerpt from the composition of H. Eimert, 'Epitaf für Aikichi Kuboyama', evoked the following contradictory images and recollections:
'I thought of the beautiful composition of Paul Klee and Piet Mondrian'
    (a student of architecture, age 25).
'It's like a circular saw outdoors in January and the man operating it has
    frozen hands and the belt is slipping' (a driver, age 24).
'This is not music. It reminds me of the mediaeval Inquisition and the burn-
    ing of witches. Or some pictures of Picasso' (an office-worker, age 50).

1. *Vyzkum soucasné hudebnosti (Survey on contemporary musicality)*. New and enlarged
    edition, Prague, 1968.
2. *Predstava* may mean either 'image' or 'idea' (translator's note).

'A feeling of whirling movement, spirals in the air, an abstract impression
   of rhythm and movement, multitudes of colours' (a scientist, age 32).
Here we must again leave aside the problem of experimental aesthetics
which consists of determining whether it is possible to deduce from the
reactions of the consumers any opinion on the inherent 'content' of the
work. We have here what is called an aesthetic experience, without any
decoding of information. When A. Silbermann began using the word
Erlebnis (experience) in the sociology of art,[1] he was criticized for introducing
terminology from psychology. Experimental surveys (especially when, as
in Czechoslovakia, we have available thousands of replies which can be
used for statistical purposes and not merely samples of a few dozen, as has
usually been the case in experimental aesthetics) rather confirm that,
methodologically, *experience*, as the final effect on the consumer, is a valid
approach. A further advantage is that recent developments in phenome-
nology have revealed other aspects of this concept and given it a subtler
noetic significance. What concerns us here is that experiment has really
furnished evidence of the intentionality of perception which conditions the
extreme qualitative dispersion of experiences, their 'content', the 'meanings'
and emotions they call forth. The quality of an aesthetic experience may be
influenced by social and psychological factors and by institutional pressures,
but it is none the less the basis of the percipient's intellectual reaction.

Aesthetic experience may thus be defined as a state of stimulation of the
consciousness caused by the perception of the work of art at a given time
and evoking from the 'traces' left by previous experiences (either artistic or
outside art) varying reflexes involving emotion, imagination and meaning.
A work of art conceived in this way (and this conception is not speculative
but experimentally deduced) becomes an impulse setting off an individual
intellectual process rather than a codification of 'information'. It may not
be impossible to devise a mathematical model to cover this within the
framework of information theory but it will not be the same model of
interactions that we have been presented with up to now.

In our experimental model we naturally come up against the basic
ontological problems of art. We are aware of the fact that the series of
interrelations 'reality - artist - work - institution - consumer - society' is
extremely complex and that it varies not only from case to case but according
to the form of art. In some arts, the work can serve only as a 'means of
realization' (musical scores, plays, novels, poems); in others, the work is
a finished creation, once and for all (a statue, painting, electronic music on
tape, film). Some works of art are realized in privacy by a great number of
scattered individual creations (reading a novel); others involve the effects
of mass psychology (theatrical performances, concerts, films), etc.

Another series of problems arises in connexion with the inspiration of the
work, and here we are faced with a basic theoretical question in the sociology
of art: is the social reality (membership of a group, group relations and

1. A. Silbermann, *Wovon lebt die Musik*, chapter 3, 'Das Musikerlebnis und sein Sozial-
   Bestimmendes', Regensburg, 1957.

pressures, influence of institutions and of the State ideology on the creative process, pressure of historical events, prestige, ethics, etc.) only one of the realities to which the artist reacts (the others being natural, biological, psychological, intellectual realities together with existing art, the properties of the material the artist is working with the aesthetic standards and values of the given time and conditions), or is it the common denominator of all these realities, on which their organization and interpretation depend? Is the social reality one of many factors contributing to the creation of a work or does it determine all the other factors to such a degree that it can be regarded as the main structural factor?

We cannot, of course, deny the social character of human consciousness, nor that sociability is essential in man's ontogenesis—a real Mowgli would be an animal in a human body. One cannot live in a society without being dependent on it. However, at a certain cultural level, it is possible to extricate oneself from this dependency. Science is the most obvious means for such liberation, as can be seen in the dialectic relation between science and ideology: an ideology can be made scientific, but science cannot be made into an ideology without ceasing to be science. The sentence 'We cannot live in society without being dependent on it' means something quite different, depending on whether a psychologist or a politician is speaking. Institutions, and the élite of the ruling classes, will always tend to emphasize this dependence, whilst a scientist, a philosopher or an artist will seek emancipation from it. Science is the typical instrument of the critical attitude towards the sociability that evolution imposes, but art can also play the same role. It is, indeed, usually art which first succeeds—and more effectively than science—in opposing the dependence required by the Establishment. There are important gnoseological elements in such an active attitude: a work deriving from opposition can offer society much food for reflection and self-discovery.

As this is a problem which has not yet been studied experimentally but has been more or less deduced from the needs of certain ideologies, we are for the moment free to choose our way of formulating the model to show the relation between the social and other realities. Let us therefore consider the co-ordinated influence of realities dialectically as a thesis to be disputed. The spheres of reality affecting both the creation of the work and its perception ('consumption') may be set out as in Figure 2.

We scarcely need to point out that this is a model corresponding to the present historical stage of development. The case would be different, for example, in a primitive society where 'art' is still at the syncretic stage (combined effect of words, dramatic and visual elements, dancing and music in ritual), where the aesthetic function is not yet isolated and where the utilitarian (mainly magical) functions predominate. In the subjective awareness of such a society (our model is also, of course, the product of a subjective awareness of our civilization), the pre-artistic creations are not regarded as the results of a creation to reality but, on the contrary, as a special means whereby the subject influences reality, which is then

FIG. 2.

R E A L I T Y

Psychological and *biological*

of art material

Artistic

of aesthetic standards and values

of knowledge

of nature

Social

Selection, intentionality of perception

The artist, his realized impressions and their elaboration in the act of creation

His work

The work realized by the interpreter

Social and cultural institutions, media of communication

Consumers, their social groupings

E X P E R I E N C E

Psychological and *biological*

of art material

Artistic

of aesthetic standards and values

of knowledge

of nature

Social

Vladimir Karbusicky

Sphere of creation

Sphere of institutional influence

Sphere of aesthetic experience

'compelled' to adapt itself as ritual requires. The conception of art in various types of society, considered as a whole, varies between models of the sort described above and the operation of 'pre-art' in pre-feudal society. Primitive utilitarian tendencies in art—art used as a means of influencing reality—are to be found, of course, even in relatively advanced societies organized as States.

In scientific studies, it is always necessary to begin by artificially isolating certain phenomena in order to analyse them. In the same way, the sociology of art isolates from the autonomous series of interrelations 'reality - artist - work - institution - consumer - society' everything which belongs to the sphere of its own experimental and theoretical interest in society: social and cultural institutions, social relationships, ideology, the artist's membership of social groupings, social consumption of art, social and ecological factors influencing the quality of aesthetic experience, etc. Very often, however, we forget to reintegrate the isolated element afterwards. This is liable to give rise to 'pan-sociological' theories which explain the whole process, from the moment of creation to the experience, purely as the natural outcome of the social process. Psychology and aesthetics are disregarded; sociology solves everything. 'Short circuits' between society and the work of art are then typical phenomena. We could, for example, instance a monograph on Purcell in which the victory of monody over counterpoint around 1600 is explained as reflecting the victory of absolutism over the balance of classes in the Elizabethan realm[1]—or the argument that Goya's work simply represents the maturing of the Spanish revolution. Wagner's music, again, reflects 'The power [violence] of imperialism and the foreboding of catastrophe in a class which sees nothing before it but the ineluctable need for expansion', as we read in a work by a well-known sociologist and philosopher who was not able to avoid the snares of pan-sociologism.[2]

Some popular writers on Hegel have appropriated his noetic term 'reflection' (*Widerspiegelung*) and begun to spread a definition which would make art 'the reflection of reality' but, in their eyes, the only reality is the social reality of class, group and institution. The ancient dualism God - man, matter - soul, external world - subject, is thus mechanically transferred to the relations 'society - work of art'. No attention at all is paid to the question of whether the structure of a work of art does not also derive from the inner forces of the artist, his psyche, his instincts ('hereditary codes of behaviour') the struggle of creative intent with material (colours, sounds, words charged with semantics, harmonics, stone, screen projection, etc.) or from biological factors (eroticism, youth, old age, etc.). The mere fact of saying 'reflects reality' instead of 'reacts to reality' reduces the artist to the role of a passive executant, just as the manipulating institutions would wish him to be.

It is thus obvious that the first step for integrating sociological analysis into the series of interactions we are considering is to include known social factors among the other realities to which the artist reacts. We can then no

1. R. Sietz, *Henry Purcell. Zeit, Leben, Werk,* Leipzig, 1955.
2. Th. W. Adorno, *Dissonanzen,* 3rd ed., 1963.

longer maintain that social reality is always and everywhere the 'ultimate determining principle' of artistic creation. Then, too, institutional intervention and its influence is seen to be much more modest than would often be liked. At the moment of creation, the influence of biological reality on a work of art may well outweigh that of social reality (the artist's age may represent a stronger impulse in the creation of a work than a revolution occurring at that point in time). Again, whilst the reality of knowledge (substance of matter, nature of the universe, historical events, etc.) is derived from socially neutral science, the reality of aesthetic standards is more largely subordinated to ideology. The influence of social reality clearly varies from case to case, and consequently the value of a work for the purposes of social reflection also varies.

Should we then cease to ask as Th. W. Adorno does, that the sociology of art should be concerned with the 'social decoding of a work',[1] when we know, in any case, that analysis of the social determining factors cannot make a real contribution to the full analysis of the whole complex structure?

It would, of course, be creditable to sociology if it could meet this requirement, provided that it bears in mind that its own particular mode of analysis is only one of the possible approaches likely to lead to an explanation of a work of art, and that only the reintegration of its results and their comparison with those of historical, aesthetic, psychological and other analyses can provide a fuller picture.

We must also consider, however, what are the methods—apart from the more or less 'intuitive short-circuits' to which we have referred—that the sociology of art, in its present state, can offer for the analysis of a work's genesis. Its approach is piecemeal and unsystematic, adapting itself to the difficulties of its subject-matter (it is for this reason that the sociology of literature has so far been mainly a speculative 'sociology of literary creation' and not at all a sociology of consumption, which is extremely difficult to pin down, owing to the fact that literary works are 'realized' in countless different places by individual reading); all we have are statistical figures for the taste of various consumers, but very little else. Thousands of works of art are created daily and the empirical sociology of art still cannot suggest a single methodologically sound standardized experimental method for analysing the social conditions and environmental circumstances of their creation. It has not yet even occurred to the sociologists of art to take a look at the social processes associated with the entirely new phenomena which are revolutionizing the structure of art's field of action, such as the electronic and concrete music referred to above.

Vainglorious patrons, social and cultural institutions and the enlightened bureaucrats of the State machinery are thus constantly able to pass themselves off as the support and inspiration of art, without having to show how they contribute to the construction of the work for which they arrogate credit to themselves. They can safely claim 'their part' in a work even when the artist's intentions in creating it are diametrically opposed. The institu-

1. Th. W. Adorno, *Einleitung in die Musiksoziologie*, 1962.

tions concerned with the propagation of art are often ignorant of their own position in the series of interrelations between reality, works of art and society; they are not even aware of the possibilities they command with regard to the different forms of art and its morphology (we have only to think of the incessant struggle to overcome the difficulties arising in presenting authentic art through the media of mass communication, which are better suited for dealing with stereotyped forms—in short, 'consumer' art—whereas art drawing on the unique character of aesthetic experience is not generally amenable to the present forms of presentation, although those working in the mass media are not aware of this).

We have tried, above, to see what is the true position of social and cultural institutions and the mass media in the chain of interrelations between 'reality, work of art and society'. We are well aware that this statement will not be enough to enable those institutions deliberately to take up the position which, in our opinion, should be theirs. To oblige them to do so, convincing analyses of the sociology of art and culture are needed. Until we have proper methods of analysis and convincing results of the empirical study of their effects, of course, we shall have to rely instead on efforts made in the ideological field, including in all probability those designed to ridicule neronic complexes or awkward attempts to 'guide' or 'direct' artistic creation, to decide whether a movement in art is 'desirable' or not, to curtail artistic freedom by political and 'moral' censorship, and to enlist the 'indignation' of good citizens against the temerity of those who flaunt accepted standards.

[*Translated from Czech*]

Note. The author has made use of the findings of certain of his previous studies, listed below.

(The conception and aesthetics of 'light music'.) *Hudební veda, Prague,* 1967, no. 1-3. (German summary.)

Zur empirisch-soziologischen Musikforschung. *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft,* 1966, no. 3-4.

(Survey of response to music.) (In collaboration with J. Kasan.) Prague, 1964; new and enlarged edition, Prague, 1968. (Summaries in German, French, Russian and English.)

(Social factors in aesthetic perception. Contribution to the relations between sociological and aesthetic experiment.) *Estetika, Prague,* 1967, no. 3. (German Summary.)

(Experiment in musical sociology. Methods of empirical and sociological research in art.) Two contributions to the collection: *Problems in the sociology of music.* Prague, 1967. (Summaries in Russian, French, English and German.)

(Realism. Content analysis of musical publications 1948-65.) Partially published in *Hudební rozhledy,* 1966, no. 18.

Vladimír Karbusický engaged in research on folk-music and studied musical culture in industrial communities and isolated groups of emigrants, where he was mainly concerned with cultural survivals from the past. With the new interest in sociology in Czechoslovakia, he embarked on a series of experimental surveys on response to music. He is a member of the Institute of Music of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and also lectures on the sociology of art. Has published works on the history of folk music, on practice and theory in the sociology of music, on the relations between 'highbrow' and 'lowbrow' culture in an industrial society, and on social factors in aesthetic experience.

Recorded music and the record industry

A sector neglected by sociological research

Heinz Otto Luthe

I

Sociological research has finally succeeded, albeit tardily as we know, in unravelling to some extent the tangle of opinions and assertions surrounding discussion of the social effects of the mass media—cinema, press, radio and television. By adopting an increasingly interdisciplinary approach to the study of the mass media, the social sciences have made a late but nevertheless effective contribution to the institutionalization of such media. This contribution is effective in so far as it has made it possible to overcome a series of obstacles which were hindering this institutionalization and the social integration of the new communication techniques. We know from studies on diffusion (Kiefer, 1967) that the introduction of technical innovations, that is, of new material contributions to civilization, always has a more or less strong impact on existing immaterial elements of civilization. Under the guise of a conscientious social criticism, supporters of the most varied ideologies make use of this to advance unrealistic and self-seeking arguments which delay acceptance of technological innovations, that is, socio-cultural adaptation to new technological facts. It is in this connexion that one hears talk of the omnipotence of the media and their influence on a fractionalized and helpless public. Even today, the irrational myth of the almighty media does not appear to have lost its force, although it has been repeatedly subjected to scientific criticism and reduced to its residual ideological elements (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1948, p. 95-118; Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955, p. 16 et seq.; Bauer and Bauer, 1960). A glance at some of the allegedly sociological writings concerned with individual media, or mass communication in general such as Marshall McLuhan's *Understanding Media* (1964, p. 20) confirms this impression.

Common to all such discussions of mass communication problems—at best socio-philosophical—is a preponderantly mechanical conception of the effect of the media, as if it proceeded in a straight line from the medium direct to the recipient. Earlier sociological research demonstrated the falseness of this conception, describing it in striking terms as 'the hypodermic needle' (Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee, 1954). It was above all socio-

psychological research which finally reduced this conception to absurdity. Such a conclusion is at any rate valid with regard to the effect of the mass media on the individual. But we must not be over-hasty in extending it to society as a whole. Even if social psychology has helped to demythologize the mass media and introduce a more dispassionate approach to them, the fact remains that sociology itself has not so far made its contribution. This is indeed the Achilles heel of sociological research and accordingly the arguments of social critics are directed more against the social than the individual aspects of the matter. Our statement that research must necessarily be interdisciplinary by no means absolves any of the individual branches from making its contribution.

The place which sociology should occupy in the discussion of the social effects of the mass media is still being occupied today, and to an ever-greater extent, by social philosophy and self-satisfied social criticism. The 'long march' of sociology towards the above-mentioned goal has only just begun.

II

There is a long tradition behind the discontent of the majority of those observers of society—in this connexion the expression 'members of a society' can be used only in a very limited sense (Lazarsfeld, 1965)—in other words, the so-called intellectuals who have adopted a critical attitude towards the developmental trends of our civilization. For Leo Löwenthal (1961), its meaning for today begins with Montaigne and Pascal, and continues with Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, de Tocqueville, Taine and Marx. In fact, its origins can even be traced back to Plato (Lazarsfeld, 1965, p. 3). The reservations about the invention and use of writing expressed in the *Phaedrus* could well have inspired the ideas of Marshall McLuhan (1962, p. 23).

Side by side with an ever-growing institutionalization of the mass media in modern societies, so-called social criticism has appreciably increased both in frequency and intensity. Regardless of the point of departure of the individual critics, they are all concerned with the same basic problems, namely:

'1. The tension that exists between intellectuals, with their highly diversified preferences, and the relatively standardized and uniform programmes of radio and television;

'2. The reluctance of intellectuals to admit that a collective effort can result in a work of art;

'3. The growing tendency of an increasingly well-informed public to draw nearer to the position of the intellectuals and concern itself with contemporary cultural problems;

'4. The difficulties inherent in a social system in which there is competition between the interests of the State, the citizens and the commercialized mass media;

'5. The fear of the intellectuals (more in France than in America) that the

mass media will mislead and bewitch the working-class and finally remove its class consciousness.' (Lazarsfeld, 1965, p. 4).

In recent years, the whole literary discussion outlined here has been reduced more and more completely to the dichotomy of 'culture for the élite versus culture for the masses', something which inclines one to suppose that here, too, it is a question of one of those famous problems, dichotomously and therefore falsely posed, of which Georges Gurvitch (1963, p. 31-65) gives a list of critically analysed examples. The idea of a continuum, whose extremes are occupied by cultural and social forms, namely culture for the masses and culture for the élite, although both are to be understood as ideal and typical rather than as real, seems to be a more apt representation of the problem than is the dichotomous formulation, however much the latter may lend itself to the uses of committed criticism. Moreover, this is another proof of how frequently in social philosophy constructive thinking is supplanted by taxonomic preconceptions.

The above-mentioned work of Löwenthal; a volume of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences' *Daedalus* (1960) which reproduces a work brought out by N. Jacobs in 1959; an issue of the magazine *Communications* (1965) published by Georges Friedmann and the Centre d'Etudes des Communications de Masse, Paris; the works of Harold L. Wilensky (1964) and Etienne Gilson (1967), as well as Bernard Rosenberg's and David Manning White's reader (1957), give a fairly complete idea of the stage reached in the discussion of this problem at the international level.

A pessimistic note predominates in these writings, with the feelings playing a noteworthy part. The authors are only too ready to apply to cultural matters the monetary law formulated in 1550 by Sir Thomas Gresham to the effect that bad money drives good out of circulation, thereby implying that culture for the masses (bad) drives out culture for the élite (good) (see also Müller, 1963, p. 127).

III

Finally, it has become clear that if sociology is to satisfy the demands made upon it in regard to the analysis of the social consequences of the mass media, it must first carry out a goodly number of preliminary tasks. Among these, one which is as important as it is urgent is an ideological criticism which, by anti-critical reasoning, could reduce social criticism to its residual ideological elements. This would pave the way for subsequent empirical research. We have seen that only very recently has empirical social research been focused upon the mass media. This is especially true of the record, the medium of communication with which we are principally concerned in this inquiry. Up to now, it has been treated as the poor relation of the mass media by social scientists who, with a few exceptions (Silbermann, 1965), have not even taken the trouble to investigate whether, and to what extent, the record possesses the characterics of a mass medium. Of course

the record, too, can be squeezed into the Procrustean bed of attempts —which, in any case, are disputable—to define 'mass communication' and 'mass communication media' (Silbermann and Luthe, 1968), but it should be observed that in regard to production and distribution, and above all the market conditions to which it is subject, the record differs considerably from the other mass communication media.

Among the essential structural differences we may here note:

1. The spatial independence of record listeners. In this respect the record is akin to the radio, and also to some extent television, but differs considerably from the cinema.

2. The temporal independence of record listeners. This distinguishes recordings from radio, television and the cinema but relates them to the paperback, which is occasionally regarded as a mass medium. For instance, it can never be said that a record, at any given moment, is being listened to by a large, mass audience.

3. The limit imposed on the repeated playing of a record by the fact that it wears out. Here too the complete spatial and temporal freedom of the listener is to be emphasized; this also applies, as was mentioned in paragraph 2, to the paperback or the newspaper.

Thus it would appear that one of the essential, identifying characteristics of the mass media is mass production and distribution together with mass consumption, even though the latter may be staggered. This makes it clear that a discussion of the structural characteristics of the record might well re-animate the terminological discussion of what is represented by mass communication or mass media.

4. Moreover, the record, in contrast to the other mass media, can only be institutionalized with the help of another medium. Only through close association with the radio has it been possible for the record to become a socio-cultural institution. With regard to its production, record manufacturing has almost from the beginning been a branch of the electronics industry. Records reach the public not only by means of the radio, but also through the retail shops and innumerable clubs which ensure their distribution. Thus it can be said that the record is economically and technologically dependent on the permanent support of other mass media.

The fact that the record has developed in the shadow of other economically and technologically powerful media is perhaps one of the reasons why its discovery by social scientists, and especially those concerned with the study of the mass media, has occurred at so late a stage. Here, too, sociological research has been replaced by observant, pessimistic social criticism, displaying particular aggressiveness towards the record. Although, from a structural point of view, the record may not represent a fully-developed, independent mass medium, it nevertheless exerts an influence which is formidable in scope. In conjunction with the radio, which multiplies, accelerates and intensifies its effectiveness, the record is one of the most

evil agencies for executing the fatal curse which has lain on our culture since the invention of the mass media. Or so, at least, say the social critics who are here dealing with the prototype of the medium whose ability to reproduce works of art perfectly is constantly increasing. A fatal tendency to generalize is manifest in this interest-motivated philosophy which hides behind the mask of exaggerated intellectualism: the record, as an integral part of our musical culture, is a threat to the latter, without there being any possibility of compensating influences making themselves felt. It plainly leads to 'auditive regression', 'a lack of perceptual concentration' (Adorno, 1956, p. 31) and finally to the 'liquidation of the individual' (ibid., p. 16).

What can sociology oppose to such assertions? First of all the fact that here critical, even radically critical social theory—an acceptable concept of the Marxists—has been abandoned in favour of a fascistic cynicism, all the expressions of which, whether they come from the left or the right, bear a striking resemblance to one another. Polemics instead of analysis, aggression instead of criticism, characterize this tardy form of philosophical discussion of the phenomenon of so-called mass culture. Whenever it is a case of the mechanical reproduction of a work of art, the critical attack becomes especially bitter and humourless, and far more aggressive than radical, as can be seen, for example, in the writings of Th. W. Adorno. The vocabulary of this author, as a textual analysis of this writings easily shows, is drawn mainly from psycho-pathology—an undoubtedly interesting fact from the sociological point of view. In spite of his mannered style and bewildering vocabulary, the impression inevitably develops that there is a great deal of rationalization here, that incongruities are analysed only so that they may be projected into the surrounding world.

But more interesting than this socio-psychological interpretation of the style of modern social criticism and its excesses would seem to be the indications of its growing sterility, which automatically averts the danger of a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' that we are sometimes inclined to associate with committed social criticism. The elegance and intelligibility of its pronouncements are unfortunately in inverse proportion to each other; its language becomes more and more a means of demonstration and less and less one of communication. At the same time, developments in the very opposite direction can also be observed; they are discussed in Walter Benjamin's often quoted study of 'Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit' (1955) (works of art in an age when they can be mechanically reproduced). While works of art, according to Benjamin, lose their 'aura' when mechanically reproduced and so leave the magic circle of art, they nevertheless gain as far as availability is concerned and so fulfil new social functions. Modern social criticism, on the other hand, is losing more and more with regard to availability and is becoming something reserved for the initiated, creating its 'aura' for itself with the help of a carefully chosen vocabulary and glamorously incomprehensible phrases. What in Adorno conveys an impression of originality, in his followers and imitators borders on the ridiculous.

IV

Benjamin's constantly quoted ideas have been used up and worn out by his
followers. His committed attitude, his war against 'cultural fascism', the
seriousness of his arguments, have become facile datum points for self-
complacent social critics. Although his statements are subject to certain
historical limitations, their importance for the social scientist begins with
his completely non-polemic and non-belligerent discussion of the 'change
of function' of the mechanically reproduced work of art. This idea brings
Benjamin very close to Max Weber in the latter's reflections on the rational
and sociological bases of music, 'Die rationalen und soziologischen Grund-
lagen der Musik' (1956). The functional study of recorded music will be
mainly concerned, in conformity with the study's objectives, with its social,
cultural and economic functions. As to the aesthetic functions of recorded
music, these are rather a subject for research by musicologists, physiologists
and psychologists.

Moreover, it is clear at this point that mass communication research,
sociology and social anthropology interpret the concept of function in a
manner suited to their own needs, just as biology does. The question thus
arises as to whether and how far the record assists in the formation, regulation
or alteration of a social, cultural or economic system (Merton, 1964, p. 21
et seq.).

To begin with, the record has made use of a whole branch of industry
characterized by a steadily increasing rationalization of techniques (Coeuroy
and Clarence, 1929; Gelatt, 1954; Haas and Klever, 1959; Read, 1959;
Gilotaux, 1962). Yet the precision product which it manufactures and
distributes has never, with one exception (Reichardt, 1962), been the subject
of an economic discussion. Only fairly recently has the record begun to
crop up in discussions of what is known as consumer society, which bear a
great deal, too, on the problem of leisure and mass communication in the
highly developed industrial nations (Zahn, 1964). Accordingly, the social
critics only too gladly apply the term 'commodity' to the record, as they
once applied it to the film (Bächlin, 1946) as a pretext for carrying on an
irrelevant controversy. The drawbacks attendant on the fact that political
economy and sociology have failed to co-operate with each other in making
an exhaustive study of the problems of the 'culture industry', are especially
apparent in regard to the record. In any case, the latter would be a reward-
ing subject for research in such a new discipline. At a time when recording
techniques have been brought almost to perfection by the 'sound magician'
John Culshaw (Fierz, 1965), and have revolutionized concert, and parti-
cularly opera, production methods—which has led the pianist Glenn Gould
to predict the supplanting of the concert hall by the recording studio and
technically sophisticated record-playing equipment (Culshaw, 1966)—at a
time when so-called 'discogenic' music is apparently becoming a reality,
the disadvantages arising from the lack of any theory applying to the record
industry are particularly apparent. To be sure, the industry has succeeded

in embracing the whole range of so-called 'classical' music, from Seikilos' Drinking Song to the electronic music of Karl-Heinz Stockhausen, as well as the folk music of the entire world, in addition to providing the public every day with light popular music; but even though protected by the powerful electronics industry, it has still failed to rationalize the production and distribution phases of its activity. The market—a form of rational organization of economic relations—remains a sealed book for it; at least, it is only in recent years, under the pressure of an economic situation which threatened to introduce cut-throat competition into an oligopolistic industry, that an awareness of the market has developed (Dénuzière, 1968; Peschler, 1968). Disregarding price wars, which are confined to distributors, the records industry gives the impression of proceeding in a completely uneconomic manner in regard to the establishment of prices, a factor of prime importance in all economic activity. The most diverse musical performances are offered for sale at the same price: a record of a Bruckner symphony costs exactly as much as does one of a piano sonata.

The need for greater rationalization is being impressed on the record industry from two different quarters, and eventually it will make itself felt in regard to the establishment of prices as well. Production has become, from the point of view of technical equipment and performing artists alike, one of the industry's major items of expense. Moreover, recording companies, from the outset, have always made a practice of securing the most prominent artists by means of exclusive contracts, which has also contributed towards increasing their operating costs. A regrettable consequence of this same practice is that it is the record industry itself which decides how and by whom an orchestra is to be made up. At this point, however, and although we are more interested in the effects of recorded music than in how it is made, it must be emphasized that, if such practices are carried to an extreme the industry would endanger the quality of its products, by presenting musical groups of incongruous composition or placing well-known orchestras under conductors with whom they are unfamiliar.

In regard to the consumer market, the record industry is exposed on the one hand to the phenomenon of changing tastes (Müller, 1963, p. 102 et seq.) and, on the other, to that of the increasing technical perfection of the record—above all the development of stereophonic recordings—which has made such expensive record-playing equipment necessary that many consumers have become price-conscious in this respect. These high costs have appreciably restricted the above-mentioned unlimited freedom of the record-listening public. It is also to be observed with regard to popular music that it is subject to the constantly changing whims of the public's taste (König, 1962, p. 103 et seq.) and that with the increase and diversification of leisure activities, particularly for the young, the amount of time devoted to listening to recorded music, whether classical or popular, has decreased. This fact has prompted certain business-minded singers, the Beatles or Sheila for instance, to open their own boutiques in order to divert for their own benefit another branch of the mighty stream of youthful buying power.

This points to the absolute need for a carefully planned programme of research on production and distribution in the record industry, if the latter is not to become dependent on the so-called 'Top of the pops' in regard to its products and prices, and completely lose an over-all view of the highly diversified consumer market. Only on the basis of such market strategy will the record industry be able to widen and diversify the spectrum of its social and cultural functions as the other mass communication media have already done. In any case it would seem, in view of what has been said here, that the five principal points laid down by Lazarsfeld as dominating the current discussion of mass culture cannot be applied unreservedly to developments in the field of records and in the record industry.

The product offered to the market by the record industry is not homogeneous, and even in those instances where it appears to be more or less so, there are still considerable variations—the fifty different recordings made of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony will suffice as an example.

Even artists concede that as a result of teamwork the record is a quasi-work of art, or at least consider it as the medium *par excellence* for transmitting musical performances. Let us recall at this point Glenn Gould's remark, and at the same time call attention to the fact that conductors such as Georg Solti and Otto Klemperer do more and more of their work in the recording studio. It would almost look as though they return to the concert hall for the sole purpose of resolving the intellectual and emotional discords created by social criticism. Conditions of work and remuneration have made the recording studio attractive to the working musician and compensated for the lack of contact with a live audience—something which for Walter Benjamin was still a prerequisite for fruitful artistic activity.

The remaining points of departure for a discussion of mass culture as set forth by Lazarsfeld—namely, competing cultural needs, different uses of free time and fluctuations of the consumer market or purchasing power—are but little affected by the record. It is apparent that a different point of view is more than necessary here, but before it could be adopted a systematic study of the record and the record industry, theoretical as well as empirical, would have to be conducted.

V

Alphons Silbermann, in his work 'Schallplatte und Gesellschaft' (records and society) (1965), a kind of secondary analysis, based on his conception of the sociology of art, of existing 'leisure studies' and of previous investigations in the field of mass communication, is the first to have attempted to lay down the lines along which an analysis of the social functions of the record could be carried out. At the same time, in his theoretical explanations he aims at a convergence of consumer and cultural sociology. As regards the functions of the record in the domain of the human personality, Silbermann, with reference to Max Kaplan (1960), indicates that record

consumption, as an individual or collective experience, with symbolic significance, representing a value or being simply an incidental occurrence, can fulfil the functions of relaxation, recreation or cultural development.

Let us here introduce several other points of view from which theoretical and empirical sociological research on records and the record industry may profitably be conducted, thus filling the gaps in such research mentioned earlier.

1. It might be interesting to ascertain whether and how far records as well as books—since both provide material for the two mass media, radio and television—have contributed to a polarization of culture into what is known as élite and mass culture. From its beginnings, the record industry has produced and helped to diffuse both classical and popular music. It therefore remains to discover to what extent the broadcasting of music of varying aesthetic value has contributed to the élite and mass polarization of culture, or made people aware of such polarization and the problems therein involved. It would also be desirable in this connexion to see whether this process of polarization, at least as Talcott Parsons (1966) interprets it, although without of course dealing explicitly with the type of polarization we are discussing here, is an effective, or even a completely determining, factor in the creation, regulation and evolution of a society.

2. An additional task of theoretical interest would be to ascertain whether and to what extent recorded music, even though more or less faultlessly reproduced, leads to a kind of banishment from Utopia, that is, if and how far recorded music reduces cultural aspirations and produces symptoms of surfeit or even apathy. If this be so, we can, without further ado, speak of the dysfunctional effect of the record. Likewise, it would be perfectly correct to describe recorded music as 'music of the lonely crowd' (Sonstevold and Blaukopf, 1968).

3. Also of interest would be a study of the extent, if any, to which the record has led to a kind of cultural centralization, in other words has devitalized the various provinces of music.

4. In connexion with the recorded transmission of the musical work of art, the problem of the educational functions of recorded music should also be thoroughly investigated (Alt, 1959). It would seem particularly important here, in making a critical analysis, to take the traditionally conservative attitude of many educators into account.

5. Finally, a study of the motives for record consumption would also seem to be necessary. So many different assertions have been made in this respect that it is high time to determine if and how far, and through which personality traits, hedonistic proclivities predominate, or the desire for enhanced social status—in this case record collecting—would amount to a *potlatch*, or a predisposition to escapism, or finally the desire to flee social reality.

[*Translated from German*]

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On the nature of art publics

Bruce Watson

Although the sociology of the visual arts, taken as a whole, possesses a venerable tradition, research within the field has not been consistently fertile.[1] Largely European in origin, research has emphasized stylistic and value changes,[2] and psychoanalytic explorations into the role of the artist and the creative process.[3] Such concerns come close to, and even overlap, the territory of the art historian, thus frightening off many sociologists from this area of specialization. However, if research is re-oriented towards those social structures relevant to art, then sociologists do have both the training and perspective necessary for undertaking research in the sociology of art. One area which the sociologist is uniquely equipped to assess is that of the art public.[4]

The phrase 'art public' is used frequently in the singular in both the history and the sociology of art. Three different meanings have been attached to it. First, art public has been used in a singular and indefinite sense to refer to all those who come into contact with art in any way.[5] Often applied to discussions of nineteenth-century art, this is a viewpoint that dichotomizes society into the artist, on the one side, and *the* public, on the other—a public seen, more often that not, as antagonistic, unsympathetic and sometimes rude. The press is viewed as the mouthpiece of the public, providing it with critical clichés. The near-mob scenes at the

1. For an assessment of research needs see J. Barnett, 'The Sociology of Art', in: R. K. Merton *et al.* (eds.), *Sociology Today*, p. 197 ff., New York, Basic Books, 1959.
2. P. Sorokin, *Fluctuations of Art Forms*, Vol. I of *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, New York, American Books, 1937-41; A. Hauser, *The Social History of Art*, New York, Knopf, 1951, 2 vols.
3. A. Hauser, *Philosophy of Art History*, New York, Knopf, 1959, p. 41 ff. The greater number of contributions properly belong to the history of art. One of the most provocative is O. Benesch, *The Art of the Renaissance in Northern Europe*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1947.
4. This paper is an extension and revision of remarks which originally appeared in my study *Kunst, Künstler und soziale Kontrolle* (Art, artists and social control), p. 63-70, Cologne-Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1961.
5. See: S. Hunter, *Modern French Painting*, New York, Dell, 1956; and M. W. Smith, *The Artist in Tribal Society*, New York, Free Press, 1961, p. ix.

French Salon exhibits of the nineteenth century, illustrated in the humorous prints of Honoré Daumier, have lent an air of authenticity to this dichotomy. A second, and more sophisticated, notion of 'art public' was advanced by Andrew Carduff Ritchie.[1] He used the phrase to refer to those who are interested in, and collect the works of one particular artist. Thus, reference can be made to Matisse and *his* public, Picasso and *his* public, and so on. In this sense, the phrase 'art public' would be synonymous with a following. A third use has restricted the phrase to the aesthetic élites of society: artists, patrons, collectors, museum and gallery officials, and some critics.[2] This usage stems from the realization that there are many people in society who get along quite well without ever looking at a work of art. It restricts the meaning to those who are most continually and intimately involved in the processes of art, and often implies that the rest form an amorphous mass.

It is obvious that there has been no agreement regarding the use of the the phrase 'art public'. Each meaning attempts to describe a different aspect of the same form of behaviour. The first meaning, perhaps useful in describing a certain time and place in French art, is not necessarily applicable to an entire universe of study for it does not discriminate sufficiently between various types of responses and values. The second meaning is, perhaps, too restrictive. Although it is useful to pinpoint the following of any artist in order better to understand systems of patronage, purchasing, and the politics of museum and gallery showing, it is a viewpoint which does not adequately account for overlapping loyalties and the less committed among art viewers. The third viewpoint exaggerates one aspect of society to the exclusion of others, becoming an over-generalization.

The problem in this article, therefore, is to find a way through the terminological confusion. It is hoped that in doing so a heuristic spur will be provided with which a so-far reluctant body of sociologists may be urged into a most challenging area of research. It is also hoped that a reliable set of descriptive categories will be developed so that sociologists and art historians alike can more accurately assess the relationship between art, artists, and society.

The Armory Show

An empirical study of a contemporary art public is a rare undertaking. Therefore, as for the sociology of culture in general, this inquiry into the nature of an art public will rely upon historical data.

One of the most thoroughly documented events from which some meaningful generalizations can be drawn was the exhibition of late

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1. A. C. Ritchie, *Matisse, his Art and his Public*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1951. See also Read Bain's definition of an 'appreciate public' in: J. Gould and W. Kolb (eds.), *Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, New York, Free Press, 1964, p. 558.
2. Kenneth Clark, 'Art and Society', *Harper's*, Vol. 223, August 1961, p. 74-82. For further comment on the nature of aesthetic élites see Watson, op. cit., p. 57-63.

nineteenth- and early twentieth-century art held in 1913 in the armoury of the 69th Regiment of the New York National Guard. It is best known as the Armory Show,[1] and was promoted by a group of four American artists —Walt Kuhn, Elmer MacRae, Jerome Myers and Henry Taylor. Soon thereafter, the names of Arthur Davies and of the lawye ernd art collector John Quinn were to become prominent when the young artists organized themselves into the Association of American Painters and Sculptors.

What made the Armory Show historically significant is that it was the first time that contemporary European painting was exhibited in America. Although the purpose of the exhibition was to bring contemporary American art to the attention of America and although a historical perspective was given by including works of Ingres, Delacroix, Goya, Courbet and the Impressionists, these came out second-best. Attention was chiefly attracted by Cézanne, Matisse, Picasso, Picabia and the Duchamps-Villon family.

The show opened with a preview for the press on Sunday evening, 16 February, which was attended by approximately 1,000 people. A reception was held the next evening with about 5,000 in attendance.[2] When the show closed a month later on 15 March, the estimated total attendance was 87,620.[3] It was, as the numbers suggest, a heterogeneous collection of viewers. Walter Kuhn wrote, 'Actors, musicians, butlers, and shop girls . . . the exquisite, the vulgar from all walks of life' came to see the exhibition.[4] The Armory Show became a fashionable place for the socially prominent to be seen. Enrico Caruso drew caricatures of the paintings and gave them away to his admirers. School teachers brought their classes. Art students came to study the new movements. Prostitutes and procurers came to see the 'dirty pictures'.[5] What is usually remembered about the Armory Show is the condemnation heaped upon it. Three forms of negative response can be distinguished.

The first major negative response was a simple aesthetic argument : the paintings and sculpture were bad art, or, worse, not art at all. Knoedler's gallery in New York refused to advertise the exhibition because it was felt that radical tendencies in art were being fostered. The critic, Royal Cortissoz, writing in various periodicals of the time, was the unofficial leader of negative opinion. He considered Cézanne a sincere amateur who did not know his trade. He thought Van Gogh to be moderately competent but heavy-handed, with the result that much canvas had been spoiled

1. The most comprehensive work on the Armory Show is M. W. Brown, *The Story of the Armory Show*, New York, Hirshhorn Foundation, 1963. This contains a complete bibliography. See also Russell Lynes, *The Tastemakers*, New York, Harper, 1955, chapter 12; and O. W. Larkin, *Art and Life in America*, New York, Rinehart, 1949, chapter 28.
2. Brown, op. cit., p. 95.
3. loc. cit. Lynes, op. cit., p. 207, gives a figure of 100,000; however, he did not have at his disposal the papers of Elmer MacRae, who acted as treasurer; these were only found in 1957.
4. Quoted in Lynes, op. cit., p. 206.
5. When the show was sent to Chicago it was subjected to an inquiry by the Illinois State Vice Commission. Apparently nothing came of this, but it added to an already inflamed situation (ibid., p. 219).

with unimportant pictures. Another critic, Kenyon Cox, saw in the paint-
ings of Cézanne the work of a hopeless incompetent. In Henri Rousseau
he found an inept innocence. The anatomical distortions, the vivid colours,
and the abstraction of it all was anathema to those weaned on American
academic art.

The second, and most damaging, response to the exhibition was one of
humour. Many of those who came to the exhibition found it only a huge
joke. Julian Street, writing in *Everybody's*, a popular magazine of the period,
described Marcel Duchamps' 'Nude Descending a Staircase' as 'an
explosion in a shingle factory', an oft-quoted comment which set the tone for
this type of criticism. Brancusi's 'Mlle Pogany' was viewed by another
critic as a hard-boiled egg balanced on a cube of sugar. Various mock
exhibitions were held, such as the one for the benefit of the Lighthouse of
the New York Association for the Blind at which a first prize was given
to a painting by a girl 10 years old. The jury of another mock exhibition gave
a prize to a painting allegedly done by a chimpanzee. Americans lampooned
what they did not understand.[1]

The third major response to the Armory Show was one of moral indig-
nation. The nudes of Gauguin and of Matisse were considered grotesque
and indecent. A minor American poet, Mrs. Carey Sheffield, was quoted as
saying that the show was a menace to morals, a degrading, degenerate,
and evil influence composed out of the excrescence of art.[2] The critic
Kenyon Cox saw in the exhibition a call to anarchy and called down upon
it this most bitter criticism: it was thoroughly un-American.

What is sometimes forgotten about the Armory Show is that, despite the
avalanche of adverse criticism and the controversy generated by it, there
were those critics who found much that was good. However, as Milton
Brown has so well pointed out, the essential merit of the exhibition was
rooted in philosophical, rather than aesthetic reasoning.[3] The natural,
and even biological, evolution of art was stressed. Thus, the sweep of
nineteenth-century painting was seen to be but a natural predecessor to
Matisse and the Cubists.

A more traditional defence, one perhaps calculated to meet counter-
charges that the show was un-American, was made in the name of indivi-
dualism. Alfred Stieglitz, writing in the *Sunday Times* (New York) of 26
January, captured the essence of the argument when he wrote, 'Individual
independence, both in expression and in acceptance or rejection of whatever
is expressed—that is the first principle of those who are trying to inject
some life into the decaying corpse of art.'[4] Individualism was thereby
equated with creativity and artistic genius.

Even the maniacal tendencies seen in the exhibition by those opposed to
it were used in defence of the show. The critic Christopher Brinton saw an

1. For these and other negative comments about the exhibit see Brown, op. cit., chapter 7.
2. ibid., p. 138.
3. ibid., p. 156 ff.
4. ibid., p. 152.

elemental savagery, an optical music, and an emotional mathematics that reflected the subjective experiences and feelings of the artists. Joel Springarn, of Columbia University, found a further triumph of an intellectual revolution through which the artists had 'the courage to express themselves without equivocating with their souls'.[1]

Whether or not such positive commentary had any effect is difficult to assess. It is a fact, none the less, that those who organized the show considered it to be an enormous success. Not only did thousands of people come to see the exhibition, but sales were brisk. Total sales amounted to $44,148.75,[2] the works of Odilon Redon selling best. Thirteen paintings and pastels and twenty of his prints were sold. Paradoxically, in view of the criticism they received, the members of the Duchamps-Villon family also sold well. Raymond Duchamps-Villon sold all but one of his sculptures, Jacques Villon sold all nine of his paintings, and Marcel Duchamps sold all four of his, including 'Nude Descending a Staircase', which was purchased unseen by a collector in San Francisco for $324.

The consensus about the effects of the Armory Show is that, despite the cries of insanity and degeneracy, the exhibition profoundly changed American attitudes to art. Certainly, the show brought modern art to America and, in the long run, helped form the core of many fine collections, such as that of Lillie Bliss who contributed much to the New York Museum of Modern Art.

The nature of art publics

The word public may be defined as 'an amorphous social structure whose members share a community-of-interest, which has been produced by impersonal communication and contact. . . . They are not groups but they are more structured than those who may be placed together in an aggregate. When the members of a public meet each other or communicate in writing or by telephone, they have a "fellow-feeling" and "talk each other's language". This is what makes them a social structure, though obviously a very amorphous one, rather than a logical category or term in a classification'.[3]

A public, then, is a more-or-less informal type of structure. In contrast to more highly organized groups, a public, to use Karl Mannheim's terminology, is diffuse.[4] Through the Armory Show three factors can be examined which contribute to the diffuse or amorphous character of art publics.

1. Quoted in Brown, op. cit., p. 156.
2. ibid., p. 97.
3. Read Bain, op. cit., p. 558.
4. *Systematic Sociology*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957, p. 107. See also R. H. Turner and L. M. Killian, *Collective Behavior*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1957, chapters 12 and 13.

1. One factor, as noted, which contributes to the formation of a public is impersonal communication. This does not mean that face-to-face contact is totally absent. It does imply that opinions, sentiments and beliefs may be conveyed by media of communication to which people have little or no direct access except as consumers. This is exemplified in the arena of politics in which the various mass media of communication function to disseminate information and mould opinion. A work of art is an exaggeration of this principle. A painting or a sculpture is a silent third party to the act of communication. Thus, the viewers must first attempt to interact with the work, not with the artist, then with one another.

This situation allows for a variety of possibilities. The work may be so esoteric that no one understands it. The work may be understood by some and not by others. Or, the work may communicate to everyone who sees it. In this last instance, the work can be said to be exoteric. Thus, a range of responses to the work of art is possible, extending from the naïve (viewing the work, often dogmatically, as if it were an object elevated to the perceptual level) to the informed or disciplined (viewing the work as a special kind of creation and from the standpoint of the principles and elements of composition). The range of responses implied by the dichotomy strongly suggests that communication may not be present between the viewer and the art work, much less the artist. Certainly this occurred in the Armory Show as illustrated by the ill-intentioned humour directed against it and in the more abstruse commentary in favour of it. Moreover, if someone has difficulty in understanding a work of art then there is a possibility that communication between viewers may be impeded. It is true that viewers in a similar situation may share a common response, such as humour or rage or consternation, but such common experience does not result in any better understanding of the work that stimulated those responses. Furthermore, communication may be impeded by the viewers' falling into the fallacy of intention. Rather than reading meaning from the symbolic content of the work, the viewer projects upon the work, and, by implication, upon the artist, his own feelings and thoughts. Thus, what is communicated between viewers is not the content of the art work but their own often unconscious, mental states. That this is mistaken for the content of the work leads to confusion because of the variability of responses possible in this situation.

Finally, another factor which may impede communication is that, in art publics, as in other areas of life, there is no necessary relationship between the overt response and the covert feeling. There is no reason to believe that those collectors who purchased so much from the Armory Show had any better understanding of the works, *per se*, than those who came to jeer and sneer. As noted, 'Nude Descending a Staircase' was purchased unseen. Thus, the tasteless humour, on the one side, and the glib pseudo-intellectual explanations of a work, on the other, may be no more than superficial veneers disguising feelings that are difficult, if not impossible to articulate.

2. Art publics are initially heterogeneous and unselected in composition.[1]
Those who participate in such a public do so because they believe that such
participation will provide them with the means of attaining the kinds of
values or satisfactions they desire. Therefore, some who attended the
Armory Show may have done so out of a certain aesthetic desire to become
acquainted with new movements in European art, as in the case of the
collectors and the more positive critics. It is just as possible that many more
attended the exhibition out of a desire to satisfy recreational needs. Thus,
the show became a place in which to be entertained. Others found in the
show a means to enhance their social prestige as attendance became 'the
right thing to do' and the Armory the 'right place to be seen'. It can be
said, then, that a variety of motives lie behind participation in art publics.

Whatever motivations may induce participation in art publics, mem-
bership, in general, is unselective. One merely has to pay a small fee at
special exhibitions, such as the Armory Show, or walk through the doors
of a public museum or gallery. Today, in the United States, attendance
records indicate that approximately sixty million people annually visit
museums. Free community art festivals further increase the number of
participants.

Although general membership is unselective, the quality of participation
engaged in by the members begins to establish differentiations. This, to a
large measure, is related to the kinds of values which inspired participation
in the first place. It would appear that what begins as a heterogeneous
collectivity is soon divided into various kinds of publics. Beyond the bond of
satisfaction, there appears to have been little or no relationship between
those who attended the Armory Show simply as an entertainment and
those who came to study or collect.

3. The lack of communication between viewers, as a whole, and the
heterogeneous nature of the composition of art publics leads to another
element that contributes to diffusiveness. Art publics do not represent one
'community of interest' but, instead a number of such 'communities'.
Both the 'fellow-feeling' and the 'talking each other's language' that Bain
indicated as necessary to the creation of the rather amorphous structure of
a public are generally absent.

Three factors impede the development of a general community of interest.
First, by the nature of their composition, art publics do not allow for a
fluent expression and counter-expression of sentiments, attitudes, and
opinions. As Louis Wirth once noted, it is a fluent communication process
that aids in the creation of the 'We' feeling that, in turn, allows a number
of persons to act as a unit.[2] But the over-all level of interaction in art publics
is simply too diffuse for a general sense of community to develop. Second,
if a sentiment, an attitude, or an opinion is expressed, there is no way of

1. See R. T. La Piere, *Collective Behavior*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1938, p. 276.
2. Louis Wirth, 'Consensus and Mass Communication', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 13,
   February 1948, p. 1-15.

ascertaining whether the overt expression is a direct reflection of a covert feeling. It is possible, therefore, that many of those who laughed at the paintings at the Armory Show did so simply because others were doing so. It is also within the realm of possibility that among those viewers who expressed a favourable response some did so simply because they wished to display more knowledge than they actually possessed. Hence, any response to a work of art may, in principle, be a disguise for bewilderment or essential ignorance. The third factor impeding the development of an embracing community of interest is the nature of the art object. It is a single artefact, often displayed among a large number of similar artefacts. This raises the question of whether a viewer's response is to a general category of works or to a particular work within the category. Were those shocked by the display of Matisse paintings at the Armory Show repelled by a confrontation with a gallery filled with colours they had seen, or was it a response to each successive work, or was the experience of one painting extended to the whole collection? There is, as yet, no certain measure of this. Nor is the purchase of any particular work a measure of fellow-feeling. Whereas a book public may manifest such feeling through sales and library circulation, the sale of a work of art indicates nothing except that someone was willing to pay the price. Of course, people may read a book for a variety of reasons: information, entertainment, or because others are reading it. Similar motivations may be behind the purchase of a painting, yet purchasing a painting is still an individual, rather than a collective, act.

An over-all community of interest amongst those attending an exhibition seems to be improbable. Yet, as the visitors differentiate themselves into various levels of publics, as suggested above, the problem of 'community' assumes a new dimension. The following proposition can be advanced: a lack of community will be characteristic of an art public the interaction of which is of secondary character, but a community of interest may be attained in an art public whose interaction is primary in character. Thus, among those who attend an exhibition for purely recreational purposes, there is little probability that unanimity of opinion will be obtained. In contrast, among those who are themselves artists, patrons or collectors, there is a distinct possibility that a fellow-feeling may develop as a consequence of the more intimate and frequent interaction between such persons.

The typology

In the description of the Armory Show it was indicated that critical positions towards the exhibition could be divided into the negative and the positive. In the discussion of the diffuse nature of art publics, it was implied that a variety of values motivated attendance at the exhibition. The critical positions may be viewed as a dichotomy of attitudes in the sense that they represent internally aroused, but socially acquired, predispositions of an individual towards class of objects. Such predispositions usually generate

some form of action which, in the case of art publics, takes the form of verbal gestures. Values differ in relation to the kind of activities pursued by those who attend an exhibition. Those who formed the committee which created the Armory Show and certain collectors and critics viewed the art as an end in itself. The values held by such persons could be described, therefore, as intrinsic in nature. In contrast, there were those who attended the exhibition as a means of attaining values that had nothing to do with art as such. Such values would be extrinsic in nature and exemplified, for instance, by recreational aims. It is also possible for persons to participate in an art public with a dualism of values. Thus, an intrinsic-extrinsic category of values is possible. This is exemplified by persons who attend an exhibition as a means of attaining educational values but, at the same time, are capable of developing a deep commitment to art. The categories of attitudes and values provide a basis distinguishing between six types of art publics (Table 1).

TABLE 1. A typology of art publics

Value dimension	Attitude dimension	
	Positive	Negative
Intrinsic	Art-for-art's-sake	Pseudo-critical
Intrinsic-extrinsic	Educational	Didactic
Extrinsic	Recreational	Status-seekers

This typology is at some variance with the kinds of publics discussed by Bernard Rosenberg and Norris Fliegel.[1] They list four types of publics: friends; buyers and collectors; viewers; and critics.[2] As with the typology presented herein, the Rosenberg and Fliegel list of publics is suggestive. However, it does raise certain difficulties in relationship to any further analysis of the connexion between artists and their publics. Perhaps the greatest difficulty is that it does not discriminate enough within and between the various categories. For example, critics are discussed as a single type; yet it appears from the evidence of the Armory Show that a more careful distinction must be made between those who give support to the artists' endeavours and those who are characteristically critical of almost any innovation in the arts. Essentially the same criticism can be made of the buyer and collector category. Obviously, from the evidence Rosenberg and Fliegel present, there are buyers and collectors who are motivated by different attitudes to art: some are genuine connoisseurs; others are merely interested in prestige or the investment potential of art. A second problem of the Rosenberg and Fliegel categories is that they are based on the

1. *The Vanguard Artist*, Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1965, chapter 6.
2. This list bears a similarity to the relationships between authors and society described by H. D. Duncan. See *Language and Literature in Society*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, p. 68-74. See also Watson, op. cit., chapter 6.

perceptions of artists. This approach is valuable if interest is focused on the artists' observations of society and its sub-structures; on the other hand, artists may not be definitive enough in their observations to make accurate assessments of the nature of their publics. There may be distinctions that elude them. For example, museums and dealers are not considered as elements of an artist's public.[1]

It will be seen in the following interpretation of the typology presented in Table 1 that there are a few areas of agreement with the Rosenberg and Fliegel categories. However, as implied, more distinctions are made within and between categories.

1. Intrinsic value—positive attitude. This category may be described as an art-for-art's-sake public. It somewhat parallels the category of 'friends' discussed by Rosenberg and Fliegel, but is broader in membership than they indicate.[2] Composed of artists, collectors, patrons, and connoisseurs, this public is closest to the creative act. Frequently well-known to each other within a given community, as was the case with those associated with the Armory Show, and today known to one another internationally, this public has the most intimate pattern of interaction of all. It is an intimacy born of a high degree of commitment to art; indeed, for many, it is a way of life. It is in this sense that one might agree with Kenneth Clark that art is created by a minority for a minority.[3] As is well known, the greater part of the history of art has been characterized by a very close relationship between painters and their patrons. In contemporary society, as the artist has freed himself from the traditional bonds of patronage, the somewhat romantic assumption has been made that he is somehow a free spirit. What has happened is that the artist now finds himself to be another participant in the market system. One artist interviewed by Rosenberg and Fliegel exemplified this point when he said that it was immaterial who bought his paintings—it was just another anonymous person.[4] Within this market system, the contact by the artist with galleries, museums, collectors, agents, and other artists who may foster such contacts becomes both artistically desirable and economically necessary since these are the persons who foster artists, purchase their works, and enhance reputations. Nevertheless, these concerns are organized around and oriented towards art as a means of advancing the artistic enterprise.

2. Extrinsic value—positive attitude. This category is represented by what can be termed the recreational art public. Its origins are found in pleasurable pastime activities. Such activity is not an end in itself but is a means of establishing or maintaining congenial relationship, such as those among a

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1. Rosenberg and Fliegel, op. cit., chapter 7.
2. ibid., p. 193-4.
3. Clark, op. cit., p. 75.
4. op. cit., p. 197. See also B. S. Myers, *Problems of the Younger American Artist*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1957.

group of friends or within a family. That visiting an art exhibition is a means
of satisfying such ends is often fortuitous: a science museum, an aquarium,
or the cinema might equally have been chosen. The factor of chance
contributes to the conditions that make this public the most diffuse of
all, and the least likely to achieve among its general membership a sense of
fellow-feeling. There is no need to articulate covert feelings nor is there a
need to appear articulate about the art works. Indeed, visiting an exhi-
bition may result in members of this public looking at many works but
seeing very few. Visits are simply a means of using time in a socially ap-
proved manner. Another factor contributing to the diffuse nature of recrea-
tional art publics is size. It seems plausible, based on the numbers attending,
to assume that most viewers at the Armory Show belonged to this category
of art public. Thus, the size and transient nature of their contact would
diminish the possibility of more intimate forms of interaction and commu-
nication.

The recreational art public most parallels what Rosenberg and Fliegel
simply term 'viewers', but they include under that rubric literally everyone
not in their other three categories.[1] This is too inclusive, for the term
'viewers' does not distinguish between varying motivations for exhibition
attendance. This is demonstrated in the analysis of the next type.

3. Intrinsic-extrinsic value—positive attitude. This form is typified by
those interested in the educational aspects of art. Such persons are included
by Rosenberg and Fleigel in the 'viewer' category. Although a similarity
exists with respect to attitudes, between the recreational art public and
what might be termed the educational art public, their value orientations
are somewhat different. Thus, some of those who visited the Armory Show
came neither to scoff nor praise but to study and learn; hence, art for these
persons was a means of attaining an educational goal but, at the same time,
this did not preclude developing a high degree of commitment to art.

Membership in the educational art public often results from some pre-
existing association. College and university art classes as well as classes of
schoolchildren are often members of this type of public simply by virtue
of their membership in an educational institution. Sometimes membership
in the educational art public is stimulated by museums. Educational
lectures are frequently offered in conjunction with current exhibitions.
Some museums offer regular classes in studio work, art appreciation, and
elementary art history. It is at this point that some anomalous features of
the educational art public appear. Membership may be a disguise for other
values and attitudes. It is possible that formal study of the history or appre-
ciation of art or of studio work are a means of achieving recreational
satisfactions. Also, there are persons who would prefer to belong to the
aesthetic élite yet, in order to avoid being labelled snobs, associate them-
selves with educational art publics. Again a disguise is put up behind which

1. op. cit., p. 203 ff.

other values can be satisfied. In any case, the patterns of interaction and the bonds of feeling that may emerge from them are, in educational art publics, less a consequence of involvement with art and more a result of interactions established in the pre-existing association.

4. Intrinsic value—negative attitude. Throughout the nineteenth century in Europe, and especially in France, this category of art public would have been disciples of 'the Academy'. Conservative in their opinions, art for them was that which conformed to preconceived standards of taste. It was against this public that many French artists from Courbet to Gauguin reacted. In the United States, at the time of the Armory Show, there was no formal academy of nation-wide reputation to preach a gospel of conservatism. Rather, there were individual critics, such as Royal Cortissoz, who expounded a similar aesthetic philosophy. Realistic drawing, historical and allegorical subjects, and precise brushwork were among the distinguishing features supposed to make great art—in short, art was supposed to be an imitation of nature. Such a position is viewed in this typology as pseudo-critical. It has an intrinsic value stemming from a high degree of commitment to a particular kind of art.[1] It is accompanied by a negative attitude, however, because any work that deviates from this mode of art is considered to be bad art or not art at all. Such a public is far from being a relic of the past. It is exemplified in the United States, at least, by numerous associations of artists and would-be artists, such as the Association of Western Artists, who regularly denounce any innovations in art. The falsity of their critical position lies in their refusal or inability to understand the nature of artistic experimentation, and their misreading of the history of art, in as far as they consider themselves to be the inheritors of the classical standards of Greece, seventeenth-century France, and the neo-classical tradition.

Because of the intense emotional appeal of their criticism, utilizing as in the case of the Armory Show such expressive language as 'degenerate', 'corrupt', and 'un-American', members of this public may develop a fellow-feeling second only to that of the art-for-art's-sake public. Again, the category 'critics' used by Rosenberg and Fleigel seems over-simplified.[2] Thus, a modern critic such as Clement Greenberg, one of the earliest and staunchest defenders of Jackson Pollock and abstract-expressionism, can hardly be placed in the same category as the members of the pseudo-critical public.[3]

1. Essentially the same critical position has been taken on occasion with respect to the contemporary architect. See Lucio Costa, 'The Architect in Contemporary Society', in: International Conference of Artists, 1952, *The Artist in Modern Society*, Paris, Unesco, 1954, p. 90.
2. op. cit., p. 208 ff.
3. It should be noted that accusations have been made as often that contemporary, non-objective art is becoming cliché-ridden, repetitious, and supported by a conspiracy of critics whose manoeuvrings are as devious as those of the academies of the past. For an assessment of the situation see E. C. Baker, 'Is There a New Academy?' in: T. B. Hess and J. Ashbery (eds.), *The Academy, Art News Annual XXXIII*, p. 141-8, New York, Macmillan, 1967.

5. Extrinsic value—negative attitude. The interest in art as far as this public is concerned is patently a disguise for attaining values that have nothing to do with art. Members may seek to associate with artists and may even collect their works; yet neither the artists nor their works are in fact the ends pursued. It is, instead, the feeling of status that they feel can be gained from such associations and activities and for this reason, such people are called 'status-seekers'. The negativism of this public is derived from their lack of commitment to art: their concern is to be among the *avant garde* of taste. In consequence, there is a perpetual need to change artistic loyalties as new artists and new art movements manifest themselves. It is this public which, perhaps, is responsible for the negative feelings towards buyers expressed by those artists interviewed by Rosenberg and Fliegel.[1] 'Today's collector', said one artist, 'is engaged in self-uplift; he can't live without it.'[2] As John Canaday put it, such buyers, searching for instant culture, find gratification in 'the pseudo-esoteric item for general prestige consumption'.[3]

6. Intrinsic-extrinsic values—negative attitude. The last category is exemplified by the quotation from Mrs. Sheffield who found the Armory Show to be a threat to morals. Her reaction was, of course, negative, and it was widely shared at the time, even among sociologists. E. A. Ross, several years earlier, had written that art should be a beacon light of moral progress and condemned what he considered to be decadent movements of self-expression created by ego-maniacs.[4] This attitude is still occasionally expressed. For example, in 1953, in Dubuque, Iowa, *The Pocket Book of Old Masters* was seized from bookstands as obscene and offensive to public morality because of the paintings of nudes reproduced in it.[5] The negative attitudes expressed by the members of this art public are a reflection of their belief that art should portray only certain kinds of subjects. Because of their commitment to this particular kind of art, their values can be considered intrinsic to a degree and supportive of the endeavours of the pseudo-critical art public. However, that commitment is intensified by the extrinsic value that art is a means of attaining a higher morality. For this reason the term didactic is applied to this form of art public.

Conclusion

A number of concepts pertinent to the analysis of art publics have been discussed. These are of value in understanding historical situations, but the question remains whether or not they can be made operational for the

1. op. cit., p. 194 ff.
2. ibid., p. 200.
3. Quoted in Rosenberg and Fliegel, op. cit., p. 200.
4. 'Social Control, VII: Art', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, July 1897, p. 74.
5. David Dempsey, 'The Revolution in Books', *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. CXCI, January 1953, p. 76.

analysis of contemporary situations. To that end the typology that is offered must be considered suggestive. Thus, viewed as a heuristic device, the typology may be helpful in formulating hypotheses, as the following preliminary conceptualizations suggest.

There is no direct relationship between value and attitude orientations and the sense of community of interest felt by members of art publics.

The sense of community of interest will be greater within those art publics whose members develop a high degree of commitment to art, irrespective of value and attitude orientations.

The greater the sense of community and commitment to art, the greater will be the possibility of a more formal organization emerging from the amorphous structure of the public.

There is not necessarily any relationship between satisfaction of goals and the value and attitude orientations of art publics.

If a public emerges for the satisfaction of immediate goals, such as recreation, the degree of fellow-feeling felt by its members will be very low.

However helpful these conceptualizations may prove to be, one point does seem certain. The use of the phrase 'the art public' is an oversimplification that has little bearing upon social reality. This conclusion is significant for two reasons. The first is substantive. If the notion of a single art public is incorrect, then the assumptions based thereon of the relationship between art, artists, and society are also incorrect or, at least, open to question. What is needed to correct the situation are more empirical studies, as noted above, such as have already been done on the sociology of literature.[1] The second point of significance is theoretical. The sociology of the visual arts has been dominated by a rather organic view of art and society. Literature in the field has typically discussed *the* public and *the* artist when we want to know about *a* public and *an* artist.[2] This is a consequence of the imposition upon the subject-matter of general theoretical schemes which, in expounding their generalities, purport to explain particulars.[3] The result is an illusion of verification of the theoretical schema with no greater insight into the subject. It is no longer an adequate approach.

1. For example, see Leo Lowenthal, *Literature, Popular Culture, and Society*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1961.
2. See page 667 of the present paper, notes 2 and 3. The work of A. C. Ritchie, op. cit., was a step in the direction of a greater empiricism, as is the recent volume by Harrison White and Cynthia White, *Canvasses and Careers*, New York, John Wiley, 1965.
3. For a complete discussion of this issue see John Dewey, *Reconstruction in Philosophy*, New York, Henry Holt, 1920, chapter VIII.

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The world
of the social sciences

Research and training centres and professional bodies [1]

Contributions to this section are invited. Statements not exceeding 1,500 words should be submitted in two double-spaced typewritten copies, in English, French, Spanish, Russian, German or Italian. Particular emphasis on current or planned research activities is desirable.

New institutions and changes of name and address

New institutions

International
  Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, Florida 142, Buenos Aires.
  United Nations Social Defence Research Institute, Via Giulia, 52, 00186 Rome.
Italy
  Associazione degli Africanisti Italiani, Istituto di Storia ed Istituzioni dei Paesi Afroasiatici, Università di Pavia, Palazzo Centrale dell'Università, Via Strada Nuova, 65, 27100 Pavia.
  Centro di Studio e di Documentazione Sul Vietnam ed il Terzo Mondo, Via B. Barbiellini Amidei, 00168 Rome.
  Comitato per le Scienze Politiche e Sociali (Co.S.Po.S.), Via Mazzini, 88, 00195 Rome.
  Movimento Sviluppo e Pace, Via Magenta, 12 bis, 10123 Turin.
  Istituto di Scienza Politica, Facoltà di Scienze Politiche 'Cesare Alfieri', Università degli Studi, Piazza San Marco 4, Florence.
  Istituto Superiore di Sociologia, Società Umanitaria, Via Daverio, 1, 20122 Milan.
  Istituto Superiore di Studi Economici 'Adriano Olivetti', Facoltà di Economia e Commercio, Università di Urbano, Palazzo degli Anziani, 60100 Ancona.
Jamaica
  African Studies Association, University of the West Indies, Mona, Kingston 7.

1. For cumulative index to this section, see Vol. XVI (1964), No. 1, p. 117.

Togo
    Centre d'Études et de Recherches de Kara (CERK), Piya, par Lama-Kara, or:
    Assih N'Djame, 12, rue R. Verlomme, 75 Paris-3ᵉ, France.
United States of America
    Center for Comparative Studies in Technological Development and Social
    Change, International Programs, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minne-
    sota 55455.
    Center for Haitian Studies, Research Institute for the Study of Man, 162 East
    78th Street, New York, N.Y. 10021.
    Center for Science and the Future of Human Affairs, State University of New
    York, 8 Thurlow Terrace, Albany, New York 122201.
    Research Center for the Language Sciences, Indiana University, Patton House,
    516 East Sixth Street, Bloomington, Indiana 47401.

Changes of name and address

International
    Institut International de Droit d'Expression Française (IDEF), 28, rue Saint-
    Guillaume, B.P. 26/07, 75 Paris-7ᵉ (France).
    [Formerly: Institut International de Droit des Pays d'Expression Francaise.]
    Sociedad Interamericana de Psicología (SIP)/The Interamerican Society of
    Psychology, 1801 Lavaca, Suite 11 E, Austin, Texas 78701 (U.S.A.).
    [Formerly: 2104 Meadowbrook Drive, Austin, Texas 78703 (U.S.A.).]
    War Resisters' International/Internationale de Résistants à la Guerre, 3 Caledo-
    nian Road, London N.1 (United Kingdom).
    [Formerly: Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Anfield, Middlesex (United
    Kingdom).]
India
    Indian School of International Studies, 35 Ferozeshah Road, New Delhi 1.
    [Formerly: Sapru House, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi 2.]
Italy
    Istituto Servizio Sociale Case per Lavoratori (ISSCAL), Via C. Celso N. 6,
    00161 Rome.
Netherlands
    Vereniging voor Staathuishoudkunde, p/a De Nederlandsche Bank N.V., West-
    einde 1, Amsterdam.
    [Formerly: p/a Oude Turf markt 127-129, Amsterdam.]
Uganda
    Makerere Institute of Social Research, Makerere University College, University
    of East Africa, P.O. Box 16032, Kampala.
    [Formerly: East African Institute of Social Research.]

Hungary

Centre for Afro-Asian Research
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

IX. Dimitrov tér 8, Budapest

The Centre for Afro-Asian Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was established in mid-1963, under the direction of Professor József Bognár, as an autonomous organization in order to bring together Hungarian researchers—in the first instance, economists interested in the analysis of the problems of the third world, particularly those of Asia and Africa. Professor Bognár is supported by the following: Mrs. Elizabeth Hosszu, as deputy director, and Messrs. Peter Mandí and Egón Kemenes as directors of research. The total staff numbers five administrative, seven scientific and around fifty external research workers.

The centre is concerned with the growth problems of the economy of the developing countries, more particularly of the African and Asian countries. Its work embraces questions connected with the conditions of economic growth, the subject and methods of planning, economic policy, international trade and generally the current economic problems of the developing countries as well as their relations with the socialist countries, and more specifically with Hungary.

In pursuing its objectives the centre distinguishes two types of activities and is organized on that basis. On the one hand, its scientific staff carries out independent research work which centres on problems connected with economic growth. On the other, with the participation of outside workers (partly the members of the Working Group of African Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences), it performs the role of initiator, organizer, co-ordinator and publisher where non-economic researches on the developing countries are concerned.

The Hungarian Centre for Afro-Asian Research maintains working contacts with similar institutions in all socialist countries and has worked out a suitable division of research work with the latter. It also has contacts with the institutions dealing with such problems in several advanced countries. These contacts are maintained through conferences, personal visits and study tours, all of which provide opportunities to exchange experiences. The director of the centre regularly participates in the most important conferences on subjects pertaining to developing countries and has lectured on the related problems not only in the countries concerned but also in several European capitals. The research workers of the centre have given lectures and outlined the results of the centre's research activities—partly at scientific conferences and partly on the occasion of personal visits—in Moscow, Prague, Berlin, Leipzig and Paris.

The research work carried out by the centre is backed by extensive information and documentation contained in the library and archives of the institution. The centre has established direct contacts with the statistical and economic institutions of most developing countries and regularly receives their publications.

The rich documentation enables the centre to offer advisory and information services to the great variety of institutions which contact it. The centre takes part in preparing and instructing the specialists to be sent to the developing countries on the basis of bilateral and multilateral agreements as well as in giving scientific support to the relations formed between Hungary and the developing countries. It produces a series of publications containing the main results of its research work.

Italy

Istituto di Studi e Ricerche Carlo Cattaneo

Via Santo Stefano, 6, Bologna

ORIGIN AND PURPOSE

The Carlo Cattaneo Institute is a non-profit organization created for the purpose of conducting research in the political and social sciences, with particular regard to problems that significantly affect the development of democracy and civil society in Italy.

The institute had its origin in a political and cultural association named after Carlo Cattaneo, and was established by law in Bologna in September 1956 by the editors of the magazine *Il Mulino*. Its objective was to assemble the groups and study committees which had come to constitute an auxiliary staff of *Il Mulino's* editorial office for conducting research into problems singled out as crucial for the development of the social life of the country, or problems which *Il Mulino's* editors considered as having particular importance in the cultural and political spheres.

Between 1956 and 1964 the association either directly or through its committees promoted studies and research on the prospects for full employment in several small communities, on electoral behaviour, on political propaganda and political participation in general in Italy, on the problems of Italian schools and universities, on the prospect of realizing a system of social security in Italy, on ethnic prejudice in the country and on the attitude of the lay press in comparison with that of the Church in the post-war period.

In January 1965, the association was reorganized in order to realize more fully the purposes for which it had been created. It was transformed into a full-fledged institute for study and research, and with its new organizational structure it continues to carry on the type of work undertaken during the previous eight years of its existence.

On the basis of this reorganization, the institute at present:

1. Conducts research in areas which its sponsors consider particularly important for contemporary Italian social, political, and cultural conditions. Within these areas it also carries out research commissioned by other organizations and institutions.
2. Assists researchers and scholars in the research activities of the institute by arranging discussions, seminars, and courses of lectures.
3. Promotes meetings, debates, and conferences designed to interest a wide public in the activities of the institute and thus to exercise a more enlightened influence on the formation of public opinion.

Financial support for these activities come from public or private organizations, both Italian and foreign. The institute itself has a small nucleus of permanent researchers, to which is added a large number of grant-supported scholars and foreign collaborators who are engaged in individual research. Moreover, the institute aids Italian and foreign scholars who are engaged in their own personal research projects.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The institute is administered by a Board of Directors, appointed annually by the political and cultural association of 'Il Mulino' (in which the *Il Mulino* group is

institutionally organized). The Board of Directors has an Executive Committee which consists of a president, secretary-general, treasurer, and auditor. The president represents the institute legally and is responsible for the implementation of its programmes. The secretary-general directly supervises the execution of the programmes as well as the general administration of the institute. In carrying out his duties, the secretary-general may call upon other technically qualified persons, and together these officials constitute the secretariat of the institute. The auditor has charge of the bookkeeping, and reports on finances to the Board of Directors.

The Board of Directors is presently composed of Giovanni Evangelisti, Giorgio Galli, Giuseppe Federico Mancini, Nicola Matteucci, Luigi Pedrazzi, Alfonso Prandi, and Gerardo Santini. The president of the institute is Nicola Matteucci. The secretary is Giovanni Evangelisti, and the treasurer, Luigi Pedrazzi.

The secretariat of the institute is composed of Giovanni Evangelisti, Marzio Barbagli, and Paola de Vito Piscicelli.

RESEARCH FACILITIES

The institute has its own offices, a periodicals library (which receives more than 800 Italian and foreign periodicals), and a specialized library in the field of the social and political sciences. In addition, it has archives containing all the documentation collected in the course of its earlier research projects, and extensive documentation on the development of the social sciences in Italy.

PUBLICATIONS

The results of the research projects conducted by the institute are published in book form by the Il Mulino Publishing House. Periodically, the institute publishes its *Quaderni*, which include contributions from scholars working both in and out of the institute on themes emphasized by the programme of the institute. Its researchers collaborate in the editorial work of the *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia* (Italian sociological review).

Spain

Instituto de Estudios Laborales

Avda. de la Victoria, 60-62, Barcelona-17

The establishment of the Instituto de Estudios Laborales came as a result of a realization of the position that the study of social problems, more particularly labour problems, occupies in the amelioration of Spanish society. Through it, it is hoped in a measure to solve the problem of scientific research in Spain, which is virtually non-existent. Additionally, if there were isolated studies, it would try to bring them together into a clear, integrated programme and put their results into focus for effective utilization.

The institute was constituted on 1 May 1967 with a well-defined objective: to study socio-labour problems scientifically, applying social science, judicial and historical methods to the problems of labour and of industrial society. Within its fields of interest the institute proposes specially: (a) to study labour relations on the level

of both public and private enterprises; (b) to analyse scientifically tendencies manifested in the world of labour, in whatever socio-economic or ideological contexts; (c) to study and examine labour legislations, both national and foreign, in the light of agreements and recommendations of the International Labour Organisation (Geneva); (d) to promote the study of labour relations in Spain and Latin America, through courses, seminars, conferences, round tables and publications.

In developing its activities the institute directs itself to three principal groups of people or institutions in accordance with the criterion followed by the International Institute for Labour Studies (Geneva) with which it collaborates in tasks of research and teaching: (a) to new potential leaders of distinct social groups as well as to employers and workers; (b) to university professors and research workers desirous of acquiring deeper insights into labour questions and labour-management relationships; and (c) to people responsible for making decisions on labour matters who are anxious to have information on ideas relative to the formulation and application of policies in an atmosphere of objective study, free from pressures which characterize executive functioning.

On 5 August 1967, the institute became a member of the International Industrial Relations Association (Geneva). The said association held its first World Congress in Geneva in September 1967 and the institute, through its director, chaired the section on 'Critical analysis of the right to strike'.

The following studies are currently being undertaken in the institute:
1. The participation of labour in the management of enterprises. This study was entrusted to it by the International Institute for Labour Studies (Geneva). Sixteen countries are participating in this project, including India, Poland, United Arab Republic, Japan, United States of America, and Yugoslavia.

    In executing this project, inquiries have been directed to 100 enterprises throughout Spain. The questionnaire was drawn up in accordance with criteria specified by the International Institute of Geneva. The study will be completed by the end of 1968.
2. The accomplishment of self-management in a co-operative enterprise: Construcciones Industriales y Agropecuarias, S.C.I. (CIAP). This study analyses historically the development of the said co-operative and, above all, intends to show to what point the economic, labour and social objectives proposed within the context of self-management have been achieved.
3. Industrial conflicts in Spain: study-seminar on the principal collective conflicts which have taken place in the last two years.
4. Dynamics of labour relations in Spain since 1939: a study-seminar dealing with historical and documentary sources which may make possible a subsequent detailed study of the period.
5. Integration of rural labour into industrial society: a study of socio-cultural actuations of emigrants resident in the satellite city of San Ildefonso (Cornella).

Collaborating in the above-mentioned studies are thirty members of the institute.

The director of the institute is Mr. Juan N. García-Nieto.

Venezuela

Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas y Sociales

Facultad de Economía de la Universidad Central de Venezuela, Ciudad Universitaria, Edificio de la Biblioteca, Piso 11, Caracas

OBJECTIVES

The Institute of Economic and Social Research of the Faculty of Economics of the Central University of Venezuela was established in 1947 under the aegis of the University Council with the following as part of its aims:

To undertake special research and studies on problems relevant to the scientific disciplines which are of interest to the faculty.

To establish solid bases for the effective participation of graduates of the universal task of advanced research, thus contributing to the achievement of the primordial function of the university.

To study the country's past and present ideas and problems in the fields of the faculty's competence, analysing diverse trajectories and potentialities for future development.

To train collaborators for research purposes and co-operation in the preparation of future professors for the faculty.

To co-operate in the preparation of doctoral or professorial theses. Towards that end, the institute will guide aspirants and organize research seminars in order to develop their critical judgement.

To obtain sources of information and tools of investigation from interested persons and organizations.

To exchange documentation and information with other related centres.

To direct and develop the library of the faculty.

To create, through courses, conferences, round-table sessions, conventions and publications, an atmosphere conducive to the development of scientific disciplines within the competence of the faculty.

To be familiar with the research projects submitted for consultation with the Faculty Council and to collaborate towards their completion.

To draw up, jointly with the schools, a programme of seminars which will be conducted each academic term and to place them before the Faculty Council for consideration.

To be familiar with the revision of the programmes of study submitted for consultation with the Faculty Council.

To co-operate with the schools, at their request, regarding the scientific orientation of teaching with a view to a better professional training.

To conduct research proposed by third parties with the authorization of competent university bodies.

To edit the *Review*, bulletins and other periodical publications of the institute and such works as may be useful to the scientific development of the faculty.

To carry out such other tasks as may be in line with its character as an institute for research.

Research. In the field of research, the institute covers, in principle, the scientific and humanistic disciplines which are the subjects of systematic study of the faculty of Economics of the Central University of Venezuela. The projects under study and those planned for the future are oriented towards the scientific knowledge of the economic and social problems of Venezuela as well as towards the creation of theoretical bases and instruments of analysis for the study of underdevelopment.

Extension. The Institute's responsibilities include activities of the Faculty of Economics related to forums, conferences, round tables, special seminars, publications and small courses of professors and alumni.

RESEARCH PROGRAMME

Research completed between 1960 and 1965. 'Presupuestos familiares en el area metropolitana de Caracas' (Family budget in the metropolitan area of Caracas), started in 1959. Stage completed: incidence of house rentals in family earnings. Results: a three-volume mimeograph publication entitled *Incidencia del alquiler en el ingreso.*

Researches in progress.
'Bases de una teoría económica del sub-desarrollo' (Bases of an economic theory of underdevelopment).
'Relaciones económicas exteriores como determinantes del uso y la formación de recursos y factores de la producción en Venezuela' (External economic relations as determinants of use and formation of resources and factors of production in Venezuela).
'La estructura agraria de Venezuela' (The agrarian structure of Venezuela).
'Costo de alimentación en el area metropolitana de Caracas' (Cost of food in the metropolitan area of Caracas).
'Proceso de formación de la propiedad territorial agraria en Venezuela' (The formation process of territorial agrarian property in Venezuela).
'Estudio de Caracas (Study on Caracas).
'Diagnóstico socioeconómico de Venezuela, con vistas al planeamiento del desarrollo de la Universidad Central' (Socio-economic diagnosis of Venezuela with a view to to the planning of development of the Central University).

Planned projects (1967-68).
'Desarrollo económico de Venezuela durante el periodo 1917-1948' (Economic development of Venezuela during the period 1917-1948).
Projects of the Departamento de Investigaciones Administrativas y Contables.
'Instrumentos contractuales de la integración económica latinoamericana' (Contractual instruments of Latin American economic integration).
'Estudio y evaluación de la enseñanza del servicio social en el pais' (Study and evaluation of the teaching of social services in the country).
The institute has a number of projects which are being planned for execution in coming years.

PUBLICATIONS

The institute produces the quarterly *Economía y Ciencias Sociales* and the bimonthly *Boletín bibliográfico.* It also produces works of interest to students and scholars of the social sciences.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The institute is divided into six research departments: Economics; Commercial Administration and Accounting; Sociology and Anthropology; International Studies; Statistics and Actuarial Sciences; and Social Work. Each department is further subdivided into specialized sections besides the sections on General Services (Administrative), Bibliography and Documentation, Computation and Statistics, Publications and Library.

The Council of the Faculty of Economics, after prior consultations with the Council for the Scientific and Humanistic Development of the University, passes the programme of study submitted to it by the institute to the Technical Council (Consejo Técnico) which elaborates the programme of the institute and its budget, co-ordinates and evaluates its research activities and decides on publications.

The present director of the institute is Dr. Domingo Felipe Maza Zavala (economist).

Meetings

Approaching international conferences[1]

1969	Netherlands	European Committee for Rural Law: Fifth European Symposium *9, rue de l'Arbalète, 75 Paris-5ᵉ (France)*
	United Kingdom	Institute of International Law: session (theme: international law, public and private) *88, rue de Grenelle, 75 Paris-7ᵉ (France)*
	India	Inter-Parliamentary Union: Conference *Place du Petit-Saconnex, 1211 Geneva 19 (Switzerland)*
		International Association for Research in Income and Wealth: Eleventh General Conference *Box 2020, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 06520 (U.S.A.)*
	Athens	International Association of Southeast European Studies: Second International Congress of Balkan and Southeast European Studies *Mr. N. Tondorov, 32, Dondukov, Sofia (Bulgaria)*
	Europe	International Association of Penal Law: Tenth International Congress of Criminal Law *Mr. Pierre Bouzat, Secretary-General, 43, avenue Aristide-Briand, 35 Rennes (France)*
		International Association of Students in Economics and Commercial Sciences: International Conference on the International Transfer of Management Skills *28, avenue Pictet-de-Rochemont, 1207 Geneva (Switzerland)*
	France (?)	International Conference of Sociology: Tenth International Conference for Religious Sociology *Professor Emile Pin, General Secretary, Piazza della Pilotta 3, Rome (Italy)*

		Unesco: Conference on Models of Nation-building *Unesco, SHC/SS, Place de Fontenoy, 75 Paris-7ᵉ* *(France)*
	East Germany	United Towns Organization: Sixth World Conference on Intercommunal Co-operation (theme: popular education in the era of the scientific and technical revolution) *13, rue Racine, 75 Paris-6ᵉ (France)*
	U.S.A.	War Resisters' International: Thirteenth Triennial Conference (in conjunction with Gandhi Centenary Year) *3, Caledonian Road, London N.1 (United Kingdom)*
	India	Third World Religionists' Conference for Peace *Japanese Religionists' Council for Peace, Shickiken-cho,* *Ueno-Ikenohata, Taito-ku, Tokyo (Japan)*
	Athens	International Union of Local Authorities: Nineteenth Congress *Paleistraat 5, The Hague (Netherlands)*
13-17 Jan.	Rome	Universities and the Quest for Peace: World Conference *Dr. Raga S. Elim, Director and Secretary-General,* *c/o University of Rome, 00100 Rome (Italy)*
23-27 Feb.	New York	Third Pan American Congress for Psychoanalysis *Dr. Marcel Heiman, Committee on Liaison with Latin* *American Colleagues, 1 East 57th Street, New York,* *N.Y. 10022 (U.S.A.)*
Spring	Atlanta Georgia	Institute of Management Sciences: American Meeting *Harold H. Cauvet, P.O. Box 273, Pleasantville,* *N.Y. 10570 (U.S.A.)*
March	Ann Arbor Mich.	Inter-University Consortium for Political Research: International Data Confrontation Seminar *Professor Warren Miller, Executive Director, P.O.* *Box 1248, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106 (U.S.A.)*
30 March- 6 April	Montevideo	Inter-American Society of Psychology (Sociedad Interamericana de Psicología, SIP): Twelfth Inter- American Congress of Psychology (theme: education, training and research in psychology) *Dr. Sherman Ross, American Psychological Association,* *1200 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036* *(U.S.A.)*
31 March- 4 April	Tunis	World Union of Organizations for the Safeguard of Youth: Fourth Conference (theme: psycho-social family aid with a view to preventing juvenile maladjustment in a rapidly developing world) *28, place Saint-Georges, 75 Paris-9ᵉ (France)*

April	Paris	International Social Science Council: General Assembly and Round Table on the Policy of Social Science Research *6, rue Franklin, 75 Paris-16ᵉ (France)*
7-13 April	Vienna	Inter-Parliamentary Union: meeting *Parlamentsdirektion, Dr. Karl Renner-Ring 3, A-1010, Vienna (Austria)*
15-26 April	Lima	United Nations, ECLA: thirteenth session *Mr. José A. Mayobre, avenida Providencia 871, Santiago de Chile*
May or June	Rotterdam	European Cultural Foundation: Congress (theme: urbanization, 'City and citizen in the year 2000') *Emmastraat 30, Amsterdam (Netherlands)*
22-26 June	Munich	European Association for Personnel Management: Quatrième Journées Internationales d'Étude *Mr. D. Perret, Honorary Secretary, 20, rue des Fossés-Saint-Jacques, 75 Paris-5ᵉ (France)*
Summer	Mexico	Asociación Latinoamericana de Sociología: Ninth Congress *Professor P. Gonzalez Casanova, Director del Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Torre de Humanidades-5° piso, Villa Obregón, Mexico 20, D.F.*
Summer	Europe	Institute of Management Sciences: European Meeting *Mr. Harold H. Cauvet, P.O. Box 273, Pleasantville, N.Y. 10570 (U.S.A.)*
7-12 July	Rio de Janeiro	Inter-American Bar Association: Sixteenth Conference *Mr. W. R. Vallance, Secretary-General, 704 Federal Bar Building, 1815 H Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20006 (U.S.A.)*
14 July-22 Aug.	The Hague	Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Co-operation: Seventh International Summer Course on Industrialization *NUFFIC, 27, Molenstraat, The Hague (Netherlands)*
27 July-2 Aug.	London	International Union of Psychological Science: Seventh International Congress on Scientific Psychology *British Psychological Society, Tavistock House South, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1 (United Kingdom)*
30 July-3 Aug.	Rome	International Psycho-Analytical Association: Twenty-sixth Congress *Dr. L. Z. Gairinger, via Salaria 237, 00199 Rome (Italy)*
24-29 Aug.	Washington	International Association of Gerontology: Eighth Triennial International Congress *Professor N. W. Shock, 9650 Rockville Pike, Bethesda, Md. 20014 (U.S.A.)*

Sept.	Paris	International Social Science Council: Symposium on the Ethnology of Industrialized Complex Societies *Professor Jean Cuisenier, Maître de recherches CNRS, 15, quai Anatole-France, 75 Paris-7ᵉ (France)*
1 Sept.	Amsterdam	European Society for Opinion Surveys and Market Research: Twenty-second Congress *17, rue Berckmans, Brussels 6 (Belgium)*
2-5 Sept.	Edinburgh	International Multi-disciplinary Federation of Social Psychiatry: Conference on the Healthy Community *Dr. H. B. Wright, 10 Belgrave Square, London S.W.1 (United Kingdom)*
4-11 Sept.	London	International Union for the Scientific Study of Population: Sixteenth Congress and General Assembly *Mr. E. Grebenik, Department of Social Sciences, The University, Leeds 2 (United Kingdom)*
7-12 Sept.	Bangkok	World Peace through Law Center: Fourth World Conference *75, rue de Lyon, 1203 Geneva (Switzerland)*
Autumn	Europe	Institute of Management Sciences: Sixteenth International Meeting *Mr. Harold H. Cauvet, P.O. Box 273, Pleasantville, N.Y. 10570 (U.S.A.)*
October	New Delhi	Society for International Development: Eleventh Conference *Secretariat, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (U.S.A.)*
2 Oct. approx.	New Delhi (?)	World Conference on religion and Peace *Mr. R. R. Diwakar, Gandhi Peace Foundation, 221 Rouse Avenue, New Delhi-1 (India)*
October	Honolulu	East-West Center: Gandhi Centennial Symposium *East-West Center, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822 (U.S.A.)*
Late Oct.- late Nov.	Tokyo	International Council for Scientific Management: Fifteenth triennal International Management Congress *c/o International Management Association of Japan, Nihon Seisanei Building, 3-1-1 Shibuya, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo (Japan)*
December	New York	Econometric Society: North American Winter Meeting *P.O. Box 1264, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 06520*

1970 ?	Asia	United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: Asian Population Conference *Sala Santitham, Rajadamnern, Bangkok (Thailand)*

Spain — European Society for Opinion Surveys and Market Research: Twenty-third Congress
17, rue Berckmans, Brussels 6 (Belgium)

Athens — International Academy of Comparative Law: Congress
Professor Wagner, University of Indiana, School of Law, Bloomington, Ind. 47401 (U.S.A.)

Switzer-land — International Association for Social Progress: Congress
Rue Louvrex 47, Liège (Belgium)

Moscow — International Committee for Historical Sciences: Thirteenth International Congress
270, boulevard Raspail, 75 Paris-14ᵉ (France), or: Comité National des Historiens Soviétiques, 19 U. Dimitri Ulianova, Moscow B-36 (U.S.S.R.)

New York — International Humanist and Ethical Union: Fifth Congress
Oudegracht 152, P.O.B. 114, Utrecht (Netherlands)

International Industrial Relations Association: Second World Congress
154, rue de Lausanne, CH-1211, Geneva 22 (Switzerland)

Spring   Hawaii — Institute of Management Sciences: Seventeenth International Meeting
Mr. Harold H. Cauvet, P.O.B. 273, Pleasantville, N.Y. 10570 (U.S.A.)

2nd semester   Madrid — International Society of Criminology: Sixth International Congress on Criminology (theme: 'Scientific research in criminology', the link between theory and practice)
Dr. Georges Fully, Secrétaire-général, 2, place Mazas, 75 Paris-12ᵉ (France)

Aug. or Sept.   Manila — International Council on Social Welfare: International Conference of Social Work
Mr. J. R. Hoffner, 22 West Gay Street, Columbus, Ohio 43215 (U.S.A.)

Aug.-Sept.   Leningrad — International Economic History Association: Fifth Congress
Professor J. F. Bergier, Faculté des Sciences Economiques et Sociales, Université de Genève, Geneva (Switzerland), or: Professor Frederic C. Lane, c/o Department of History, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 21218 (U.S.A.)

24-28 Aug.   Tokyo — International Bar Association: Thirteenth Congress
Japan Federation of Bar Associations, Hoso Kaidan Building, 1-1 Kasumigaseki, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo (Japan)

Autumn	Washington	Institute of Management Sciences: American Meeting *Mr. Harold H. Cauvet, P.O.B. 273, Pleasantville,* *N.Y. 10570 (U.S.A.)*
Autumn	Tokyo	United Nations: Fourth Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders *New Ohtemachi Building, Room 411/412, 4 2-chome,* *Ohtemachi, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo (Japan)*
14-19 Sept.	Varna (Bulgaria)	International Sociological Association: Seventh World Congress *Professor Angelo Pagani, Secretary-General, Via* *Daverio 7, 20122 Milan (Italy)*
Sept. (3rd week)	London	International Political Science Association: Eighth World Congress *43, rue des Champs-Elysées, Brussels 5 (Belgium)*
18-22 Oct.	Boston	Public Personnel Association: International Conference *Mr. Kenneth O. Warner, 1313 East 60th Street,* *Chicago, Ill. 60637 (U.S.A.)*
27-30 Dec.	Detroit	Econometric Society: Annual Regional Meeting *Box 1264, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 06520* *(U.S.A.)*

1971 8-13 May	Vienna	International Social Security Association: World Congress on Prevention of Occupational Accidents and Diseases *154, rue de Lausanne, CH-1211, Geneva-22* *(Switzerland)*
17-21 Oct.	San Francisco	Public Personnel Association: International Conference *Mr. Kenneth O. Warner, 1313 East 60th Street,* *Chicaho, Ill. 60637 (U.S.A.)*

1972 Oct.?	St. Louis, Mo.	Public Personnel Association: International Conference *Mr. Kenneth O. Warner, 1313 East 60th Street,* *Chicago, Ill. 60637 (U.S.A.)*

Social science and urban development in Latin America [1]

Jahuel (Aconcagua), Chile
22-25 April 1968

Ralph Gakenheimer and John Miller

Social scientists, whether concerned with the academic field of teaching and research or engaged directly in the application of theory and practical knowledge, have become increasingly preoccupied with the use of the social sciences, not only for understanding but also for guiding the processes of urbanization and national modernization which parallel urban growth.

The dual phenomena of a tendency towards accelerated urbanization, and a rapid population growth rate in Latin America have drawn particular attention to this geographic area. Current statistics, e.g., on the rate of growth among Latin American nations indicate the highest continental growth rate (2.9 per cent) encountered anywhere, and there is no evidence that this rate may be decelerating to any significant degree.[2]

To this fact of population growth must be added another: growth has been increasingly and almost exlusively concentrated in the urban sectors of each country. Although the total increase was 32.2 per cent between 1950 and 1960, the urban zones increased by 56.0 per cent while only 16.8 per cent was added in the rural areas. Some 14 million persons migrated to urban areas during the decade and there is evidence of a continuing high urban birth rate—contrary to the experience in most other parts of the urbanizing world. These two facts have been instrumental in pushing the urban population in Latin America from 39 per cent of the total population in 1950 to 46 per cent in 1960.[3]

The problems and potentials generated by this rapid urbanization have given rise to a number of international conferences, all of which have treated this process as an important theme of theoretical and pragmatic interest. One recent conference, on 'The Role of the City in the Modernization of Latin America', sponsored by Cornell University in 1965, focused on the positive functions performed by the city in the modernization process; and three international conferences on urbanization in Latin America have been held in Chile in the past decade alone—at Santiago (1957), at the Catholic University of Chile (1967), and at Jahuel, Aconcagua Province (April 1968).[4]

The Jahuel Seminar on Social Science and Urban Development in Latin America was co-sponsored by the Interdisciplinary Center of Urban Development (CIDU) of the Catholic University of Chile and by the Ford Foundation. Unlike prior

1. Seminar co-sponsored by the Centro Interdisciplinario de Desarrollo Urbano y Regional of the Catholic University of Chile and the Ford Foundation.
2. Hernán Mendoza Hoyos, 'Población vs. Desarrollo: La Sobrepoblación Impide el Progreso en los Países en Desarrollo', *Programas Internacionales de Población*, 1967.
3. Robert O. Carleton, *Crecimiento de la Población y Fecundidad Diferencial en América Latina*, Santiago, CELADE, 1967.
4. Results of the Cornell conference were published as *The Urban Explosion in Latin America*, Glenn H. Beyer (ed.), Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1967. Papers presented at the 1957 Santiago conference were published as Philip M. Hauser (ed.), *Urbanization in Latin America*, Paris, Unesco, 1961. Proceedings of the 1967 conference are in press. Results of the Jahuel Seminar are proposed for publication during 1969.

conferences which were more exclusively concerned with the Latin American city and with its problems and internal functions *per se*, the Jahuel Seminar was planned to place emphasis upon the national significance of urban growth, upon nation-wide urban systems, the socio-economic and political integration of the urban and surrounding national and international areas, and the role of the social sciences in suggesting (a) national policies, and (b) areas of research which would assist the complementary processes of urbanization and modernization to advance national development.

Dr. John Friedmann was chairman of the programme committee; Messrs. Ernest Weissman, Gino Germani and Fernando Aguirre Tupper served as session chairmen. Rapporteurs for work groups were Messrs. Gino Germani, Ricardo Jordán, Eduardo Neira Alva, and José A. Silva Michelena. Synthesizer for the Seminar at the final session was Professor Kalman H. Silvert. Commentaries on the papers presented were made by Messrs. Richard Morse, Jorge Hardoy, Antoni Kuklinski, William Mangin, Gideon Sjoberg, Glaucio Soares, Aníbal Quijano, Carlos Fortín, Julio Cotler, Armando Mendes, Albert Hirschman, Brian Berry, Leo Klaassen, Guillermo Geisse, and Lloyd Rodwin.

The five papers presented were devoted to various policy issues related to urban development at international, national and local levels and reflected different social science discipline positions. At the international level, a research paper written by Walter Stöhr and Poul Pedersen tackled the economic and transportation-communication links between urbanization and regional development within the context of South American integration. Basic policies for growth poles, and trans-portation-communication were suggested for a 'staged area consolidation' strategy. Auxiliary policies for inter-metropolitan and corridor development, resource complexes, depressed and border areas, river development and preventive integration were also advanced.

The field of national policy was covered by three papers. John Friedmann, in a paper on 'The Role of Cities in National Development', set forth a preliminary contribution to urban policy for underdeveloped countries and proposed a set of six leading issues which he considered necessary for serious reflection on this topic: (a) the optimum rural-urban balance for successive phases in a process of national development; (b) the optimal rate of urbanization at successive phases of the development process; (c) the optimal patterns of spatial organization at successive phases in the development process; (d) the optimal transformation paths in shifting from one type of spatial organization to another; (e) the criteria for determining the proper timing in shifts from one kind of urban development strategy to another; and (f) the criteria to be applied in determining the optimal balance between centralization and decentralization in administrative and political decisions for urban development.

In a paper on 'Urbanization Policy and Political Development in Latin America', Robert T. Daland argued that policy planners should consider the political development implications of urban growth policies. He based his argument upon the belief that 'the failure to do so may prejudice the achievement of plan goals' and that 'it is desirable to prevent negative effects on political development insofar as the latter is as legitimate a goal as economic, social, or urban development'. Certain issues of political development which are raised by urbanization were identified and an attempt was made to link the 'evidence' in social science as regards these issues to a model of the relationship between urbanization and political development, primarily as a means of suggesting urban policies consistent with political development goals. A lively discussion ensued among the participants with respect to the premises of Daland's paper and provided the basis for remarks about political divergences among the participants by Kalman Silvert during his synthesis of the seminar. The final paper at the national policy level, presented by H. J. Cole, outlined Brazilian efforts to create national urban development policies.

The single paper devoted to urbanization within the city proper was by Carlos Delgado and was devoted primarily to the formulation of criteria for systematically

describing and analysing problems which have their origin in the accelerated rate of urbanization in Lima, Peru. Principal focus was placed on a classification of 'marginal' residential settlement types as an initial step in research leading to the development of policies for improving the quality of the communities considered.

Limited time and multiple divergences in points of view resulted in work groups operating at less than the desired level of efficiency. They were, none the less, able to advance a number of constructive suggestions in the following areas: (a) necessary social science research contributions to urbanization policies in Latin America; (b) training and education programme needs for urban and regional development in Latin America; (c) experimental programme in urban and regional development: identification of projects and action-research possibilities; and (d) improved communications in urban and regional development: international, inter-American and university-government.

A keen synthesis of the seminar, provided by Kalman H. Silvert, touched on the sociology of conferences and illustrated the confrontations and divergences encountered in the sessions and work groups. These confrontations centred about the difference in positions, ideologies and experiences as demonstrated by various opposites including: the polarization between practitioners and theorists and, among theorists, between the macro- and micro-theorists; the divergence between political left and right; the divergence between the élitist and the populist, with shades of élitist populists and pluralistic populists; a break between those who are political and those who pretend to be apolitical; divisions on the basis of continental-cultural backgrounds—European, Latin American and North American; and divisions between those who believe in idealistic planning and those who believe in pragmatic planning. Clearly, the possible permutations surrounding these opposite and intermediate positions among those present were numerous and demonstrated in the seminar what Silvert ascribed to the urban society at large—'the great variability of human response to the fact of simple ecological organization'.

In summation, Kalman Silvert suggested that, among all the intellectual currents in the discussions, there was a series of dialectical confrontations at the policy level —between the urban and rural life styles, between urban and regional organization, between local and national organization, between the national and the international scene, and between national organization, defined as including local and Latin American integration, with endless combinations among these. A second issue, he suggested, was the sociological role of cities and divergences about that role between the view that 'the mere facts of an urban agglomeration mean a specific set of things for the persons who live in that agglomeration' and, a more probabilistic viewpoint, 'that urban conglomerations in any part of the world can lead to a very broad variability of human reactions'. A third issue singled out concerned the range of effective choice open under any particular set of given situations. Other issues dealt with the relationship between the order and the quality of change and with the immediate and urgent problem matrix versus that of the future.

The results and the intensity of discussion during the seminar would seem to indicate that once the process of urbanization and national modernization through urban growth are dealt with as a policy area, both theoreticians and practitioners of the social sciences are presented with a base on which each has almost equal footing, not always sound but showing signs of strengthening, and in which each are deeply and intellectually involved, although from different angles. The differences in perspective, however, rather than subduing, tend to whet the desire for a greater understanding about the processes, an understanding which is improved by knowledge from vantage points other than those of the given individual. It is precisely this cross-fertilization in the approach to the practical problems and the theory of urbanization that is enriching and expanding the separate disciplines of social science. It is also creating within the action-oriented, problem-solving institutions, a greater appreciation for a wider interdisciplinary approach to policies and solutions.

International appointments vacant

Unesco

Senior human resources analyst
Reference. REG/LA/CHILSTAT/1.

Location. Santiago, Chile.
Functions. Under the authority and guidance of the Chief of the Division of Human Resources Analysis, the incumbent will represent Unesco in the working team to be established by ILO in Santiago for the preparation of the Ottawa Plan

for development of human resources in Latin America. He will be excepted to perform the following functions:

(a) Undertake and organize possible analytical studies on prospective man-power needs and the development and utilization of human resources in Latin America, including work on initiating new and/or adapting existing methodo-logical tools in this field.

(b) Maintain contacts with other units of the Secretariat concerned, in particular with the Department of Educational Planning and Finance, so as to provide them with the results reached by the ILO working team, especially with a view to drawing their attention to desirable Unesco action.

(c) Prepare periodical reports to the Division of Human Resources about progress in the preparation of the Ottawa Plan.

(d) Undertake short-term missions in Latin American States if required.

Qualifications. Doctorate in economics, or equivalent. Thorough experience of human resources analysis, and educational planning. Close knowledge of eco-nomic development problems and first-hand experience of developing countries. Ability to work as a member of a team. Some experience of work in Unesco.

Language qualifications. Good knowledge of Spanish and English or French; working knowledge of the other language.

Duration of appointment. Eighteen months.

Level. P5.

Educational planning
Reference. INDONED 15.

Location. Djakarta, Indonesia.

Functions. The expert to be appointed to the educational planning post will be assigned to the Ministry of Education and Culture, where he will set up an educational planning structure to cover all aspects of the national educational system within the competence of the Ministry, and will act as co-ordinator of the Unesco team of educational advisers. In addition, one of the essential res-ponsibilities of the expert will be the training of counterparts capable of continuing the work after his departure. In close collaboration with these counterparts and with the Unesco team the expert will:

(a) Co-ordinate the work of the members of the Unesco advisory team in relation to its over-all objectives, assuring as necessary the integration of each member's activities with those of the group as a whole;

(b) Participate with the expert in educational research in the creation or improvement of the technical and research services which are indispensable for the elaboration of a plan;

(c) Advise the Government in the definition of areas for priority action as well as the integration of an educational plan into the national over-all development plan;

(d) Assist in developing the necessary links between the planning services and other departments in the Ministry of Education, with the regional and local authorities responsible for education and with other multilateral and bilateral programmes;

(e) Assist the Government in the choice of candidates for Unesco fellowships in educational planning.

Qualifications. University degree, preferably in education, economics or sociology. Substantial experience in educational administration. Familiarity with over-all development problems and preferably direct experience in developing countries or regions. Ability to work in a team.

Duration of appointment. One year.

Level. P5.

Adviser in economic and social studies
Reference. CEYLETS/SF/13.

Location. Ceylon College of Technology, Colombo, Ceylon.
Functions. Under the guidance and supervision of the Chief Technical Adviser, and in co-operation with the Ceylonese counterpart, the adviser will have to devote himself to a variety of tasks. The following list will give an idea of the work involved:
  1. Preparing and delivering a lecture course on economic, social, industrial, psychological and general subjects, among which may be mentioned: (a) general economics, including problems of special importance for the economic development of Ceylon, especially in the fields of industry and agriculture; (b) management, organization, planning, costing, accountancy, pay schemes, including instruction on practical matters such as duplicating equipment, calculating machines, payroll calculations, etc.; (c) industrial relations, growth of trade unions, etc; conciliation machinery, international labour organizations.
  2. In close co-operation with the other advisers, the local teaching staff, the local authorities and the industries concerned, taking an active part in developing and supervising the students' industrial training, which should be of the sandwich type with a total duration of 12 months for each student. The industrial period should give the students industrial discipline, the feeling of industrial 'atmosphere', respect for manual labour, first-hand experience of labour relations, manufacturing methods and machines, materials testing, inspection, etc.
  3. Training of counterpart.
Qualifications. Master's or, preferably, doctor's degree in economics, business administration, industrial economics, or the like. Extensive industrial experience indispensable—with emphasis on personnel management, planning, industrial training, work study, and the like. Candidates with teaching experience at technical university or technical college level will be preferred. Theoretical and practical knowledge of economic, industrial, and social conditions in an Asian country would be very valuable.
Duration. Twelve months.
Level. P4.

Expert in teaching commercial subjects
Reference. NIGERETS/SF/8.

Location. National Technical Teachers' Training College, Lagos, Nigeria.
Functions. Under the guidance and with the co-operation of the head of the team, and in co-operation with the Nigerian counterpart, the expert will: (a) be responsible for the formulation and implementation of programmes and curricula in his speciality; (b) lecture on matters related to his field of specialization for not less than 10 hours per week; (c) prepare lists of equipment for his speciality, including lists of books and other teaching material.
Qualifications. Qualified teacher in the teaching of commercial subjects with experience in this field will be useful. Academic qualifications: M.A. level.
Duration of appointment. The initial appointment is for two years, with the possibility of an extension for the project's duration.
Level. P4.

Professor in educational planning specializing in comparative education and educational administration

Reference. REG/AS/INDIED/1.

Location. Asian Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi (India) (travel in the region).

Functions. (*a*) Teaching comparative education and educational administration in the courses given at the institute. The teaching of comparative education should be essentially practical in aim, demonstrating the connexions found between educational systems and geographical, demographic, economic, social and cultural factors; helping to identify type situations and standard strategies for each; and illustrating the danger, in a given situation, of imitating the educational system designed for a wholly different situation. Through the study of experience elsewhere, this teaching should help to avoid starts and errors.

In the teaching of educational administration, the emphasis will be on adapting the administration to the conditions in the particular country and to the structure and size of the educational system, and on the practical execution of the educational plan.

The appointee's teaching duties also involve the organization and conduct of group discussions and activities, and the supervision of the students' individual work.

(*b*) Discussing with the other professors in the institute how to fit the teaching of comparative education and educational administration into the general context of the teaching provided by the institute, that is to say, how to avoid a discrete treatment of them whereby their relations with the different aspects of the problem of educational planning would not be clearly apparent.

(*c*) Participating within the limits of his special field or fields in the studies and researches undertaken by the institute on questions relating to educational administration and planning, and helping in the drafting and publication of studies, articles and miscellaneous documentation on questions coming within the purview of the Group.

(*d*) Undertaking short-term missions at the request of Asian Member States to study the organization of existing educational planning services, give technical advice for the improvement of these services or in some instances for their establishment, and help organize training courses for the staff of such services as well as seminars on educational planning, administration and inspection.

Qualifications. University degree of doctoral level, or equivalent; studies and papers on comparative and familiarity with the sociology of education. Practical experience in educational administration and of educational planning problems in developing countries. Acquaintance with the major problems of education and educational administration in developing countries. Co-operative attitude, aptitude for team work, experience of university teaching, preferably in the field of comparative education or educational administration.

Duration of contract. Two years (renewable).

Level. P3.

Expert in general pedagogy

Reference. NIGERED/SF/71.

Location. Lagos, Nigeria.

Functions. (*a*) Draw up programmes for selecting candidates for the National Technical Teacher's Training College, who will be the future trainers of technical teachers throughout Nigeria. This will involve evaluations covering mental testing, biological and social factors, aptitude testing and educational history.

(*b*) Lecture on the role of a teacher in technical education and how to give guidance to students in selecting particularly suitable specializations.

(c) Lecture on the value of adult education to industry.

(d) Orient students in the value and usage of libraries, programmed instruction, group discussions and report writing.

(e) Teach the practical applications of psychology in the form of the fundamental principles of learning, covering educational methods, methodology and assessment of future trends.

(f) Maintain close liaison with the expert in psychology and sociology (NIGERED/SF/73), particularly on the implications of industrial problems, and especially in-service training.

(g) Prepare lists of relevant equipment, books and teaching materials.

(h) Generally promote the economic aspects of technical education and give guidance counselling.

Qualifications. Qualified teacher in general pedagogy with teaching experience in responsible positions. Research experience in this field and teaching experience in technical subjects would be a recommendation. A record of vocational guidance and experience with parent/teacher organizations. Academic qualifications: M.A. level.

Duration of appointment. Two years, with the possibility of an extension for the project's duration.

Level. P4.

Lecturer in home economics
Reference. NIGERED 29.

Location. Zaria, North Central State, Nigeria.

Function. The incumbent, under the authority of the Chief Technical Adviser, will perform the following functions:

(a) Assist as requested with the organization of the Department of Home Economics.

(b) Teach courses in foods and nutrition and related subjects as required.

(c) Help in the preparation of the curricula for secondary schools and ordinary teacher-training colleges in co-operation with the Ministry of Education.

(d) Organize in-service training courses for those who are teaching home economics in schools but who do not have the requested qualifications.

(e) Carry out such duties as may be assigned to him, on an *ad hoc* basis, by the Secretariat (Headquarters) and the Chief Technical Adviser, and which are considered necessary for the execution of the project.

Qualifications. Advanced level training, at least an M.A. or the equivalent, with nutrition and education as major parts of the training. Experience of teacher training as well as curriculum development and supervision of home economics teachers.

Duration of appointment. One year.

Level. P4.

Lecturer in home economics
Reference. NIGERED/SF/85.

Location. Zaria, North Central State, Nigeria.

Functions. The incumbent, under the authority of the Chief Technical Adviser, will perform the following functions:

(a) Organize the Department of Home Economics and start a three-year post secondary course in home economics.

(b) Prepare the integration of the subject at full course level at the Training College giving due consideration to the problems of the families in Northern Nigeria.

(c) Teach courses in home economics education and related subjects as might be required and acquaint students with simple methods for studies and research in home economics education.

(d) Organize in-service training courses for those who are teaching home economics in schools but who do not have the required qualifications.

(e) Carry out such duties as may be assigned to him, on an *ad hoc* basis, by the Secretariat (Headquarters) and the Chief Technical Adviser, and which are considered necessary for the execution of the project.

Qualifications. Advanced level training; at least an M.A. or the equivalent, with general home economics and education as major parts of the degree. Experience of teacher training as well as curricula development and supervision of home economics teachers.

Duration of appointment. Eighteen months.

Level. P4.

Directeur scientifique du Centre africain de formation et de recherche administratives pour le développement (CAFRAD)

Référence. REG/MOROSOC/1.

Lieu d'affectation. Tanger, Maroc.

Attributions. Sous le contrôle du directeur du centre, les tâches principales du directeur scientifique consistent à :

(a) Organiser des séminaires et stages d'études sur des problèmes d'administration publique à l'intention des fonctionnaires et autres cadres supérieurs des États africains;

(b) Organiser des réunions scientifiques consacrées aux problèmes administratifs et aux méthodes des sciences administratives, ainsi qu'à l'adaptation des structures et règles administratives aux problèmes économiques, sociaux et culturels de l'Afrique;

(c) Coordonner, stimuler et effectuer des recherches et des études comparatives sur les problèmes administratifs considérés dans leur rapport avec le développement économique, social et culturel de l'Afrique;

(d) Organiser et développer un centre de documentation spécialisé dans les domaines énumérés aux points a, b, et c ci-dessus;

(e) Promouvoir l'échange des informations et de l'expérience acquises dans le domaine de l'administration publique africaine, au moyen de publications et autres instruments de communication.

Titres et aptitudes requis. (a) Ph. D., doctorat ou titre équivalent en sciences administratives, avec de bonnes connaissances en sciences sociales; (b) expérience de l'enseignement et de la recherche au niveau universitaire; (c) expérience en matière d'administration d'une institution scientifique et capacité de diriger les travaux de groupes de chercheurs, y compris les assistants et les stagiaires; (d) expérience du travail en Afrique souhaitable.

Connaissances linguistiques. Excellente connaissance du français et bonne connaissance de l'anglais.

Durée. Un an, avec possibilité de renouvellement.

Niveau. P5.

Directeur du Centre de documentation

Référence. MOROSOC 4.

Lieu d'affectation. Centre africain de formation et de recherche administratives pour le developpement (CAFRAD), Tanger, Maroc.

Attributions. Le Centre de documentation de CAFRAD a commencé à fonctionner en 1965. Il dispose d'une bibliothèque spécialisée qui possède quelque 5 000

volumes et est abonnée à 150 périodiques environ (ces ouvrages périodiques ayant trait aux problèmes administratifs du développement socio-économique de l'Afrique). Les tâches de l'expert seront les suivantes :

1. Aider le directeur du CAFRAD à établir des programmes à court et à long terme en matière de documentation.
2. Diriger le développement du centre, en s'occupant : (*a*) de mettre au point les méthodes d'acquisition, de classement, d'analyse et de diffusion des documents; (*b*) d'équiper le centre de manière à répondre à ses besoins croissants en matière de fiches, de rayonnages, de matériel de reproduction, etc.; (*c*) de faire exécuter les travaux de secrétariat nécessaires au fonctionnement du centre.
3. Établir, à l'usage du directeur du CAFRAD et de ses collaborateurs, des dossiers spéciaux sur des sujets de recherche précis, en se servant à cette fin des ressources de la bibliothèque et, ou en obtenant par correspondance le concours d'autres centres de documentation spécialisés dans le domaine considéré et situés tant en Afrique que dans d'autres parties du monde.
4. Maintenir et développer les contacts et les échanges de documents organisés entre le CAFRAD et les centres susmentionnés, ainsi qu'avec les imprimeries officielles des pays africains.
5. Rédiger la section bibliographique de la revue du CAFRAD, *Études administratives africaines*.

Titres et aptitudes requis. Titres d'un niveau élevé et expérience suffisante dans le domaine de l'administration publique ou des sciences sociales en général. Il est indispensable que l'expert soit titulaire d'un grade en bibliothéconomie.

Connaissances linguistiques. Excellente connaissance du français et de l'anglais nécessaire. Connaissance de l'arabe souhaitable.

Durée. Un an, avec possibilité de renouvellement.

Niveau. P4.

Spécialiste de l'évaluation

Référence. MADAGASCED/SF/16.

Lieu d'affectation. Tananarive, Madagascar.

Attributions. Le spécialiste de l'évaluation sera responsable devant le conseiller technique principal, qui est le chef de l'équipe d'experts internationaux. Il devra : préparer et effectuer l'évaluation du projet expérimental d'alphabétisation fonctionnelle, en collaboration avec les spécialistes nationaux de l'évaluation et avec tous les autres spécialistes internationaux désignés par l'Unesco, et conformément au projet condensé de guide pour l'évaluation des projets expérimentaux du Programme mondial d'alphabétisation (Unesco/Lit/Ex/65/8); former des spécialistes de l'évaluation et des auxiliaires capables de le seconder; se tenir en rapport étroit avec les organismes d'évaluation qui s'occupent des projets de développement exécutés dans le pays; organiser et diriger les travaux de l'équipe nationale chargée des tâches d'évaluation et de tout le personnel chargé d'évaluer les sous-projets expérimentaux d'alphabétisation, afin d'assurer l'application d'un programme d'évaluation efficace et permanent; donner des avis au conseiller technique principal et, par son intermédiaire, au siège de l'Unesco, sur toutes les mesures propres à assurer une évaluation objective et efficace des projets d'alphabétisation.

Titres et aptitudes requis. Grade universitaire ou titre équivalent en sciences sociales; bonne connaissance des méthodes statistiques et des plans de recherche; expérience de l'évaluation des recherches et des projets; dans la mesure du possible, une certaine expérience ou des connaissances en matière de pédagogie et de développement, d'économie de l'éducation, et, plus particulièrement, d'éducation et de formation des adultes, de préférence dans les pays en voie de développement, en particulier en milieu rural.

Connaissances linguistiques. Bonne connaissance du français; connaissance de l'anglais souhaitable; connaissance du malgache utile.
Durée. Deux ans.
Niveau. P5.

Professeur de statistiques mathématiques
Référence. ALGERES/SF/27.

Lieu d'affectation. École nationale polytechnique, Université d'Alger, République algérienne démocratique et populaire.

Attributions. En consultation avec le conseiller technique principal du projet, le professeur de statistiques mathématiques devra notamment : (*a*) établir le programme d'études, mettre sur pied, organiser et assurer les cours de statistiques mathématiques, en collaboration avec les titulaires des autres chaires de l'école ; (*b*) guider et coordonner le travail du personnel enseignant local qui contribuera à l'exécution du programme entrepris et la poursuivra après le départ de l'expert.

Titres et aptitudes requis. Doctorat en mathématiques et plusieurs années d'expérience de l'enseignement universitaire de la spécialité, de préférence dans une école d'ingénieurs.
Durée. Un an.
Niveau. P5.

Spécialiste de statistiques scolaires
Référence. ALGERSOC/1.

Lieu d'affectation. Alger, République algérienne démocratique et populaire.

Attributions. Le développement quantitatif du système d'enseignement algérien nécessite, d'une part, la prévision des effectifs d'âge préscolaire en vue de la démocratisation de l'enseignement, d'autre part, la prévision de l'afflux des diplômés dans les différents ordres d'enseignement, en vue d'une estimation des besoins en locaux et en personnel enseignant.

Par ailleurs, l'aspect qualitatif de cette expansion scolaire doit être également interprété, notamment en ce qui concerne le calcul des abandons et cours d'études et des redoublements.

Il s'agit donc de réunir et d'interpréter les données numériques fondamentales du système d'enseignement, qui doivent permettre une amélioration du rendement de l'éducation.

Le spécialiste des statistiques scolaires sera donc chargé, en conséquence : (*a*) de donner son avis sur le recueil des statistiques scolaires ; (*b*) de prêter son concours pour le calcul et l'interprétation des déperditions d'effectifs ; (*c*) de collaborer à l'évaluation des besoins à court terme en locaux et en personnel enseignant.

L'expert travaillera en collaboration avec le spécialiste de la planification.

Titres et aptitudes requis. Grade universitaire ou titres équivalents ; expérience en matière de statistiques scolaires, notamment dans les pays en voie de développement.

Connaissances linguistiques. Connaissance du français nécessaire, connaissance de l'arabe souhaitable.
Durée. Un an.
Niveau. P4.

Experto en planeamiento de la educación
Referencia. HONDURED 12.

Lugar de trabajo. Tegucigalpa, Honduras.

Funciones.
  (*a*) Investigar y determinar las distinctas necesidades en el campo de la educación, así como los recursos disponibles y proyectos existentes en este área.
  (*b*) Estudiar los proyectos existentes y emitir recomendaciones generales sobre los proyectos a presentarse, tomando en cuenta investigaciones de la mano de obra especializada en las diferentes ramas y niveles, de acuerdo a las exigencias del desarrollo económico del país.
  (*c*) Asesorar y prestar asistencia técnica en la ejecución de los programas existentes y en el entrenamiento del personal nacional en la formulación de programmas educativos.
  (*d*) Evaluar y diseñar sístemas de control para la evaluación física y financiera de la ejecución de los programas de educación.
  (*e*) Coordinar sus actividades con las de planificación del Consejo Superior de Planificación Económica.
  (*f*) Asesorar al gobierno en la elección de los oficiales llamados a beneficiar de una beca Unesco en el campo de la planificación de la educación.
  El experto realizará sus labores en estrecha coordinación con el personal de la Oficina de Planificación de la Educación. Debería trabajar siempre con el personal de contraparte.
Requisitos. Título universitario correspondiente, de preferencia en educación, economía o sociología, con amplia experiencia en la organización de planes de enseñanza técnica y profesional. Tener amplia experienca en programación educativa, no menor de 5 años en tareas de planificación de la educación. Conocimiento de las características del desarrollo educativo en países de América Latina. Capacidad para trabajar en equipo y para realizar investigaciones educativas.
Duración del contrato. Un año.
Grado. P5.

Experto en planeamiento de la educación
Referencia. COLOMED 17.

Lugar de trabajo. Bogotá, Colombia.
Funciones. El experto desempeñará las siguientes funciones:
  (*a*) Asesorar a las autoridades docentes sobre cualquier reorganización de los servicios de administración e inspección escolar que sea necesaria para la ejecución eficaz de los programas de educación.
  (*b*) Participar al perfeccionamiento de los servicios técnicos y de investigación indispensables a la buena marcha de la Oficina de Planeamiento Educacional del Ministerio de Educación Nacional.
  (*c*) Asesorar en el establecimiento de las líneas sistemáticas de coordinación entre la Oficina de Planeamiento, la Divisón de Planeación de la Asociación Colombiana de Universidades - Fondo Universitario Nacional y la Division de Recursos Humanos y Planeación del Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje (los tres centros de planeamiento de la educación en Colombia).
  (*d*) Ayudar en la preparación de proyectos educativos que el gobierno pueda eventualmente utilizar para pedir ayuda exterior.
  (*e*) Asesorar al gobierno en seleccionar funcionarios para las becas de la Unesco.
Requisitos. Título universitario o de nivel equivalente, de preferencia en educación, sociología o economía. Amplia experiencia en administración y planeamiento de la educación en general. Conocimiento de los sistemas educativos de América Latina. Capacidad para trabajar en equipo.
Duración del contrato. Un año (renovable).
Grado. P5.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
(World Bank)

Applications are invited for the following positions in the Education Division of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development located in Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

Letters of application should be addressed to: Personnel Division, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1818 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20433, U.S.A.

The appointments are of indefinite duration with career prospects. Candidates should be aged between 35 and 50 and must be able and willing to travel extensively. Salary will be commensurate with qualifications and experience and is free of income tax. Family passages to Washington and transportation of household effects are paid.

Functions. The incumbents of these posts will be required to analyse and evaluate new educational project applications submitted for financing, with a view to determining feasibility in so far as their fields of specialization are concerned; this will entail participation in project appraisal and survey missions; duties will also include supervision of projects for which loans have already been made; and responsibility for keeping the Education Division informed on developments in their particular fields.

Qualifications. For all positions, ability to write clear and concise reports in English is essential. A working knowledge of either French or Spanish and a knowledge of underdeveloped countries and characteristic development problems would be an advantage.

Specialist in agricultural education

Qualification requirements. University degree in agriculture, preferably at postgraduate level. Experience in teaching agriculture and in the administration of agricultural education institutions and programmes. Familiarity with planning for education and training in agriculture.

Experience in curriculum development, teaching materials and aids, staff organization and training, budgeting and finance, accommodation and equipment requirements.

Specialist in general secondary education

Qualification requirements. Good university degree and a teaching qualification. Experience in teaching at secondary and teacher training levels and in responsible posts in educational administration. Familiarity with educational planning at the national level.

Experience in curriculum development, teaching materials and aids, staff organization and training, budgeting and finance, accommodation and equipment requirements.

Specialist in technical education and vocational training

Qualification requirements. Good university degree in engineering. Training and industrial experience in one of the major branches of engineering. Should have had teaching experience in trade and technical institutions and have held a responsible position in the administration of technical training and education. Should also be familiar with planning in these fields.

Experience in curriculum development, teaching materials and aids, staff organization and training, budgeting and finance, accommodation and equipment requirements.

Economist—manpower
Economist—public finance

Qualification requirements. A good university degree in economics combined with several year's practical experience in the respective field.

Architect (school buildings)

Qualification requirements. University degree in architecture. Practical degree in architecture. Practical experience in the planning and design of educational buildings.

Documents and publications of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies [1]

General, population, health, food, housing

DEMOGRAPHIC AND HOUSING STATISTICS

Demographic and housing statistics. Progress report on improvement in demographic statistics.
   January 1968. 54 p. (ONU/E/CN. 3/377.)
Measures taken in 1965-67. Standardization of classification systems. Collection
and dissemination of data. Technical assistance.

*Demographic and housing statistics. Progress report on the 1970 World Population and
   Housing Census Programmes.* January 1968. 42 p., including annexes. (UN/E/CN.
   3/378.)
Measures taken in 1965-67 to facilitate future population and housing censuses.
Improvement and harmonization of census methods. World standards. Preparation
of methodological and technical manuals. Plans for personnel training in various
countries. Present means of disseminating the results of population and housing
censuses. Future plans in this connexion.

*Demographic and housing statistics. Progress report on improvement in housing statistics,
   1964-1967.* January 1968. 23 p. (UN/E/CN. 3/379.)
This report was drawn up in order to meet the Statistical Commission's request that
closer ties should be established between social and economic statistics (particularly
national accounts statistics). In this connexion, it refers to the measures adopted in
regard to housing statistics.

Asian recommendations for the 1970 housing censuses. 1967. v + 43 p., tables; $1;
   4.30 Sw.fr. (UN/E/CN.11/772.)
Document based on the work of a Working Group which held two sessions in
Bangkok (2-8 December 1964 and 7-12 March 1966). Definitions, classifications,
tabulation. Annexed are model tables.

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1. As a general rule, no mention is made of publications and documents which are issued
   more or less automatically—regular administrative reports, minutes of meetings, etc. Free
   translations have been given of the publications and documents which we were unable to
   obtain in time in English. The following conventional abbreviations have been used:
   Bl. = Contains a particularly interesting bibliography.
   St. = Specially important or rare statistics.

Progress report on computerization of demographic statistics. January 1968. 18 p., including
    annex. (UN/E/CN. 3/380.)
Progress made with regard to each of the aspects of the project for the computer-
ization of data by the United Nations Secretariat (data bank; generalized programme
allowing prompt tabulation, by computer, of demographic data from various
countries, according to national as well as international standards; system for
disseminating statistics as and when stored; bibliography of official sources of
demographics, on tape).

HEALTH

The second ten years of the World Health Organization, 1958-1967. Geneva, 1968. 413 p.;
    $8.75; 26 Sw.fr. (WHO.)
[Bl.] Inventory of the work done by WHO. Future activities.

World health statistics report. 1968. Vol. 21, no. 1 (121 p.; $3.25; 10 Sw.fr.; vol. 21,
    nos. 2-3 (125 p.; $3.25; 10 Sw.fr.; vol. 21, no. 4 (49 p.; $1.75; 5 Sw.fr.). (WHO.)
[St.] The title of this publication has changed. Up to volume 21, it was entitled
Epidemiological and vital statistics report. Sections of a continuing (world) compendium
of statistics on the incidence of diseases. Apart from the regular tables, each studies
a specific topic, e.g., no. 1 contains world-wide data on the death-rate for 1964-66;
nos. 2-3 contain tables devoted to in-patients in 1964; and no. 4 contains data on
diabetes.

HUMAN GENETICS

Research on human population genetics. 1968. 35 p.; $0.60; 2 Sw.fr. (WHO, Technical
report series, no. 387.)
Guiding principles concerning the data to be collected within the framework of
the studies relating to primitive groups. Population groups likely to be studied.
Organization of field research. The necessary means. Data processing. Training
of research workers. Relations between the research team and the population
studied.

FOOD

International action to avert the impending protein crisis. 1968. 106 p.; $1.50, 6.45 Sw.fr.
(UN/E/4343/rev. 1.)
Report to the Economic and Social Council by the Advisory Committee on the
Application of Science and Technology to Development. Policy and programme of
action to be drawn up in order to cope with the shortage of proteins, taking account
of the increase in world population.

*The world food problem—its relationship to international trade, export earnings and economic
development of developing countries.* Report by FAO. January 1968. 34 p., including
    annex. (UN/TD/22.)
Food production and economic development. International action to solve the
world food problem. Present situation. Relationship to international trade. Future
prospects. Measures to be taken in the developing countries. Assistance to be given
to the latter by the developed countries.

Social structures, economics, social service

STATISTICS, NATIONAL ACCOUNTS

Integrated statement of international statistical programmes, 1968-1972. December 1967.
107 p. (UN/E/CN. 3/373.)
Work programmes, in the matter of international statistics, of eight United Nations
organizations (United Nations, ILO, FAO, Unesco, ICAO, WHO, IBRD, IMF)
and of the Inter-American Statistical Institute (IASI). Planning and organization
of work. Theoretical and practical training of statisticians. Improvement of tech-
niques for public opinion polls and surveys. Dissemination and exchange of inform-
ation.

Statistics of world trade in steel, 1966. 1967. 61 p. $1; 4.30 Sw.fr. (UN/ST/ECE/STEEL/25.)
[St.] Exportation of steel manufactures or semi-manufactures, by region and by
country of destination.

Foreign trade statistics of Kuwait, 1960-1963. New York, 1967. xiv + 116 p.; $2;
8.65 Sw.fr. (UN/ST/ESA/BEIRUT/5.)
[St.] Reclassified according to the United Nations Standard International Trade
Classification. This work, which contains some fifty tables, shows the control and
value of the exchanges. There is a special analysis of the petroleum trade.

Foreign trade statistics of Saudi Arabia, 1960-1963. 1967. xvi + 126 p. $2; 8.65 Sw.fr.
(UN/ST/ESA/BEIRUT/6.)
[St.] Reclassified according to the United Nations Standard International Trade
Classification. The work, which contains some sixty tables, shows the control and
value of the exchanges.

*Report of the Fifth Conference of African Statisticians, Addis Abada, 30 October-10 November
1967.* ii + 78 p., including annexes. (UN/E/CN. 14/405.)
The report deals with the following subjects: development of statistics in Africa;
personnel training; national accounts; demographic statistics; housing and industrial
manpower statistics; information processing; work done in the region in connexion
with sampling methods and public opinion polls; work programme.

Yearbook of national accounts statistics, 1966. 1967. 734 p.; $10; 43.25 Sw. fr. (UN/E.67.
XVII/14.)
This yearbook covers 140 countries and territories and contains data on: the compo-
sition and distribution of the national product and national revenue; capital
structure; private consumption.

National accounts and balances. December 1967. 55 p., including annex. (UN/E/CN.
3/357.)
Document presented by an expert group. Recommendations concerning the
modifications to be made in the national accounts system of 1952. Purpose and
structure of the system.

National accounts and balances. The revision and extension of the SNA, 1952. December 1967.
12 p. (UN/E/CN.3/358.)
Progress of the work done since the fourteenth session of the Statistical Commission
with a view to revising and enlarging the SNA. Additional work which seems
desirable in regard to national accounts.

National accounts and balances. Progress in relating the SNA and MPS. January 1968.
   44 p., including annexes. (UN/E/CN.3/362.)
Work done in order to obtain greater concordance of concepts, definitions and
classifications between the SNA (System of National Accounts) and the MPS
(Material Product System of Balances). Points common to the SNA and the MPS.
New theoretical framework of co-ordination.

*National accounts and balances. A complementary system of statistics of the distribution of
   income and wealth.* January 1968. 46 p., including annex. (UN/E/CN.3/363.)
Meetings and studies devoted to this subject. Guiding principles which emerge
from them. Work to be undertaken to improve statistics of the distribution of income
and wealth.

*Report of the Working Group on National Accounts, Santiago, Chile, 30 October-10 No-
   vember 1967.* November 1967. 38 p. (UN/E/CN.12/801.)
The revised national accounts system. Its adaptation in Latin America. The
establishment of national accounts in the countries of that region. Sources and
techniques.

PLANNING, FORECASTS

Macro-economic models for planning and policy-making. 1967. 190 p.; $2.50; 10.80 Sw.fr.
   (UN/E/ECE/665.)
Survey by the Economic Commission for Europe. State of the mathematical methods
of economic planning in East and West European countries. Special study of certain
models. Model tables.

*Sectoral aspects of long-term economic projections with special reference to Asia and the Far
   East.* 1967. 349 p., charts, tables. $4; 17.30 Sw.fr. (UN/E/CN.11/774.)
New projection methods. Study of the elasticity of growth. Macro-economic models.
Sectoral projections on a more detailed scale. Complexity of long-term sectoral
projections. Lack of data in Asia and the Far East. Practical proposals.

Planning and plan implementation. 1968. vi + 245 p., including annexes; $4.50;
   19.45 Sw.fr. (UN/ST/ECA/102.)
Papers presented to the Committee for Development Planning at its last session
(Santiago, Chile, 10-20 April 1967). Problems raised by the implementation of
plans. Experience gained at the regional and national levels.

Local participation in development planning. 1968. iii + 64 p.; $1; 4.30 Sw.fr. (UN/ST/
   SOA/77.)
Relationship between community development and national planning. Local
participation and the necessary administrative arrangements for its promotion.
Annexed are data concerning the machinery in operation in Nigeria, Tanzania
and Yugoslavia.

*Report on the world social situation. Planning for balanced social and economic development in
   France.* April 1967. 103 p. (UN/E/CN.5/346/ADD 14.)
Principal tensions which reveal themselves in the French economy and which must
be overcome in order to achieve a more regular growth. Developments in French
planning during the last twenty years. Sociologic aspects of growth factors. Standard
of living. Income. Regional development.

Report on the world social situation. Some aspects of planning for social development in Bulgaria.
   September 1967. 54 p., including annexes. (UN/E/CN.5/346/ADD 15.)
This document is one of a series of monographs on the planning of economic

development and social balance. It deals with the following subjects: economic and social development of Bulgaria since the war; characteristics of the planning system; organization of social development planning; education: public health; social security; housing construction; financing of social and cultural activities.

LIVING CONDITIONS, SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Report on the world social situation, 1967. January 1968. 7 p. (UN/E/CN.5/417.)
Preface to the report on the world social situation in 1967. The main trends in the evolution of living conditions and social programmes during the first half of the United Nations Development Decade.

Report on the world social situation, 1967. December 1967. 19 p. (UN/E/CN.5/417/ SUMMARY.)
Summary of conclusions of the two addenda (E/CN.5/417/ADD. 1 and 2).

Report on the world social situation, 1967. November 1967. 258 p. (UN/E/CN.5/417/ ADD. 1.)
Evolution of the world population. Evolution of family planning between 1960 and 1966. Health. Food and nutrition. Town planning. Housing and construction. Education. Employment, manpower and income. Social security and social services. Community development. Rehabilitation of the disabled. Crime and delinquency. Variations in the rate of social development in the different parts of the world.

Report on the world social situation, 1967. December 1967. 248 p. (UN/E/CN.5/417/ ADD. 2.)
Special analysis, by regions, of the social situation and social development in Asia, Latin America, Africa, Middle East, East European socialist countries, Soviet Union, Western Europe, North America.

Work programme of the Commission for Social Development. Report of the Group of Experts on Social Policy and the Distribution of Income in the Nation. November 1967. 35 p. (UN/E/CN.5/420/ADD.1.)
Relationship between the distribution of income and social policy. Recommendations by the Group of Experts. Background of the problem. Evaluation of the vital minimum. Means of redistributing income. Statistics concerning the standard of living, income and wealth.

Work programme of the Commission for Social Development: social aspects of industrialization. November 1967. 25 p., including annex. (UN/E/CN.5/421.)
Proposals relating to a concerted programme (UNIDO, Unesco, FAO, ILO, WHO, regional economic commissions, regional offices) bearing on the social aspects of industrialization.

Implementation of United Nations social development programmes during the year 1967. December 1967. 47 p., including annexes. (UN/E/CN.5/423.)
The period under review marks an important phase in the social development programme, not only because of the reorientation of activities, but also because of the decisions adopted by the general Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, which will strongly influence future work. Study of the principal aspects of the activities carried out in 1967. Progress made with regard to various items in the work programme.

Report of the Working Party on the Draft Declaration on Social Development. February 1968. 24 p., including annexes. (UN/E/CN.5/L.340.)
The Working Group met from 22 January to 2 February 1968. It drew up for the

Commission for Social Development a draft declaration on social development principles, aims and methods of action.

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

International Labour Office activities related to repercussions of technological change on employment and conditions of women workers. December 1967. 58 p., including annexes. (UN/E/CN.6/500.)
Nature of this influence. ILO programmes.

PUBLIC ECONOMY

Organization and administration of public enterprises: selected papers. 1968. iv + 218 p.; $3; 13 Sw.fr. (UN/ST/TAO/M/36.)
Introduction to the problem as a whole, followed by studies devoted to: public enterprise and national development; the role of public enterprise in the economic development of countries with centralized planning; organization and management of State industries in the U.S.S.R.; control of public enterprise; its financing.

TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT, FLOW OF CAPITAL, ECONOMIC AID

Review of international trade and development, 1967. Part 1: *Review of recent trends in trade and development.* November 1967. iii + 50 p. (UN/TD/5.)
[St.] Report by the Secretary-General of UNCTAD. Trend of economic growth in developing countries. Outline of world trade by large regions. Incidences for developing countries.

Review of international trade and development, 1967. Part 2: *Trade policy developments.* August 1967. iii + 70 p. (UN/TD/5/ADD. 1.)
Trade policy of various countries. Primary products. Manufactures and semi-manufactures. Financing of trade and development. Invisible receipts, including shipping.

Growth, development finance and aid (synchronization of international and national policies): issues and proposals. October 1967. 32 p. (UN/TD/7.)
Summary of proposals. Balance to be established between internal resources and external aid. Mobilization of internal resources. Supply of external assistance. Aid from multilateral institutions. Aid conditions. Problems of indebtedness. Tying of aid. Aid administration programmes. Trade credits. Private capital. Compensatory finance.

Growth and external development finance. October 1967. 36 p. (UN/TD/7/SUPP.1.)
[St.] Relations between growth and external resources. Current contributions of external financial resources. Objectives of aid for development. Proposals.

The terms of financial flows and problems of debt-servicing. October 1967. 20 p. (UN/TD/7/SUPP.3.)
Recents trends in aid conditions. Methods for solving the principal problems. Necessity of fixing new objectives in the matter of aid and modifying the conditions.

The tying of aid, by Jagdish N. Bhagwati. November 1967. 70 p., including annexes. (UN/TD/7/SUPP.4.)
Methods by which aid is tied to a source of supply. Tendency to the generalization of aid tied to such a source. Cost of this aid to the beneficiary countries. Advantages for the supplying countries. Means of reducing the real cost.

Progress report on compensatory financing of export fluctuations. November 1967. 70 p.,
    including annexes (UN/TD/7/SUPP.6.)
This note explains, in general outline, the decisions adopted by the International
Monetary Fund and the revised system of financing.

Progress report on international monetary reform. November 1967. 21 p., including sum-
    mary. (UN/TD/7/SUPP.7.)
Developments up to the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund,
held at Rio de Janeiro in 1967. Insufficient growth of world reserves. Intervention
arrangements. Nature and form of the new instrument. Carrying into effect.
Ties with the financing of development.

Costs and benefits of aid; an empirical analysis, by John Pincus. October 1967. 59 p.,
    including annex. (UN/TD/7/SUPP.10.)
Cost of foreign aid, between 1962 and 1966, for thirteen supplying countries,
calculated on the basis of data supplied by OECD. Similar estimates for thirty-nine
beneficiary countries. Views of the beneficiary countries with regard to the desi-
rability of more flexible aid conditions. Question of improving the techniques for
measuring the effects of aid.

The Horowitz proposal. December 1967. iii + 17 p. (UN/TD/7/SUPP.11.)
This proposal includes three essential elements: recourse to the capital markets as
a source for the financing of loans for development granted by an international
institution; system of guarantees as surety for the debts contracted by that institution;
system of interest rebates. The questions raised by this proposal are dealt with in
this study, presented by the UNCTAD Secretariat.

The development of an international commodity policy. October 1967. 43 p. (UN/TD/8.)
This document, which is concerned with all international policies relating to com-
modity markets, deals in particular with exports from developing countries. Means
of action available to the international community; proposed measures.

Recent developments and long-term trends in commodity trade. November 1967. 28 p.
    (UN/TD/9.)
Report by the UNCTAD Secretariat. Short-term and long term trends in commodity
trade. Factors influencing the evolution of commodity exports in developing coun-
tries. Future prospects.

*Programme for the liberalization and expansion of trade in commodities of interest to developing
    countries.* December 1967. iii + 56 p., including annex. (UN/TD/11/SUPP.1.)
[St.] Measures which could be taken to liberalize trade. Reminder of the recom-
mendations formulated by UNCTAD in 1964. Developments since then. Obstacles
to commodity trade. Prospects as regards the establishment of a new programme of
action.

Trade barriers and liberalization possibilities in selected commodities. December 1967.
    iii + 91 p. (UN/TD/11/SUPP.2.)
Principal commodities in which trade is impeded: bananas, beef and veal, citrus
fruits and citrus juices, cocoa, coffee, cotton, rubber, sugar, tea, tobacco, wool,
bauxite, alumina and aluminium, copper, lead petroleum, tin, zinc.

Trade expansion and economic integration among developing countries. November 1967.
    40 p., (UN/TD/15.)
Concise presentation of problems concerning the creation and functioning of
groupings among developing countries. Results obtained in this field. Reasons why
such projects are difficult. Means of overcoming the difficulties.

Special measures to be taken in favour of the least developed among the developing countries aimed at expanding their trade and improving their economic and social development. November 1967. ii + 20 p., including annex. (UN/TD/17.)
General statement of the problem. Summary of suggestions concerning the special measures to be taken in favour of the least developed countries. Means of determining which countries are the least developed.

Trends and problems in world trade and development. Review of trade relations among countries having different economic and social systems including problems of East-West trade. November 1967. 44 p. (UN/TD/18.)
Report by the UNCTAD Secretariat. Outline of the economic growth and export trade of socialist countries. Trade between socialist countries, developing countries and developed countries with a market economy.

Programme for the liberalization of non-tariff barriers in developed countries on products of export interest to developing countries. November 1967. iii + 23 p. (UN/TD/20/SUPP.1.)
Report by the UNCTAD Secretariat. Principal points which should be taken into consideration. Definition of the methods of applying an *ad hoc* programme.

A possible programme for the promotion of exports of manufactures and semi-manufactures from the developing countries. November 1967. i + 59 p., including annexes. (UN/TD/21/SUPP.1.)
Problems confronting developing countries in the field of the promotion of exports and commercialization. Measures to be taken. Reports of the Meeting of Experts on United Nations Technical Assistance relating to Exports of Manufactures and Semi-Manufactures from Developing Countries (Geneva, 24-28 October 1966) and of the Joint UNCTAD/UNIDO Meeting of Experts on Government Policies for Export Promotion (New York, 26-30 June 1967).

The role of private enterprise in investment and promotion of exports in developing countries. November 1967. xiv + 250 p., including annexes. (UN/TD/35/SUPP.1.)
Report prepared by Dirk U. Stikker. Private enterprise and development. Means of promoting the flow of foreign private 'investments. Development of exports of manufactures and semi-manufactures from developing countries. Annexed are extracts from a declaration on development in Africa, by M. T. J. Mboya, Minister of Planning, Kenya, at the opening of the eighth session of the Economic Commission for Africa, and the Agreement on double taxation, established by the Commonwealth Federation of Chambers of Commerce. Notes on the profitableness of various public and private enterprises in India, in 1963-64 and in 1964-65.

Consideration of measures leading to the improvement of the international division of labour. Some labour implications of increased participation of developing countries in trade in manufactures and semi-manufactures. December 1967. 17 p., including annex. (UN/TD/46.)
Report by the International Labour Office. Preliminary study of the consequences which the increase in imports of industrial products from the developing countries could have on the volume of employment in North America and in Europe. Methods of evaluating and forecasting these consequences.

Activities of GATT in the field of trade and development 1964-1967. January 1968. 48 p., including annexes. (UN/TD/50.)
Nature of GATT. Activities in 1964-67. Legal and institutional development. Measures taken as regards parity. Work of the Committee on Trade and Development. Trade negotiations. Trade promotion. Technical assistance. Future programme of work. Relationship between GATT and UNCTAD.

*The external financing of economic development. International flow of long-term capital and
official donations, 1962-1966.* 1968. xi + 144 p.; $2; 8.65 Sw.fr. (UN/E/4438.)
[St.] Recent information concerning the movement of capital and donations.
Statistical analysis of the nature and amount of the resources transferred during
the last ten years. Information concerning the return flow of resources. Imbalances.

Programme of work of UNIDO for 1968. October 1967. 57 p., including annexes.
(UN/ID/B/20.)
[Bl.] Outline of the activities included in the United Nations Industrial Develop-
ment Organization's programme for 1968. Synoptic tables with annotations.
Field work projects. Meetings. Research.

REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMISSIONS

*Compendium of resolutions adopted by the Economic Commission for Africa from the first
to the eighth sessions, 1958-1967.* August 1967. 265 p. (UN/E/CN.14/DOC/2/ADD.12.)
Integral text of the resolutions relating to all fields of the Commission's activities.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East—twenty years of progress. 1967. 176 p.,
maps. (UN/E/CN.11/766/REV.1.)
Commemorative report. First steps and development of ECAFE. Present activities.
Economic analysis. Planning. Statistics. Promotion of production and exchanges.

ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION

Planning and policy aspects of economic co-operation in Eastern Africa. October 1967.
47 p., including annex. (UN/E/CN.14/EA/EC3.)
The situation in the subregion. Evolution of economic co-operation. Trends towards
parallel and competitive development. Various methods of economic co-operation.
Influence of these methods on national development policies. Institutional problems.

*The economically relatively less developed countries and Latin American integration: approaches
and proposals.* October 1967. 37 p. (UN/ST/ECLA/CONF.29/L.2.)
The policy of integration in Latin America. Imbalances. Recommendations.
Measures to be taken: policy measures, agreements by sectors, multinational
projects, frontier/development programmes, fiscal incentives, financial co-operation,
technical assistance, internal decisions.

*Report of the Second Ministerial Conference on Asian Economic Co-operation and report on the
Asian Development Bank.* 1966. iii + 114 p.; $2.; 8.65 Sw.fr. (UN/E/CN.11/716/
REV.1.)
The conference was held in Manila from 29 November to 2 December 1965.
Economic co-operation. Harmonization of development plans. Industrialization.
Trade liberalization. Problems raised by the creation of the Asian Development
Bank.

MINES, FUELS

Consumption of solid fuels in the domestic sector. 1967. v + 76 p., including tables and
figures; $1; 4.30 Sw.fr. (UN/ST/ECE/COAL/33.)
Study by the Economic Commission for Europe. Past and future trends in the
delivery of solid fuels to the domestic sector. General outline of the trends on a
European scale. Analysed by countries.

Mining developments in Asia and the Far East. 1967. ix + 136 p., tables; $2.50; 8.65
Sw.fr. (UN/E/CN.11/751.)
[St.] Review to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of ECAFE. Development
of mining production in the countries of the region.

The coal situation in Europe in 1966 and its prospects. 1967. iv + 59 p., including tables; $0.75; 3.25 Sw.fr. (UN/ST/ECE/COAL/32.)
Recent developments in the demand for coal and the factors determining this demand. Deliveries to the principal consumption sectors. Developments in coal production, productivity and manpower. Changes which have occurred in the international trade of solid fuels. Long-term trends in the coal supply and demand in Europe.

AGRICULTURE, FISHING

National grain policies, 1967. 1968. 136 p.; $2; 8.65 Sw.fr. (FAO.)
Official reports from forty-four countries of the measures in force during the 1966-67 campaign. Information concerning all cereals, with the exception of rice.

The state of world fisheries. 1968. 49 p.; $0.80; 3.45 Sw.fr. (FAO.)
Need for dividing fishing resources. Problems raised by the world increase in catches. Forms of regulation. Future prospects. Annexed is a table listing the intergovernmental bodies concerned with fishing.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Labour inspection in agriculture. Geneva, 1967. 84 p.; $1; 4 Sw.fr. (ILO.)
Report prepared for the International Labour Conference (52nd Session, Geneva, 1968). Historical account of the question. Basic ideas. Field of action and methods of labour inspection in agriculture. Organization of inspection systems. Questionnaire addressed to governments.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRIES

General report: recent events and developments in the textile industry. 1968. 128 p. (ILO.)
Trends in production for the industry as a whole and for different sectors of it. Employment. Salaries. Collective negotiations. Social problems resulting from fluctuations in the international textile trade. Technical co-operation between ILO and UNIDO.

The effects of structural and technological changes on labour problems in the textile industry. 1968. 113 p. (ILO.)
Recent changes in the situation and structure of the textile industry. Effects on salaries. Manpower surpluses. Changes in the field of training and readaptation. Professional relations.

Labour problems in the textile industry in developing countries. 1968. 103 p. (ILO.)
The textile industry in developing countries. Problems concerning the development of human resources and professional training. Working and living conditions. Development of social institutions. Case studies illustrating the solution of these problems at the level of the enterprise.

SOCIAL SERVICES

Organization and administration of social welfare programmes: A series of country studies. Jordan. 1968. iv + 38 p.; $0.75; 3.25 Sw.fr. (UN/ST/SOA/78.)
Study prepared before the war in June 1967. Organization of social services in Jordan. Problems. Recommendations.

Legal and political questions, human rights

HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights: a compilation of international instruments of the United Nations. 1967.
  vi + 94 p.; $2; 8.65 Sw.fr. (UN/A/CONF. 32/4.)
Texts of the conventions, declarations and certain recommendations adopted by
the United Nations up to 31 December 1966, and the texts of certain instruments
adopted by ILO and Unesco. In addition to the International Declaration of
Human Rights, this publication is concerned with instruments dealing with self-
determination, discrimination, genocide, slavery, nationality, freedom of information,
freedom of association, employment policy, women's political rights, marriage and
the family, infancy, the right to culture and cultural co-operation at the international
level.

*Status of multilateral agreements in the field of human rights concluded under the auspices of
  the United Nations.* January 1968. 55 p., including annex. (UN/A/CONF.32/7.)
Text of multilateral agreements. Information received up to 31 January 1968.
State of ratifications.

Periodic reports on human rights. November 1967. 97 p., including annex. (UN/E/CN.4/951.)
Measures taken between 1 July 1964 and 30 June 1967 by the Member States of
Unesco, in order to give effect to that organization's recommendations and to the
provisions of the Declaration of Human Rights, for the purpose of improving the
means of information, promoting the free flow of informants and news and raising
the standard of information.

*Commission on Human Rights: information submitted by the Secretariat General of the Council
  of Europe.* November 1967. 20 p., including annexes. (UN/E/CN.4/AC.23/3.)
Functions of the European Commission on Human Rights. Rights and freedoms
guaranteed by the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Funda-
mental Freedoms, signed in Rome, 4 November 1950. Machinery adopted for the
protection of these rights.

Subsidiary organs of the Economic and Social Council in the field of human rights. December
  1967. 22 p. (UN/E/CN.4/AC.23/4).
Composition and terms of reference of the technical committees of the Economic
and Social Council operating in the field of human rights. Technical subcommittees
and other subsidiary organs.

The ILO and human rights. 1968. 124 p.; $1; 4 Sw.fr. (ILO.)
ILO report to the International Conference on Human Rights (1968). ILO's
methods of action in the field of human rights. Measures already taken. Main
objectives of the ILO from the standpoint of the Philadelphia Declaration.

Some economic foundations of human rights. February 1968. 23 p. (UN/A/CONF.32/L.2.)
Economic barriers which still prevent the complete enjoyment of human rights
in the developing countries. Measures to be taken to overcome these barriers.

APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Study of apartheid and racial discrimination in Southern Africa. November 1967. 173 p.
(UN/E/CN.4/949.)
This report, devoted to South Africa, forms part of a series of studies of the legal
measures and practices in force in South Africa, South West Africa and Rhodesia.

Study of apartheid and racial discrimination in Southern Africa. November 1967. 100 p. (UN/E/CN.4/949/ADD.1.)
Continuation of the preceding document, devoted to South West Africa.

Study of apartheid and racial discrimination in Southern Africa. December 1967. 126 p. (UN/E/CN.4/949/ADD.2.)
Study devoted to Southern Rhodesia.

Study of apartheid and racial discrimination in Southern Africa: survey of United Nations past action in its efforts to eliminate the policies and practices of apartheid in all its forms and manifestations. December 1967. 93 p. (UN/E/CN.4/949/ADD.3.)
Measures taken in regard to South Africa, South West Africa and Rhodesia.

DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

Fighting discrimination in employment and occupation. A workers' manual. 1968. 218 p.; $0.75; 3 Sw.fr. (ILO.)
This manual, containing fifteen lessons, deals with various forms of discrimination in employment and occupation, and with international action in this field.

FORCED LABOUR

Forced labour. General survey on the reports concerning the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29) and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105). 1968. $1; 4 Sw.fr. (ILO.)
Evolution of the practice of forced or obligatory labour in regard to production or service, and forced labour for political and rehabilitation purposes.

STATUS OF WOMEN

Status of women in Trust Territories. January 1968. 23 p., including annex. (UN/E/CN.6/491.)
This report covers the period 1965-66. New developments. Reminder of the Trust Council's discussions on the subject. List of relevant documents.

Status of women in private law. January 1968. 25 p. (UN/E/CN.6/492.)
Account of the work done in the field of private law, since 1946, by the Commission on the Status of Women. Proposals concerning the Commission's future work.

National commissions on the status of women. January 1968. 21 p. (UN/E/CN.6/494/ADD.1.)
Summary of the replies from twenty-four countries concerning the establishment of national commissions on the status of women, or similar bodies.

Family planning and the status of women. January 1968. 27 p. (UN/E/CN.6/497.)
Programmes recently formulated by the United Nations. Outline of national programmes of family planning. Relationship between family planning and the status of women.

FAMILY CODE

Parental rights and duties, including guardianship. 1968. 114 p.; $1.25; 5.40 Sw.fr. (UN/E/CN.6/474/REV.1.)
Parental rights and duties in normal circumstances and when the family is divided. Cases in which the mother remains the sole parent, owing to widowhood or desertion or some other reason.

Education, science

Draft programme and budget for 1969-1970. 1968. 378 p. (UNESCO/15C/5.)
Working document intended for the fifteenth session of the General Conference of
Unesco (1968). Very detailed plan of the activities envisaged for 1969-70.

MASS MEDIA AND ADULT EDUCATION

Meetings of experts on mass media in adult education and literacy. 25 March 1968. 15 p.,
   including annex. (UNESCO/COM/CS/169/8.)
Final report of this meeting (Paris, 13-20 November 1967). Study of the ways in
which the radio, television, films, the press and low-cost books can contribute to
the needs of adult education and literacy teaching. Detailed conclusions. List of
participants.

EDUCATION OF WOMEN

Access of girls and women to technical and vocational education. January 1968. 183 p.,
   including annexes. (UN/E/CN.6/498.)
Study presented by Unesco. Historical aspects of the question. Quantitive data.
Economic and social factors. Attempt to analyse the obstacles and favourable
factors.

Seminar on civic and political education of women, Helsinki, Finland, 1-14 August 1967.
   1968. iii + 49 p. (UN/ST/TAO/HR/30.)
Limitations on equality between women and men in the exercise of civic and political
responsibilities. Aims of civic and political education. Role of public institutions and
private organizations in the civic and political education of women. Techniques
and methods.

TRAINING OF WORKERS AND CADRES

*Development and utilization of human resources. Creation of job opportunities and training
   of cadres in countries undergoing rapid modernization.* November 1967. 66 p. (UN/E/CN.5/
   422.)
Report presented by the International Labour Office. Prospects of employment
and unemployment in the countries considered. Shortage of qualified personnel as
an obstacle to development. Measures taken to balance employment. Role of the
planning of human resources. Priority problems. Outline of a programme for the
development of human resources.

SCIENCE POLICY IN AFRICA

Symposium on science policy and research administration in Africa. 16 October 1967. 32 p.,
   including annexes. (UNESCO/SC/CS/91/1.)
[Bl.] Final report of the Yaoundé Symposium (10-21 July 1967), which considered
the problems arising in intertropical Africa in regard to the organization of scientific
research. Conclusions. List of participants and working documents.

Books received

General or methodological works

GEOMANS, K. A. *Statistics for the social scientist*. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1968. 2 vol., fig., tabl., index. Vol. I: *Introducing statistics*. 258 p., 15s.; Vol. II: *Applied statistics*. 397 p., 21s. (Penguin education studies in applied statistics, 5, 6.)

MUKERJEE, Radhakamel. *Man and his habitation. A study in social ecology*. Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1968. ix + 195 p., tabl., bibl., index. Rs.24.00.

PIGANIOL, Pierre. *Maîtriser le progrès*. Paris, Laffont-Gonthier, 1968. 346 p., tabl., 15.90 F. (Collection 'Inventaire de l'avenir'.)

TITMUSS, Richard M. *Commitment to welfare*. London, Allen and Unwin, 1968. 272 p., index. 30s.

History

RESNIK, G. J. *Indonesia's history between the myths*. The Hague, Hoeve, 1968. xviii + 457 p., map, bibliogr., index. 36.50 H.fl. (Selected studies on Indonesia, volume 7 published for the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam.)

Law, criminology

GLASER, Edwin. *Regulile de interpretare a tratatelor internationale*. Bucuresti, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romania, 1968. 274 p. 15 lei.

LEGA, Carlo. *Diritto e deontologia medica*. Rome, Istituto Italiano di Medicina sociale, 1968. 540 p., index. 6.500 lire.

PECAR, Janez; VODOPIVEC, Katja; UDERMAN, Boris; KROFLIC, Marjan. *Poravenalni Sveti*. Ljubljana, Institut za Kriminologijo pri Pravni Fakultati v Ljubljani, 1968. 198 p., tabl., multigr. ('Reconciliation boards', summary in English.) (Publikacija Stev. 11.)

REUCK, A. V. S.; PORTER, Ruth (eds.). *The mentally abnormal offender*. A Ciba Foundation symposium. London, Churchill, 1968. xii + 260 p., fig., tabl., index. 60s.

SCHWARZENBERGER, Georg. *International law as applied by international courts and tribunals*. Vol. II: *The law of armed conflict*. London, Stevens, 1968. lv + 881 p., bibl., index. £8.8s.od.

Economics, demography

ACADEMIA REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA. *Creare sistemului monetor national la 1867.* Bucharest, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romania, 1968. 125 p., tabl., pl., bibl. 4.50 lei. (Bibliotheca oeconomica, V.)

ARRIAGA, Eduardo E. *New life tables for Latin American populations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.* Berkeley, Calif., Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1968. vii + 324 p., fig., tabl. $2.75. (Population monograph series, no. 3.)

BEAN, Lee L; KHAN, Masihur Rahman; RUKANUDDIN, A. Razzaque. *Population projections for Pakistan, 1960-2000.* Karachi, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 1968. 93 p., fig., tabl. Rs.5; $2. (Monographs in the economics of development, no. 17.)

BIRNBAUM, Eugene A. *Gold and the international monetary system: an orderly reform.* Princeton, N.J., International Finance Section, Princeton University, 1968, 52 p. (Essays in international finance, no. 66.)

CEVOLLOS, Gonzalo. *L'intégration économique de l'Amérique latine.* Geneva, Droz, 1968. 276 p., fig., tabl., bibl. (Travaux de droit, d'économie, de sociologie et de sciences politiques, no. 68.)

Cooperativas de producción. Santiago de Chile, Consejeria de Promocion Popular, 1968, 110 p., tabl. (Coleccion estudios.)

FLEMING, J. Marcus. *Guidelines for balance-of-payments adjustment under the par-value system.* Princeton, N.J., International Finance Section, Princeton University, 1968. 31 p. (Essays in international finance, no. 67.)

FOURASTIÉ, J.; COURTHÉOUX, J. P. *La planification économique en France,* deuxième édition refondue. Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1968. 314 p., tabl. 14 F. (Collection: SUP L'économiste.)

HALLAIRE, Jean. *L'emploi à temps partiel.* Paris, Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques, 1968. 116 p., tabl. 11 F; DM. 9.20; 19s.; $2.80. (Emploi des groupes spéciaux.)

HOWENSTINE, E. Jay. *Programmes d'emplois compensataires,* version abrégée. Paris, Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques, 1967. 52 p., multigr. (Développement des possibilités d'emploi.)

IBARROLA, Jesus. *Structure sociale et fortune mobilière et immobilière à Grenoble en 1847.* Paris, The Hague, Mouton, 1968. ix + 124 p., tabl. (Publications de la faculté de droit et des sciences économiques de Grenoble, Série histoire sociale, vol. 1.)

KAINZBAUER, Werner. *Der Handel in Tanzania.* Berlin, Heidelberg, New York, Springer, 1968. Fig., tabl., maps, bibl. (Ifo-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, München, Afrika-Studien 18.)

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