Post-war sociology in Yugoslavia.

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POST-WAR SOCIOLOGY IN YUGOSLAVIA

BY

VLADISLAV A. TOMOVIĆ

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies through the
Department of Sociology and Anthropology in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts at the
University of Windsor

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ABSTRACT

This thesis reviews Yugoslavian sociology as it developed after World-War II. After briefly summarizing the pre World-War II developments, a discussion of the separation of sociology from historical materialism is presented, followed by a survey of developments in sociological theory, industrial sociology, rural sociology, sociology of class and stratification, general sociology, and the international co-operation of the Yugoslav sociologists.

In order to illustrate the degree of development of the empirical approach, tables from contemporary research projects in Yugoslavia are presented.

A comprehensive, translated bibliography arranged by the subject matter is attached. It is the first such bibliography to be ever compiled either in English or in Yugoslavian.

Basically this thesis is a survey rather than an in-depth study of sociology in the post-World War II period in Yugoslavia.
PREFACE

What follows derives from the author's intensive interest and partial research in the development of contemporary sociology in Yugoslavia. During the first contact with the sociological material received from Yugoslavia it has been observed that there is a "new phase" in the development of sociology there. And yet, no study of this development has been undertaken on this continent even though Western sociologists are aware that their colleagues in East European countries are making a notable progress (Cf. T. Parsons, The American Sociologist, No. 5, November 1966, p. 239).

This study presents (1) a general review of sociological issues and areas of specialization in the period following the Second World War, and (2) a comprehensive translated bibliography of post-war sociological writings arranged according to the subject matter. It is the first such bibliography ever presented in the English language.

I should like to take this opportunity to express my unceasing gratitude to my Director Dr. Wsevolod Isajiw for his helpful advise and his long hours spent carefully reading and correcting this thesis. I thank also Dr. Vincent C. Chrypinski and professor Donald Stewart for their patient reading of this thesis. Most of all I thank my wife for her patience and understanding.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to understand the development of sociology in Yugoslavia without understanding some political events which Yugoslavia has experienced in the post-War II period. It appears that the development of sociology in Yugoslavia has been encouraged by these events, or at least these events were so drastic that their impact was also reflected in sociology.

There is no doubt that the Soviet-Yugoslav break in 1948 has promoted Yugoslavia's "self-road to socialism" not only in politics, economy, social life, but in the academic world as well.

After all, it is the Yugoslav Government which through a policy of self determination and its own interpretation and evaluation of Marxism and Leninism has opened the door to the social scientists to do their own, original, interpretation and evaluation of Marxism, and to adapt it to the Yugoslavian situation. Hence, a critical evaluation of historical materialism was justifiable. Critical analysis of historical materialism has produced its separation from sociology; it has been proven by the Yugoslav sociologists that sociology and historical materialism are not one and the same subject matter. This process of separation of sociology -1-
from historical materialism is taken as the historical moment of re-birth of sociology in Yugoslavia. Those who worked on this theoretical comparison and distinction in 1954 won their first victory. In that year the First Yugoslavian Sociological Society was formed.

Besides the influence of the Soviet-Yugoslav split on the development of sociology in Yugoslavia, there were other events which have played a significant role in re-establishment of sociology. A rather basic factor has been the Yugoslav pioneering of unique socialism programs, especially that of the Workers' Councils.

It is difficult to judge whether the Djilas case has had much influence on the social scientists. Despite the fact that Djilas was not a sociologist, his book *The New Class* has produced so much interest among sociologists outside of Yugoslavia, that one could expect that his name be associated with the development of sociology in Yugoslavia. What is interesting about Djilas' book, from the sociological point of view, is the fact that it is an account of a participant observer of the situation in Yugoslavia in the early 50's. In his book, Djilas has pointed out elements of social stratification under the Marxian socialism which at that time might not have been stated very openly, but which were known to the Yugoslav social scientists. That is why one wonders
if Djilas could have had any bearing on the current interest shown by the sociologists in Yugoslavia in the problem of social stratification. Only one reference to his work (by M. Pečujlić) was found by this author.

Today sociology in Yugoslavia became recognized and re-institutionalized. It practically has replaced the teaching of historical materialism as the only social science course teachable about society. The institutes for social studies have been formed in each of the Socialist Republics. At present, universities offer higher degrees in sociology. Many research projects of an empirical nature have been undertaken, including co-operative research projects with foreign universities.

It should be pointed out that sociology as a science has not been completely divorced from programmatic ideology or efforts to develop existing social and economic institutions. However, changes in social and economic institutions, especially since 1948, have made possible a development of sociology along the lines increasingly more independent of ideology, and this in turn has made possible a freer criticism of Marx and Marxism.

There are still the apparent contradictions, according to which an ideological position is reaffirmed in one sentence, yet implicitly or explicitly criticized in another.
In this work emphasis will be on selecting out the material which is peculiarly sociological, however, in many cases the ideological context will be also preserved in order to give the real picture of the discipline as it exists within the specific Yugoslavian conditions.

This work is meant to be primarily a review of Yugoslavian sociology and not an intensive, in-depth, study. The total picture, however, should not only give a general assessment of what is going on in this discipline, but should also provide notes for sociology of sociology.

Special emphasis in this thesis is placed on the evaluation of the process of the separation of sociology from historical materialism and the present stage of deideologization of sociology in Yugoslavia. At the same time the study is attempting to answer the question of how sociology has managed to gain its recognition side by side with historical materialism.

It is apparent that Yugoslavia has been developing empirical sociology as early as 1957. This new trend resembles American empirical sociology in many ways. Therefore our task is to see how empirically oriented contemporary Yugoslavian sociology, is and in what sociological areas. A systematic study of several areas of sociology in Yugoslavia is presented in order to answer this question. Analysis is
based exclusively on Yugoslavian publications. Regional and local achievements by the Republics are taken into close consideration, although the whole work is subsumed under the name "Yugoslav" rather than under each Socialist Republic.

The rest of this introductory chapter briefly reviews development of sociology in the pre-World War II period. In Chapter II the discussions on the question of the distinction between historical materialism and sociology is presented, and Chapter III takes up the main issues in theory and definition of the scope of sociology. Chapter IV, V and VI deal with the most important specialized areas that have developed in contemporary Yugoslavian sociology, and Chapter VIII, reviews the sociological institutions, university courses, the status of students and professors of sociology, sociological research, journals, and international co-operation in sociology.

Pre-World War II Sociology In Yugoslavia

Although there is no one major work available in English on Yugoslavian sociology, a number of studies were published in America as early as 1936 (Roucek); 1940 (Mirkovich);
1941 (Tomašić); 1945; and 1957 (Roucek). Dinko Tomašić, writing in 1941, in his article "Sociology in Yugoslavia" observed that Yugoslav Sociology was developed regionally by ethnic groupings. He states:

Sociology in Yugoslavia is divided according to the ethnic groupings in that country: Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian. Each form is characterized by strong ethnocentrism and a close union with political activities.

In view of the political and ethnic differences which existed at that time between the Balkan's nationalities, the division of sciences, particularly sociology, by regionality was quite understandable.

Pre-World War II sociology in Yugoslavia centered around the ethnic structure of Yugoslavia, extended family (Zadruga), rural society and the village community, sociology of crime and general sociological theory. The most popular area was the study of the structure of the Balkan population.

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2 Prior to the World War Two, three principal ethnic groups (nationalities) were recognized in Yugoslavia: Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenians. After the War, however, the new Yugoslav system extended the recognition to two other minorities: Montenegrarians and Macedonians.

3 Tomašić, op. cit., p. 53.

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Probably the most prominent man of this generation, was Professor Jovan Cvijić (1865-1928). Cvijić's socio­logical work is printed in two volumes: *Balkansko Poluostrvo I Juznoslovenske Zemlje (The Balkan's Peninsula and South Slav's Countries).* It is Cvijić's greatest contribution to the field of sociology.

Cvijić's school, although originally ethnographic has much sociological value. It was one of the original approaches to the problem of the structure of ethnicity in the Balkans. Cvijić studied human characteristics and through them intergroup relations, culture and forms of social organization in rural Yugoslavia.

Dragoljub Jovanović, another Serbian compared Serbia to America, seeing in both "melting pots" and an easy process of assimilation of many ethnic minorities who came and mixed with the domestic population.

An outstanding sociologist in the field of comparative cultural areas was Antun Radić (1968-1919), a Croat. His interest in the cultural differentiation between rural and urban population lead him into the study of the West European civilization in order to understand better his own native people.

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4 Beograd, 1922, reprinted in 1966 by "Zavod Za Izdavanje Udzbenika SRS, Beograd; Iz Društvenih Nauka (From Social Sciences, Beograd: 1965); Autobiografija i Drugi Spisi (Autobiography and Other Essays, Novi Sad: 1963)."
He found that his people were behind the European standards because of the historical conditions which had prevailed in the countries of the Balkans for the last five centuries, mainly, the Turkish occupation.

At this time the West European type of capitalism was beginning to penetrate Croatia, and consequently widening the gap between the village and town, between Zadruga and the new urban family. Hence in addition to discrepancies between the village and the town developed. This, Radić thought, was a very interesting area for study.

As far as the West European civilization is concerned Radić sees it as being a composition of opposites: the Greco-Roman Culture and Christianity. He states:

The result of this strange combination ... was that, on the one hand, Western-European Civilization accepted from the Greco-Roman World the idea of superiority, imperialism, merchandization, megalomania, the idea of the state as an organization of power and force, the system of official and aristocratic Christianity, and on the other hand, the constant spiritual and economic revolutions in the Western World: the Renaissance, Hussite Wars, the Reformation, and the French Revolution. 5

Having observed the West-European civilization, Radić had organized a systematic study of the folk culture of his native Croatia. The findings of this unique study in

5Tomašić, op. cit., p. 54.
Yugoslavia were published in thirty-six volumes. The cultural diversification of the folk culture in Croatia was seen to be of two main types:

It was found that there were two main types of this culture: one whose typical unit of social organization was Skupština, the anarchic, democratic, and collectivistic organization of agricultural folk, and the other whose typical social organization was the clan system and patriarchal family organization of warriors and pastoral people.

Radić's findings proved later that these two types of sub-culture had a great influence upon the course of cultural and political history of Croatia.

Radić himself was influenced by agricultural folk culture. But his love for the common people and his academic interest in pursuing the study of these people were further developed under the influence of French sociologist, J. Michelet (1798-1898), with his study Le Peuple (1848) and by

his two countrymen, Baltazar Bogisic (1834-1908)\(^8\) and Juraj Križanić. The first one was primarily interested in the South Slavic folk culture. He developed his own methods of studying culture, including questionnaires and interviews. He especially studied common law and traditions. A number of his studies were purely sociological-empirical in nature. For his achievements in the field of sociology he was elected President of the International Institute for Sociology.

Juraj Križanić, on the other hand, was more of a theoretician than empiricist. He originated the pan-Slav idea. He was greatly influenced by Radić and is known for his thesis that Slavs are a separate world \textit{per se} and have their own culture which always should be contrasted to the Greco-Roman, Western World.

From the point of view of sociology, Cvijić, Radić, Jovanović and Križanić and be considered as representing the emergence of Yugoslavian sociology from ethnography, ethnology and the study of folklore. Some of the first works dealing with the structure of the ethnic groups went so far

\(^8\)Bogišić was Minister of Justice of Montenegro (1893-1899). He also taught at the University of Odessa. His works were published as \textit{The Collection of the Contemporary Legal Customs in Southern Slovenia} (Zagreb: 1874). He was a native of Ragusa (Dubrovnik). His major works were translated by Demelić and published in France: \textit{Le Droit Countumier des Slaves meridionaux d'apres less recherches de M.V. Bogišić} (Paris: 1876). See also S.O. Lobinger, "Bogasíc, Balthazar Anton," \textit{Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences}, 2:218. Niko Martinnović, \textit{Vallazar Bogisic}, (Cetinje: Istoriski Institut C. Gore, 1958)
as to become almost racialist theories. In this, however, they were not unique. This was the time of Artur de Gobineau (1816-1882) in France and Houston Stuart Chamberlain (1855-1927), publishing in German.

Yugoslav early sociologists also emphasized in their studies the analysis of the extended family, the Zadruga. Zadruga was a form of familial organization where several generations live together, i.e., grandfather with several sons and daughters-in-law. Basically, it is a self-sufficient, self-regulating extended family. It is only comparable with the Russian type of organization called Mir.

Among the first who wrote on the Zadruga were Utješenović and Miličević (Die Hauscommunion der Suedslaven, Vienna: 1859, and Miličević's La Zadruga, etude sur la vie

9 By D. Tomasić, the Zadruga system of Croatia was a combination of economic and joint family organization based on the principle of self-sufficiency and collective ownership. In the days of Radić's youth this system of social organization was rapidly disintegrating under the press of the capitalist system which was penetrating Croatia from West Europe. In order to promote commerce and industry and to develop towns after the pattern of Western Europe, the Croatian upper-classes sought to dissolve the system of collective ownership through legislation by imposed increasing taxes on newly created individual peasant holdings. Peasants had to market more of their products in order to pay taxes, and the result was that their homes consumption and general standard of living decreased. Tomasić, op.cit., p. 61.
No major purely sociological works were published until Tihomir Djordjević, Professor of Ethnology in Belgrade,

12


For the narrative literature on the village life in Yugoslavia before the Second World War, see: A.M. Tomović, Tužne Uspomene (The Sorrow Memories) (Melburn, Australia, 1959); also works by Laza Lazarević, Milovan Glišić, Petar Koćić, Veselin Stanković and others.

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came into contact with English colleagues during the First World War. Djordjević encouraged other social scientists to look into Zadruga from the sociological rather than ethnographical point of view. Along these lines he published Our National Life (Belgrade: 1930, 2 vols.)\textsuperscript{11}

The study of Zadruga in a sense meant the beginning of a new area of concentration, namely, rural sociology (Sociologija sela). The birth date of this branch of sociology in Yugoslavia is taken to be the late 30's. The major two centres for rural research were: Zagreb and Belgrade.

Among the first projects undertaken by Belgrade centre were studies of Northern Serbia (Machva, Posavina, Kosmaj, and Šumadia) in the years 1936-1938.\textsuperscript{12} These studies were carried out with lack of preparation and inadequate personnel. Mirkovic describes these problems as follows:

\begin{enumerate}
  
  \item Nickolas Mirkovic, "Beginnings of Rural Sociology in Yugoslavia" in Rural Sociology, 5:351-354.
  
  A good summary of Rural sociology in Yugoslavia and in general is offered by Dr. Cvetko Kostić "Razvitak i predmet sociologije sela" (Development and Subject Matter of Rural Sociology), Sociologija Sela, I, No. 1 (Zagreb: Agrarni Institut, 1963), 5-24.
\end{enumerate}
Lack of experience in field work and methods of inquiry were very characteristic of the Belgrade group, most of their leading members having a purely theoretical background. This was a contrast to a very great extent by American rural sociology and research methods.\textsuperscript{13}

Sreten Vukosavljević (1881-1960)\textsuperscript{14} was later in charge of this research group. He already was well known in the area of rural research when he took this position and a result of this nomination there was an even closer switch toward rural sociology in Yugoslavia. Vukosavljević could be called the Father of Serbian Rural Sociology. But one should not forget Vuk-Stefanović-Karadžić (1787-1864), a man with a brilliant record in the study of the peasant's family life.\textsuperscript{15} Karadžić particularly studied the customs, the language, and the parental authority within patriarchal family, but his works include interesting observations on class differentiation and bureaucracy.

\textsuperscript{13}Mirković, op. cit., p. 354.

\textsuperscript{14}Vukosavljević was elected the Honorary Life President of the Yugoslav Sociological Association in 1960; see Radomir Lukić, "Sreten Vukosavljević", Sociologija II, No. 1, (1960), 3-17; Sreten Vukosavljević, Pisma Sa Sela (Beograd: Savremena Administracija, 1962); S. Vukosavljević, History of Peasant Society - Sociology of Dwelling (Istorija Seljačkog Društva-Sociologija Stanovanja), (Beograd: Akademija Nauka, 1965).

\textsuperscript{15}See Slobodan Bakić, "Vuk kao Sociolog" (Vuk As A Sociologist), Sociologija, VI, No.'s 3-4 (1964), 205-207; Karadžić's sociological texts are published under the title: O Drustvu (On Society), (Belgrade: Savremena Škola), 1964.
Vukosavljević group included such sociologists as R. Bićanić, M. Kosić, J. Predavec, A. Pribićević (died in Windsor, Ontario, Canada in 1957) and others.

Dinko Tomašić (now at Indiana University) was the leader of the Zagreb group. He studied at the University of Chicago and returned to his native Croatia to apply the skills he learned in the United States to the study of the particular character of Croatian Zadruga.

Along with these early diversifications of sociology into specialized areas, a group of sociologists-theorists emerged in Yugoslavia between the two wars. The most prominent member of this group was Mirko M. Kosić (Introduction To Sociology, Novi Sad: 1934). Kosić states that "Sociology is not a kind of 'Reformology' or method of solving crises, and is not philosophy or history or an encyclopedia of social sciences." Sociology, Kosic says, is "concerned to determine and describe generalities pertaining to all concrete social phenomena, of social groups, of social relations and social processes." Kosić's book has been highly

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16 Pribićević's Od Gospodina Do Seljaka (From a Gentleman To a Peasant), was published in Windsor, Ontario in 1953 by Avala Printing Co.

praised by J. Roucek as "excellent, in fact, equal to any work written in English by American scholars." Kosić subscribed to the school of thought which followed Leopold Von Wiese (1876- ) and Formal Sociology in Germany.

Other names of Yugoslavian sociologists are: in Serbia, Slobodan Jovanović (Political Sociology and Historical Sociology), Dj. Tasić (Theory), M. Mirković (Economic-Sociology), R. Lukić (Sociology of Law), Dušan Popović (Historical-Sociology); in Croatia, Juraj Scetinetz (General Sociology); in Slovenia, Eugene Spektorski (General Sociology). Dinko Tomašić has already been mentioned as an outstanding sociologist in Croatia. Still other names from the older generation are: Mihailo Avramović, Milan Vlainatz, Milan Ivšić, Radomir Živkovich and others.

So far we have mentioned three distinguished areas of Pre-War Yugoslav sociology: The Structure of Rural Society,
Population, and Zadruga. Before turning to the external influences, particularly Marxism, a summary of all social ideological movements that have had a bearing on the development of Yugoslavian Sociology merits mentioning.

There were five major social ideological movements in Yugoslavia at the turn of the century: (1) socialism, and (2) nationalism, (3) feminism, (4) Christian socialism, and (5) agrarianism. Each of these movements was related to the social-economic conditions of the time. Socialism, for example, was popular because of the industrialization, and consequently proletarization, of poor rural classes. Nationalism had to do with the question of unification of the several nationalities in Yugoslavia particularly Serbs and Croats. Feminism was "imported from outside and helped to dissolve the patriarchal family." Christian socialism in Slovenia and Croatia copied from the same trends in other Roman Catholic countries. Finally, agrarianism became popular after the First World War, after the formation of Yugoslavia in 1918.

Among other ideological influences, the influence of Marxism was the earliest. The leader of this movement was Svetozar Marković (1846-1875). Roucek describes him thus:
As a student in Petrograd and Zurich, Markovic came under the influence of anarchist and socialist ideas and of the writings of Chernishevski, Bakunin, and especially Marx. He very early engaged in political and promotional activities and came to be the leading sociologist and revolutionarist of nineteenth-century Serbia. He compared the Serbian Zadruga to the Russian Mir and held that the conversion of the whole land into one Zadruga would bring about a Communist Society without intermediate stages of capitalistic economy and violent class war. Although he died at the age of twenty-nine, he exerted more influence on the social and political currents in Serbia than any other individual before or after him.20

For over a decade Marković's followers were full of enthusiasm about Marxism. But soon after the works of Auguste Comte and Spencer were translated, this enthusiasm decreased.


The most important Marxist in Yugoslavia at that time was Filip Filipović (1878-1938) (The Evaluation of Society, 1924). The first translated works were those of Bukharin and Bogdan on historical materialism. Filipović is considered to be the first to try to systematize Marxian sociology in the Balkans.

Radomir Lukić, a contemporary sociologist at the University of Belgrade, describes the Marxist sociological movement as one which in the early decades of this century acquired leading influence among many young intellectuals. He states:

Marxian movement greatly influenced a large number of free thinkers. As the political struggles were sharper, so the Labour Movement gained in popularity, and directed itself toward Marxism, sympathizing with the revolutionary movement. Especially the university youths were moved in this direction. In this way a new political-ideological atmosphere was formed which made a strong influence upon Sociology and other social sciences, even on those who wished to avoid such an influence.

This liberal intelligenzia was very strong and active among the sociologists. This very group formed the first two sociological societies in 1918 (Zagreb) and in 1935 (Beograd).²¹

²¹Radomir Lukić, "Društveni uslovi razvitka Sociologije u Jugoslaviji" ("The Social Conditions for the Development of Sociology in Yugoslavia"), In Sociologija Vol. I, No. 2-3 (Beograd: 1959), p. 105. First president of the Zagreb society was Dr. A. Mihalić; in Belgrade, Dr. D. Tasic. Belgrade's society was named: "Juridical Philosophy and Sociology" (Društvo za pravnu filosofiju i sociologiju). In 1938 it was renamed: "Society for Sociology and Other Social Sciences: (Društvo za sociologiju i ostale društvene nauke). This society published the first number of Sociological Review in 1939.
Not only proletarization of masses made Marxism a popular ideology. Other social-economic questions were contributive as well. The agrarian question was not only an economic problem but also a social one. These and similar problems attracted a great number of writers to look into Marx's teaching with hope, to find a clue to solutions.

Besides Marxism, the foreign influences at that time came through translated works. Especially "evolutionary and deterministic doctrines of general cultural history were spread in Serbia". The translated works were those by Buckle, Draper, Kolb, R. Ihering's Zweck in Recht, Laveleye's La Propriete, and Bagehot's Physics and Politics; also works by: Le Bon, Ferru, Sighele, Eisler and Giddings. In general, the influence were from Marx, French positivism, the Durkheimian school, Wiese's Formal Sociology, Christian socialism and other less important trends.

As a special course, sociology was first taught at the University of Zagreb in 1906. The curriculum included Spencer, Gumplowicz, and Giddings. From there teaching of sociology spread to other universities. Between the two wars there were six universities in Yugoslavia having sociology in their programs of studies.

\[22\text{See Roucek, op. cit., p. 753.}\]
Roucek's survey of Yugoslavian sociology recognizes the achievement of the Yugoslav sociologists before the war. Roucek concludes:

On the whole, Yugoslavia's contribution to Sociology has been more valid and durable than is generally known. We must especially appreciate it when we consider the enormous difficulties facing the Yugoslav sociologists from the standpoint of political and religious conditions, not to mention the general philosophical hang-over from the last century. But, despite these great handicaps, Yugoslavia can boast of having advanced furthest in Sociology of all the Balkan states, with the exception of Rumania (and Czechoslovakia -- a central European state).23

The progress of sociology in Yugoslavia was hampered by the political conditions in the period between the two world wars. National political struggles were particularly sharp between different Croatian and Serbian groups. The political differences affected communication among the Yugoslavian sociologists to a great extent. At the outbreak of the Second World War practically all scientific projects were stalled. In the late thirties, the government's attitude toward sociology became suspicious and unfriendly. The state wished to have sociology stagnate rather than have it politically involved in on going problems of social life. During the period of the war (1941-1945) sociology in Yugoslavia did not exist.

23 See Roucek, op. cit., p.753.
CHAPTER II
HISTORICAL MATERIALISM OR SOCIOLOGY?

The development of sociology in Yugoslavia after the Second World War is characterized by the two different trends: (1) For a whole decade it was replaced by historical materialism,\(^1\) (2) It was not until the second half of the 50's that it was re-institutionalized as a sociology per se.

\(^1\) Though the main premise of this concept is found extensively elaborated in the writings by Marx, it was Engels who used it by the first time ("On Historical Materialism").

The main thesis of historical materialism is that the final determination of all social historical events are based in the economic development of society (The economic determinism). This implies the question of production and distribution of goods and the type of the ownership of the means of production. As a consequence, these economic arrangements lead to the issue of classes and the struggle among them (exploitation and equality). A society, of whatever type is the product of economic labour of the people from that society. Economic arrangement within such society therefore must determine the character of it. The other essential teaching of historical materialism is the existence of the basic laws of social development (historical-materialistic determinism). It is to say that society goes from one social system to another in a progressive sequence (e.g., feudalism to capitalism, where capitalism is more progressive than feudalism, and so on). Historical materialism is therefore that subject matter or a discipline which bases its program on the principles of dialectical materialism.

Under **dialectical materialism** is understood the most general theory of development of society (the social mind, physical nature), briefly the general laws of the changing matter. It means the priority of the matter over the spirit. Historical materialism hence has based its teaching on the principles of dialectics, i.e., on the economic determinism and the idea of the constant change.


-22-
Historical materialism, in Yugoslavia, as a subject for study, was directly taken from the Soviet educational practice. It was used as a general social science course in the universities and other schools for higher learning.

The outline of the course on historical materialism offered by Miroslav Pećujlić (Appendix B) suggests that the following points are emphasized under the scope of historical materialism:

pp. XIV-XV explains historical materialism as a Marxian sociology in this way: "The working class has its own proletarian sociology, known as historical materialism. In its main outlines this theory was elaborated by Marx and Engels. It is also called 'materialistic method in history', or simply 'economic materialism'... With its aid the proletariat finds its bearings in the most complicated questions in social life and in the class struggle. With its aid, communists correctly predicted the war and the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as the conduct of the various parties, groups, and classes in the great transformation through which humanity is now passing... the theory of historical materialism has a definite place, it is not political economy, nor is it history; it is the general theory of society and the laws of its evolution, i.e., sociology". Sociology, Bukharin calls "the most general (abstract) of the social sciences... it serves as a method for history."

materialism as considered in Yugoslavia: (1) general laws of social change, (2) the basic factors which effect social change, (3) elements of social structure, (4) relationship between man and the state, (5) explanation of social dynamics, and (6) economic conditions as the prime determinant of the social character.

The revival of sociology in Yugoslavia as an academic discipline did not come about in an evolutionary manner, but rather it won its position in the "battle" with historical materialism. Two distinctive groups of sociologists have emerged from this ideological struggle. One group wants no sociology; the other group is convinced that sociology has much to offer to the study of society and its phenomena. The group sponsoring sociology as a scientific subject has made remarkable progress. As we shall see in chapter VIII, several specialized social-research institutes have been formed; many empirical projects have been carried out; and most universities now offer higher degrees in sociology. These facts indicate that sociology has again taken its scientific role among the other social sciences in Yugoslavia. The most recent trend is, by all indications, toward empiricism.

For the replacement of sociology by historical materialism in Yugoslavia the responsibility lies not only
with the political system but, at the same time, with a
group of sociologists who were fully supporting that move.
Among the most active in this regard were: Boris Ziherl
(1910-), professor of sociology at the University of Ljubljana,
Ljubomir Živković, M.D., sociologist from Sarajevo, and Jože
Goričar (1907-), professor of sociology at Ljubljana.

Ziherl, Kosanović And Goričar: An Early Pledge
To Historical Materialism

From 1946 to approximately 1950, the Communist
party of Yugoslavia, following the practice of the U.S.S.R.
had replaced sociology with historical materialism. The split
which occurred in 1948 between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia
promoted Lenin's idea of the "different roads to socialism".
The Yugoslavs then began to look for new ways, not only in
economy, but also in the field of education and in culture
in general. Among the most interesting questions that the
Yugoslav's have raised was the questions of the role of histori-
cal materialism in the field of social sciences, particularly
in the field of sociology. Since the early 50's, the question
of the role of historical materialism among the social sciences
has been occupying the writings of many Yugoslav sociologists.
The two earliest writers on this subject are: Boris Ziherl
and Ilija Kosanović. Both have published books on Dialectical
and Historical Materialism. Ziherl rejects the need for sociology to exist per se. For him, historical materialism has emerged from particular social sciences and therefore is not an "abstract scheme" which is well-equipped with the methodological and theoretical tools for study of the sociological phenomena. Ziherl believes that historical materialism would be drastically reduced if general sociology is given notable significance. Historical materialism would be

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left "contextless, limited to a few abstract schemes, and poorer in its context than any bourgeois philosophy of history."\(^4\) Zihrel, similar to Jože Goričar as we will see later, sees historical materialism as a general social science dealing with the development of society through its economic and productive aspects.

Jože Goričar, in his book Sociologija-Osnove marksističke opšte teorije o društvu (Sociology - Fundamentals of General Marxian Theory of Society)\(^5\), is trying to explain why he sees historical materialism as a general sociology:

In order to have historical materialism exist as a single scientific discipline beside dialectical materialism which deals as we have seen with society and its laws, historical materialism must have its subject matter to study as well as its context. Since dialectical materialism does not have the same subject matter as historical materialism and consequently does not have its context of study we can conclude that historical materialism can exist beside dialectical materialism on the ground that it has its subject matter for study and context.

\(^4\)Radomir Lukić, "Main Views on Relation Between Historical Materialism and Sociology", (Glavna gledista o odnosu istoriskog materializma i sociologije"), Jugoslavenski Časopis Za Filozofiju i Sociologiju, No. 2-3, (1957), 3-32; "A Discussion on the Subject and Method of Sociology" (Diskusija o predmetu i metodu sociologije"), Pregledi 54, No. 3 (1954); "Relation Between the Marxist and the Bourgeois Sociology", ("Odnos izmedju marksistickie i Burzoaske Sociologije"), Sociologija, III, No. 2, (1961), 23-34, compare this Lukić's article with Pierre L. van Den Berghe's,"Dialectic and Functionalism: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis" American Sociological Review, 28, No. 5, (1963), 695-705; see also "Functionalism and Marxism - Discussion" ("Funkcionalizam i Marksizam-Diskusija"), Sociologija IX, No. 3-4 (1967), 167-197. There were twelve sociologists on this Seminar including R. Lukić, Rudi Supek, Veljko Korać, M. Popović and others.

\(^5\)Ilija Stanojčić, op. cit., p. 56.
Nobody can deny that historical materialism studies society in general and as a whole, and therefore the study of society is the subject matter of historical materialism.⁶

Goričar then goes on to propose a formal definition of the Marxian sociology:

After all these discussions, we can formally define historical materialism, from the point of view of the classifications of sciences, to be the general science of development of society. Such science is nothing else but general sociology. Especially when we have proved that historical materialism cannot be completely identified with dialectical materialism, there is no reason why we should under the scope of the Marxian science of society, have another Marxist sociology. Because of this, we then consider historical materialism to be the Marxist general sociology.⁷

Professor Goričar considers the question of the relationship of sociology and historical materialism as a very important one. This is because, for the classical Marxist, it was only the question of class determinism which had to be studied by the social sciences in order to understand society. These classical Marxists did not therefore see any difference between historical materialism and general sociology. It was later, in the first half of this century, that some writers took different stands on this issue. Goričar refers us to Max


⁷ Ibid, p. 76.
Adler, Nikolai Bukharin, and Todor Pavlov.  

Max Adler has identified all of Marxism with sociology. Nikolai Bukharin saw historical materialism and sociology as one subject matter. Todor Pavlov views historical materialism as something to be distinguished from sociology. Pavlov contends that historical materialism must be perceived as logic or as a philosophy of the social development of man, whereas sociology is not philosophical; rather it is "the most general among the particular social sciences which deal with social-historical reality or briefly with society."  

Taking an opposite view to that of Zihrel, Kosanovic', Goričar and others, Radomir Lukić (1914-), professor of law and sociology at the University of Belgrade, was among the earliest sociologists in Yugoslavia to make a move for the re-introduction of sociology as a field of scholarship in general, and as an academic discipline at the schools for higher learning in particular.

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9 Goričar refers to Adker's Lehrbuch der materialistischen Geschichtsanfaussung, (Berlin: 1930); Bukharin, op. cit., and T. Pavlov, Teorije Odraza, (Beograd: Kultura, 1947).
Radomir Lukić: Revival Of Sociology

In discussing the relationship between historical materialism and sociology, Radomir Lukić has investigated the question: whether the Yugoslav authors, such as Ziherl and Goričar in particular, consider historical materialism and sociology to be two different subjects, or only one. He classifies the controversial views into two major groups: those which do not make a differentiation between historical materialism and sociology, and those who do.\(^{10}\)

1. According to Lukić, those who agree that historical materialism and sociology are one and the same subject must specify to which of the two they give priority. Is historical materialism the same as general sociology, or is general sociology the subject which has been known as historical materialism? This question Lukic develops extensively. For example, if we say that historical materialism is the same as sociology, then we are saying that historical materialism is sufficient to be used in the study of social phenomena, and sociology is therefore useless, since historical materialism is performing its function.

That view which bases its theory on historical materialistic principles holds that the content of sociology

\(^{10}\)J. Goričar, op. cit. p. 73.
is that of historical materialism. In this instance, such sociology has been called "a true" or "Marxian sociology".¹¹ Lukić thinks that this concept of sociology, and particularly the name given to it, is not clear. This is because so far it has had only a limited development. Most of the writings on this conception of sociology are found in the text books on historical materialism by Soviet authors. According to them, historical materialism is seen to be only the enlargement and the application of dialectical materialism rather than a special social science.¹² Lukić notes that those who hold that historical materialism is the subject with a "pure application of dialectical materialism", are unable to avoid considering some specific phenomena which do not fall under the scope of historical materialism, but are rather treated in sociology. Stalin, for example, in the book Dialectical and Historical Materialism included the question of "classes and class struggle, and the function of the mass and the

¹¹ Sociology which is based on non-materialistic principles is called "borgeois sociology" by most sociologists in Yugoslavia.

individual in history."13 Lukic also mentions other elements of particular social realities which by their nature belong to sociology and yet are included in the works of the theoreticians on historical materialism. These are such aspects of the social order as: the state and the law, revolutions, political parties, ideologies, party critics and self-critics, the transitional period from socialism to communism, etcetera.14 By so enlarging its scope, historical materialism has made itself equal to sociology, that is, historical materialism and sociology become one subject. This view perceives historical materialism as a "global theory" concerned with total development of society. It is made clearer by the definition of historical materialism offered by F.V. Konstantinova: "Historical materialism is the science about the general laws of the development of society which answers the questions as to how society develops, changes, et cetera".15 Later, Konstantinova revised his definition as follows:


14 R. Lukic, op. cit., p. 35.

15 See F.V. Konstantinov, ed., Istoriceskii Materialism, (Moscow: 1954).
Historical materialism gives the only correct answer to the most general, theoretical, and methodological question in the social sciences without which there cannot be further discussions on social life and its specific phenomena.\(^{16}\)

Lukić states that by such definition, we already deny any scientific character to historical materialism, and in pursuing the argument with those who are committed to the view that historical materialism is sociology, Lukic has this to say:

If historical materialism is to be understood narrowly as theory and method, and at same time sociology is denied as the general social scientific discipline, then we are throwing out an important subject (the subject dealing with the concept of society and with the basic concepts related to it) because it does not fit into the so perceived historical materialism. Then historical materialism is left only as a theory short of including under its scope many questions about society. It means that historical materialism lacks its proper scope. On the other hand, if we say that historical materialism does include the questions with which sociology deals, then historical materialism loses its character and purpose. As soon as one is trying to call historical materialism 'the Marxist sociology', we then recognize two sociologies, one being the Marxist sociology and the other non-Marxist.\(^{17}\)

By distinguishing the Marxist sociology from non-Marxist, Ziherl and Goričar, for example, are including historical materialism as part of Marxist sociology. By this separation, these authors consequently are distinguishing the Marxist sociology from general sociology or sociology per se.\(^{18}\)

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\(^{16}\) R. Lukić, *Osnovi Sociologije*, p. 36.

\(^{17}\) R. Lukić, *op. cit.*., p. 36.
II. The materialistic, dialectical views which do differentiate historical materialism from sociology Lukić groups into four different classes:

1. Historical materialism seen as a separate, most general subject of all the social sciences which is concerned with society in its totality.¹⁹

Oleg Mandić, a representative of this view, states historical materialism begins by considering economic factors as the most important elements in studying any society in its totality, as the most general theory of society, and, as such, is to be differentiated from general sociology. Historical materialism cannot be general sociology since it deals with only those social economic factors which are applicable to any society in a given period of their history, and does not deal with the specific, unique cases.²⁰ This is to say that historical materialism is concerned only with the general laws of social change. These laws include the questions of production, ownership, and distribution, that is, the economic aspects of social order. Historical materialism studies those laws which are presumably common to all societies during their social-economic formations. Sociology, however, by taking


²⁰Oleg Mandić, "O odnosu istoriskog materializma sociologije i posbnih društvenih nauka" (The Relationship Between Historical Materialism, Sociology, and the Particular Social Sciences), Ekonomski Pregled, No. 3-4 (1950), 309-321.
into consideration the social-economic structure of particular societies, is primarily concerned with research in these areas.

Lukić thinks that Mandić nevertheless has almost equated sociology with historical materialism. The difference between these two would only be the question of the scope of the investigating objects: totality or particularity. Lukić says, there are more "isms" which can claim the same authority of a total approach. These are: historical idealism, biologism, geographic materialism, racial materialism, et cetera. Instead, Lukić suggests that historical materialism be viewed as one of the theories which have as a starting point ideological, purposive directions. Such theories are not independent because they have to deal with phenomena which are studied by sociology in the first place. However, they can give some insight or limited knowledge about the nature of these phenomena. Hence we can say that historical materialism cannot give an adequate knowledge on any of the social phenomena without the help of sociology. As a method, historical materialism serves also only as a starting point. It signalizes the aim, the aspiration to prove certain positions by those who are involved in research, but, in no case, can it serve as a methodology which would

\[21\text{R. Lukić op. cit., p. 39.}\]
be comparable to sociological research methods.22

2. Historical materialism is seen as a social philosophy by Soviet author Todor Pavlov.23 Pavlov suggests that historical materialism be understood as philosophical theory which is the basic and general scientific method of any particular social science. Briefly, Pavlov conceives historical materialism as a logic of human history.24

3. Mihail Marković in his article "Perspectives on Dialectical Logic"25 is trying to establish the application of the general logical rules to the particular subject. First, he is trying to establish basic categories in sociology (societies, classes, nations, et cetera); second, to establish the basic general principles by deduction and empirical pursuit for the discovery of specific phenomena as sociological findings; third, to establish a method of verification of those theoretical assumptions for which no experiment is

22 R. Lukić op. cit., p. 41.

23 R. Lukić, op. cit., p. 41; Cf. Jiri Kolaja's interpretation of Andrej Siracky's definition of historical materialism: "Historical materialism does not replace some science of society but as a philosophical part of marxleninism combines all social sciences fields into a unified, harmonic and theoretical unity ... historical materialism is considered to be a philosophy rather than a science". See: J. Kolaja, "Sociology in Czeckoslavakia" (unpublished paper): Andrej Siracky, "Sociologija v systemen marxismulenizmu", Sociologicky casopis, I, No. 1 (1965), 41-51.


25 R. Lukić op. cit., p. 42.
possible. There are today, as we know, several "grand theories" for which a logical verification and justification is needed due to the lack of the empirical possibilities.  

The position taken by Marković, though quite original, Lukić criticizes as well. He questions, particularly, the definition of the concept of method used in this article because there is an overlapping of meaning in the logical method with the scientific method.

4. The last argument on the position of historical materialism and sociology views historical materialism as a philosophical theory of sociology. As such a philosophy, it could be called part of sociology, although it differs from it.

Branislav Djurdjev distinguishes historical materialism from sociology in this way. Historical materialism is a philosophical, abstract theory because it deals with questions which have not been empirically researched. For example, how does one form of society develop from another form of society? In other words, it places emphasis on the theories of social formations on the abstract rather than on the concrete level. Sociology, on the other hand, deals with concrete phenomena: groups, institutions, et cetera. But, since sociology has, or at least can have, its philosophical starting

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26Jugoslovenski Časopis za filozofiju i sociologiju No. 1, (1957) 3-22; O pojmu predmeta nauke, (Beograd: Institut društvenih nauka, 1963); Logika (Beograd: n.d.);
position, it can include within itself a theory such as historical materialism. We might then consider historical materialism to be a sociological theory. Djurdjev, who is a historian, also supports the notion that there are variations of historical materialism suitable to different stages of human development (for example, a historical materialism concerned with classless societies—the primitive man; another historical materialism for the class-structured societies, et cetera). According to Lukić, Djurdjev has pushed the differentiation of historical materialism from sociology farther than any of the others. He presents the following quotation from Djurdjev:

Sociology is just that science which deals with the social-economic formations and their particular laws [for example, Marx's law of economic basis and superstructure; Engels' notion of man's domination over nature, et cetera]. Sociology is not concerned with general laws of societies because these laws are too abstract. With these laws historical materialism is concerned. That is why historical materialism is a philosophical theory, while sociology is a science. Marxism has to use these philosophical concepts of society because society is not yet a reality but rather an abstraction. Therefore Marxism remains a philosophy,

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27 R. Lukić op. cit., p. 43.

28 Vladimir Milanović classifies the laws as: universal general, particular, and individual laws. For more details on different laws see: M. Peculjic, ed., Fundamental Science of Society (Beograd: Rad, 1963), 114.
and, consequently, historical materialism remains a philosophical theory.\textsuperscript{29}

Lukić points out that Djurdjev is making a distinction between philosophy and science. Science is a research orientating discipline having real things for its objects of study. Philosophy is concerned with non-material things and abstractions. But, since Djurdjev admits that there is general knowledge about society even if we let it be called historical materialism, and since he has called this general knowledge philosophical theory which can be included under sociology, as a socio-logical philosophical theory, then Djurdjev obviously is not making a definite separation of historical materialism from sociology. Because of this, Djurdjev could be grouped among those in the first group of authors who do not separate sociology from historical materialism.

The evaluation of the different positions taken by the Yugoslav sociologists on the issue of the resumption of sociology in that country, would be incomplete if Lukić's views were not qualified here. There is no doubt that he is one of the first to promote getting sociology back to its proper role. Lukić is also the main critic on those who

\textsuperscript{29}"Pitanja jedinstva teprije i metoda," Pregled, No. 4 (1955), 177-188.
domatically have tried to apply historical materialism, where actually sociology should be called in to do the job. For Lukić, there is no place for historical materialism to interfere in the domain of sociological field of research. This does not mean that there should be no historical materialism. Contrary, historical materialism plays its role both in theory and in method of scientific investigation. But these roles of historical materialism are to be found only within sociology itself. They cannot constitute or be a substitute for sociology by any means, that is, as a theory, historical materialism cannot exist for itself, outside of sociology. But, like other theories within sociology, historical materialism deals with facts which have been, in most cases, collected without the help of historical materialism. Marx, for example, has recognized the fact that bourgeois scientists have uncovered social classes long before him. Other examples would be the social theories of Aristotle or the racial theories of Gumplowicz.  

Also there are some specific sociological problems which cannot be solved by mere application of historical materialism. Historical materialism as a global theory can be considered only as a starting point in some sociological investigations, especially in historical comparative studies, but may not be necessarily correct or adequate in its premises. There are other such theories which have contributed to the knowledge of society.

As a method, historical materialism can direct certain studies. It can be used as a guideline in problem solving, but it will always lack the other practical elements needed for the empirical research which is found in sociological research methods, as for example, its use of the subjective method in the study of social stratification (style of life, or ascribed status). Therefore, the methodological capacity of historical materialism is limited in comparison to sociology. By so limiting the theoretical and methodological role of historical materialism in social-scientific research, it becomes apparent that sociology must be that other subject which is better equipped for scientific investigations. This is because sociology embodies many theories (including historical materialism) and various methodological tools.

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In this regard, it should be made clear that no sociologist in Yugoslavia has declared himself against historical materialism. The questions has been not how to discredit it, but rather how to point out its limitations. And most important in their efforts to revive sociology, Yugoslavian sociologists have attempted to reinstitutionalize it, at least, side by side with historical materialism. Lukic's effort in this direction is great indeed.

One Sociology - Two Perspectives

Today, most sociologists in Yugoslavia, unlike their colleagues in other East European countries, agree that there should be not two sociologies, Marxist and Western, but rather one sociology, like there is one physics, one geography, one history, and so on. They suggest that it is more appropriate to talk about two perspectives of sociology than about two different sociologies. These sociologists base their views on the fact that sociologists in other, especially Western, countries use all available tools to achieve their research objectives. So, by eliminating the ideological influences from the interpretation of findings, one obtains a pure sociology, be it in the East or in the West. Hence, the biases
found in some approaches in adapting the findings for the political and ideological aims should not be seen as constituting different sociologies. After historical materialism was separated from sociology in Yugoslavia, it was necessary for many scholars in that country to try to catch up with the progress made in sociology elsewhere, especially in Western countries. By now many sociologists in Yugoslavia have made a fair review of the achievement of this sociology. It was not until the position of sociology as a social science discipline was secured in Yugoslavia, that we have an objective view of the so called bourgeois sociology. Up to approximately 1960, the concept bourgeois conveyed something outdated, un-objective; briefly, it meant something negative. The new look at bourgeois sociology was built on refined definition of bourgeois sociology. Today, there is an obvious avoidance of this term. In writings, it is referred to as the "non-marxist" sociologists, or simply, the sociology of the West.

32 For a full account of the discussion between "Marxian sociology" and "Bourgeois sociology" see "Izvod iz discusije na Bledskom savetovanju Jugoslovenskog udruzenja za sociologiju", Sociologija,III, No. 2 (1961), 35-45. Many diversified views expressed by the Yugoslav sociologists are found here. They range from name calling, "Stalinists",...
Sometimes, it is elaborated upon to mean sociology cultivated by the scholars in the non-socialist countries or that sociology which does not take the works of Marx and Engles into full account, or, sociology which is not founded on the principles of dialectical materialism.

Once critically evaluated, Western sociology receives high praise from the Yugoslavs. There are some areas and some methods of which Yugoslavian sociologists are critical, like extreme micro-empirical research, the static view of society (Parsons' equilibrium), little work in such areas as the sociology of revolutions, or the sociology of nations. Positively evaluated are: methodology, works on the primitive cultures (social-anthropological studies), sociology of deviant behaviour, industrial sociology and sociology of work, urban sociology and some others.

"Parsonians" to the principal issue as to what sociology should be.

Conceiving the diverse subject matter of sociology as only one sociology, the Yugoslavs not only have used the achievement of the American sociology but have also been educating their sociologists in the United States. Through the exchange program between Yugoslavia and the USA, about thirteen professors from Yugoslavia come each year to the States. A number of these are sociologists.33

Sociology and Ideology

So far we have reviewed the issue, raised by the sociologists in Yugoslavia, of the position of historical materialism and sociology in that country. The most recent discussions, however, indicate a shift from the question of historical materialism and its role among the social sciences, to a more general question which is probably as important for Yugoslavia as it is for any other country. It is the question of independence of sociology from the influence of ideology. A paper dealing with this topic was presented to the Sixth World Congress of Sociologists at Evain, France, by Milosav

33 After returning to Yugoslavia some sociologists write not only to the domestic periodicals but in the American sociological publications as well. See: M. Popović, "What the American Sociologists Think About Their Science and Its Problems", The American Sociologists, I, No. 3 (1966), 133-135.
Janičević, a Yugoslav. The paper presents, in a way, the accumulation of the different views the sociologists in Yugoslavia have had, in reviewing the future of sociology and historical materialism in their country. According to the author of the afore-mentioned paper, in most socialist countries of East Europe, the name historical materialism or "Marxist sociology" is being replaced with the traditional name: sociology. This is probably due to the more realistic attitudes that social scientist in these countries now take toward the role of sociology as a scientific discipline, regardless of its geographical location. The usefulness of sociological tools and methods have been the most important argument in adapting sociology, even if by name only, as a discipline competent to deal with social realities.


The Yugoslavs are not the only ones to be concerned with the question of ideology. Cf. for example, F. Konstantinov, "Sociology et ideologie" in La Sociologie en U.R.S.S. (Moscow, 1966); R. Bendix, "The Age of Ideology: Persistent and Changing" in David E. Apter Ed., Ideology and Discontent (New York: 1964), 296-297; see also the following papers read at the Sixth World Congress of Sociologists held between Sept. 4-11, 1966 at Evain, France: N. Iribadjakoff, "Ideologie et Sociologie"; R. Bendix, "Ideology"; for general works on ideology see: D. Bell, The End of Ideology (New York: 1961); Seymore Martin Lipset, Political Man;
The independent status achieved by sociology over historical materialism was preceded by the following points of views discussed in the academic circles in Yugoslavia:

1. the fate of historical materialism in its dogmatic scheme was questioned.

2. a possibility of giving historical materialism an empirical-investigating character within "Marxist sociology" was also analysed.

3. the problem of meaning and perspective of sociology as a theoretical-empirical science on the one hand, and as a criticism of society on the other.  

According to Janičević, his colleagues in Yugoslavia are divided between two opposite views. One position states that because social sciences are class conditioned, it is necessary to differentiate them from the natural sciences; the other position holds that social sciences are not necessarily ideologically founded, but rather resemble that natural sciences in their pursuit for truth. These two views were often more confused by the lack of a proper definition of ideology. The following two definitions were most commonly used during discussions at sociological meetings:

\[^{35}\text{M. Janičević, op. cit., p. 28.}\]
\[^{36}\text{Ibid., p. 28.}\]
\[^{37}\text{See footnote \#3, ch II}\]
1. A broader meaning of ideology is taken as "the wholeness of man's perception of the world".

2. A more narrow definition describes an ideology as that which ties man's perception to a specific historically-defined type of society and the interpersonal relationship within that society.

To avoid further perplexity on the definition of ideology, some Yugoslaves have adopted the concept of "scientific ideology" in order to justify the application of ideology in the study of society.\(^3^8\) This concept is taken to mean that a certain ideology (Marxism) is to be seen as "scientific knowledge built up by the social mind."\(^3^9\) It is composed of two elements, scientific, and ideological. Some Marxist-philosophers argue that it is impossible to separate one of these components from the other because it is impossible to differentiate exactly between science and ideology in the field of social sciences. These philosophers, by virtue of the above argument, and through political channels, have managed to hold sociology under the name of historical materialism, in the service of this particular ideology, for over one decade in Yugoslavia and for longer in some other countries of Eastern Europe. This sociology, under the status

\(^{38}\) M. Janičević, op. cit., p. 28.

\(^{39}\) Ibid, p. 29.
of "scientific ideology", was primarily "political-educational, and only, to a degree, a scientific subject."

Janićević describes the character of such class-conditioned, dogmatic, and ideologically founded sociology in this way:

The main task of sociology so conceived is to generalize the experience gained by the working masses of the world in the struggle against capitalism and for the development of socialism. If it is necessary to deal with her own socialist society, then the task of sociology is reduced to assisting most efficiently the execution of certain social and political measures.

Since sociology in Yugoslavia was for over a decade under such status, in its efforts to achieve its real scientific status, it had to free itself, at least to an extent, from the bias of ideology. To accomplish this, at least three conditions had to be met:

1. Abstract philosophical manners in thinking had to be dropped.

2. Instead a more realistic philosophical approach to social reality had to be adopted.

3. Empirical research had to be tested without prejudice and, if found to be of value and use to a socialist society, as Yugoslavia is, to be maintained and developed.

Convinced that the stage of acceptance of empirical sociology had been achieved in Yugoslavia, Janićević calls for further

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40 M. Janičević, op. cit., p. 29.
41 M. Janičević, op. cit., p. 38.
The influence of ideology on the social sciences in the past made some concrete scientific disciplines lose their specific approach to the study of social problems, exchanging their usual scientific means of establishing the truth for quotations and attitudes of political forums and authorities, losing the sense of differentiation of social-legal norms, facts, etc. Due to the aforesaid there is today an even more imperative demand for the de-ideologization of sociology. This, however, should not be identified with the demand for the 'liberation of social sciences from Marxism' as the Marxist-philosophers.\footnote{Boris Ziherl could be one of these.}

Janičević wants to say that materialistic approach in social sciences would not be jeopardized by this new and objective trend, that is, by freeing sociology from the ideological and party control. The de-ideologization does not mean betrayal of Marxism as the Marxists-philosophers would believe.

The degree of success in freeing sociology from the influence of ideology in Yugoslavia will be illustrated in the next section of this chapter where the evidence of the empirical studies is given. Janičević, however, suggests that ideology should be dropped from all social sciences, not only sociology, and it should be substituted with "objectivity, exactness and control." As far as sociology is concerned, it can be "purified" from all stigmas once it is freed from major ideological influences:

\footnote{M. Janičević, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 38.}
Thus sociology should neither be an 'ideological tool' nor 'criticism of all existing,' nor an 'instrument of existing socio-political practice' nor an 'ideologically neutral,' 'positive science,' yet it should be a discipline which by its objectivity, the exactness and precision of its findings, will directly influence man, society, and its leading forces, to decide in daily activity for those aims and ideals which really point to a further positive development of humanity.\footnote{M. Janičević, op. cit., p. 38.}

\say{\cite{Janicic67} Janičević is referring to something similar to applied sociology in the West.}

If we look at the above statement in the light of the fact that it was read at the International Sociological meeting by a representative of the Yugoslavian Sociological Association, then one can simply conclude that Yugoslavian sociologists are trying to establish their discipline as an independent science within the socialist-Marxist system. It looks as if sociology in Yugoslavia might become a generating power for liberation from ideology in other spheres of academic disciplines.

On the basis of the material presented here so far, we can make a conclusion that sociology in Yugoslavia began its struggle for identification, or for the separation from historical materialism, earlier than in any other East European country.\footnote{Cf. Garbor Kiss, "History of the Development of Sociology in Hungary From 1945", \textit{The American Sociologist}, 2, No. 3, (1967), 141-144; Paul Hollander, "The Dilemmas of Soviet Sociology", \textit{Problem of Communism}, XIV (1965), 34-47.}
Yugoslavian Sociological Association can be taken as the date of this beginning, then it would be the year 1954. If, however, one would go by the opening of the first Department of Sociology at the University of Belgrade, then the year is 1959/1960. As early as 1950, there were many debates, meetings and writings revealing self-critical views by the Yugoslavs, on the imprisonment of sociology by philosophical-dogmatic theories, in particular, historical materialism. The Yugoslavs were also self-critical for their early rejection of sociology as "bourgeois science". Even at that time, they had probably realized that historical materialism, with its philosophical and merely theoretical orientation, was not sufficiently equipped to deal with all aspects of social reality. Sociology per se, in this regard, becomes the only possible solution.

After having managed to distinguish sociology from historical materialism, and after obtaining a place for sociology among the other academic disciplines, the Yugoslavs are now calling for a total de-ideologization of all social sciences in their country. Most sociologists in Yugoslavia feel that a true sociology must strive to be free and objective in spite of the fact that no country, East or West, can claim to have such an ideal, ideologically neutral, sociology. The Yugoslav sociologists feel proud of having their discipline re-established in the family of the social sciences. The question of independence from the external influences is only a matter of time. Indications, so far, are quite encouraging in this regard as well. It is not surprising to see many American scholars observing the on-going process of change in sociology in Yugoslavia. Milorad Drašković, professor of sociology at Stanford University, for example, has observed the re-institutionalization of sociology in Yugoslavia, and has this comment to offer:

"Development in the realm of the intellectual, public information, merit and artistic life also mention. Here again, in spite of attempts to prevent the spread of anything anti-Marxist, the social sciences, particularly sociology, show signs not only of methodological innovations (along Western, and especially American lines), but also beginnings in the study and publications of the findings in such delicate fields as the LCY."
League of the Communists of Yugoslavia role in sociology, or social stratification in general.\textsuperscript{45}

Similar observations have been made by R. Bendix and M. S. Lipset:

Sociology has expanded in Yugoslavia as well, both within the universities and in institutes supported by Government. In Poland and in Yugoslavia many empirical studies of stratification have been published, dealing among other things with mobility, occupational status, and the relation between status-position and patterns of behaviour and attitudes. In other Communist countries, sociological investigations are less developed although some beginning has been made ...\textsuperscript{46}

Commenting on the first Soviet group of the sociologists who came to the International Sociological Conference in Amsterdam in 1956, Talcott Parsons credited Yugoslavian and Polish sociologists with having made "important beginnings" in the development of sociology.\textsuperscript{47} Jiri Kolaja, a professor at McMaster University, writing on the progress of sociology in Yugoslavia, states: "While Czechoslovakia was formerly fairly advanced in the field of sociology, today the country is just trying to catch up with Poland and


\textsuperscript{47}American Sociologist, No. 5, (Nov. 1966), p. 239.
Yugoslavia. Finally, Alex Simirenko, editor of the book Soviet Sociology, writes:

While some modern totalitarian regimes have been successful in stamping out the activities of its sociologists, not all totalitarian societies have done so. In Yugoslavia and especially in Poland the work of sociologists was never stopped, although there was a time when they were in official disfavor.

Before turning to empirical evidence of the new sociology in Yugoslavia, it can be said in summary that:

(1) sociology in Yugoslavia has emerged as a scientific discipline,

(2) this has put a limit on historical materialism because of its global-theoretical views of society and its lack of proper scientific tools for methodological research.

(3) sociology is being currently freed from ideological influences; it has stopped being a blind servant of the political wishes, and is presently occupying itself with empirical research on the Yugoslavian society.

(4) new generations of sociologists are being trained.

Now, we can turn our attention to the specific areas of sociology in Yugoslavia. We shall, however, consider only those areas which are most active in empirical research and theoretical development.

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48"Sociology in Czechoslovakia", unpublished paper read at the meeting (1967) of the American Sociological Association held in San Francisco, California, p.16.

CHAPTER III
THEORY AND GENERAL SOCIOLOGY

Sociological theory in Yugoslavia takes three basic perspectives:

(I) A very systematic study of criticism of Karl Marx's contribution to the social sciences and particularly to sociology,

(II) Translation and interpretation of the so-called classics in sociology (A. Comte, Saint-Simon, E. Durkheim, M. Weber, Pareto, and others), and

(III) A very intensive approach to the contemporary issues in sociological theory.

Critiques of Marx

Besides the works which are devoted to the general question of historical materialism and its role in studying societies, there are numerous works on the writings by Karl Marx.

Since the split with Russia in 1948, the Yugoslav sociologists have devoted a considerable amount of time in analyzing the writings of Karl Marx. This could have been prompted by the accusation which Russia has made against Yugoslavia, saying that Yugoslavia's government has betrayed Marxism. Because of this ideological struggle with Russia, the Yugoslavian sociologists as well as other social scientists have pursued the following aims, in their writings on
the general role of sociological theory:

(1) to determine the "boundary" which actually separates historical materialism from sociology.

(2) to fight the ideological war against Russia on the question of "revisionism",

(3) to analyze Marx's writings in a more scientific and less ideologically biased way using particularly the results from the building of socialism, and the practical results achieved by implementing Marx into reality.

With the first question we have dealt at the beginning of this chapter. The second point would lead us to an historical rather than a sociological inquiry.

The third point, however, is worth mentioning. There is enough indication of a wide-spread misinterpretation of the Marx scheme of the "base" and "the superstructure", in the field of contemporary sociology. To see to what extent this had gone, Mihailo V. Popović made an analysis and has presented some new and fresh insights on Marx.¹

Popović notes that most of the contemporary sociologists, who are dealing with Marx's scheme of social structure, have accepted the vertical, i.e., hierarchical

¹"What is Actually The Main Thought of Marx in His Scheme of Social Base and Superstructure", Socioloski Pregled, No. 1, (1961), 5-23.
among these elements, the vertical scheme becomes inadequate. This is to say that there is no direct influence between these layers of the superstructure, if another layer is isolating them. Popovich proposes a horizontal scheme for the Marxian thesis, wishing to show that no one element of the total social structure is of more, or less, meaning importance? Also, he shows that all the elements are interdependent and act on each other. In the vertical scheme there is no "direct contact" between the higher and the lower levels, but only between those immediately above or below.

Diagram #1 shows how science, art, law and politics have a mutual inter-relationship, as well as a relationship to the economy. This diagram, Popović thinks, makes more sense than a vertical scheme because:

Economy is not the base of society in the sense that it presents the basic level in a hierarchical scheme, but in the sense that it has a basic meaning for the life of people and their activities. In the same way, politics, science, art, philosophy, and religion are not "levels" above the "base" but they are forms of social activities in the corresponding forms of the social mind, which have developed on the basis of the particular division of labour. These forms are in a mutual relationship (direct and indirect) with one another, and with the system of production (the economic system).^2

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2"What is Actually The Main Thought of Marx in His Scheme of Social Base and Superstructure", Socioloski Pregled, No. 1, (1961), 5-23.
(unilinear) arrangement of the social structure in its totality, as it was once interpreted by Plekhanov. According to Popović, this vertical layering (the superstructure), based on the character of the economy (the system of economic production), is actually inadequate for the following reasons:

a. Though the economic arrangement in most societies plays a key role, it is not, however, evident that this factor has always been the primary one in the shaping of the other elements of social structure (not at least to the same degree in different social-economic settings).

b. In many societies, economics has been fetishized, i.e., turned into a religion (high respect toward money), yet in some societies economics has been looked at as subordinate to nature. Social forces in capitalism are in many instances the cause of many economic changes.

c. There is also a bio-social aspect of life which stimulates economic development. An example of this is the mere question of life maintenance. (Man, in order to eat, produces food).

d. Because in the vertical scheme we see the isolation of the elements of the social mind, (arts, politics, science) not only from the economic base, but also...
Diagram 1

I/ Vertical scheme of social determinants (A visual explanation of Marx's economic base and superstructure)

- Arts
- Science
- Law
- Politics
- Material production

II/ Horizontal scheme of social determinants (Proposed by Mihailo V. Popovic)

- Science
- Arts
- Law
- Politics
- Material production

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By the horizontal scheme, the system of production (economy) has a direct influence not only on politics and law, but on science, art, morality, etc. In the vertical scheme there is no direct relationship between these "levels" but rather indirect influences. Notwithstanding this critique of Marx, as one would expect, Marx is not dead in Yugoslavian sociology. He has been only subjected to a freer critique and analysis. Thus, I. Kuvačić considers Marx's theoretical frame of reference to be superior to that of functionalism. According to him:

Marx starts with man while functionalism with the system. A broader development of the man is being slowed by the well function of the system. Functionalism starts with that which is factual. Factuality satisfies functionalism. Marxism on the other hand criticizes the "factual" in the name of "possible" - criticizes "present" in the name of "future". Marxism with this approach in sociology assures itself of a philosophical approach. ³

Functionalism in the words of Kuvačić "starts with the system as the base, and it does not ask that the social structure be adjusted to man's wishes, but the opposite; the man has to be fitted into the system." ⁴

Another interesting analysis of Marx is in relation to empirical research in Yugoslavia. The question


⁴Ibid., p. 109.
Yugoslavian sociologists are asking themselves is whether Marxian socialism provide enough theoretical ground for empiricism?

Ante Fijamengo has attempted to legitimize sociological empirical research by arguing that Marxian social teachings have been implemented in the Yugoslavian social-economic system, and the time has come for many policies which already have been practically tested (e.g. the Workers' Councils) to be scientifically researched. Trying to combine science with everyday living, he goes on to state that in the field of Yugoslavian social-economic life, the theoretical meaning of empirical research should lie in its verification of hypotheses and clarification of the meaning of concepts. He describes the role of empiricism for social theory in this way:

Many sociological concepts in the past were accepted as clear and understandable for the given time, and the particular situation. Today these very concepts, e.g. communes, Workers' Councils, are unacceptable for this moment of history. Social development demands therefore the verification of the meaning of so many concepts which are still being used with their original meaning. This is quite clear today with the concept of the "base and superstructure" especially when one wishes to apply this concept to the contemporary analysis of the social structure.


6 Ibid, p. 79.
In answering the question: to what degree does Marxian socialism offer empirical possibilities, the Yugoslavs have given strong support to empirical methodology. According to most of them, Marxism must and should be fitted into the context of systematic and planned research.

To serve empirical research, theory is called by Ivan Klauzer to perform a number of tasks. They are:

1. To determine and to test the epistemological foundations of the intended research.
2. Theoretically to formulate the plan of work.
3. To describe the procedure in testing the reliability of the findings.
4. To formulate the aim of research.
5. State the null-hypothesis and the alternative hypothesis.
6. To describe the variabilities, and many other minor tasks.  

In summing up this section, the following can be said:

1. Unlike their colleagues in other East European countries, the Yugoslavian sociologists do critically analyze Karl Marx with a degree of freedom.

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(2) The character of Yugoslavian sociological theory is basically Marxian, but adjusted for the empirical methodology.

(3) Because of the peculiarity of Yugoslav socialism ("self-road to socialism") Marx is now being interpreted more often in the light of empirical research than ever before.  

Studies of Sociological Classics

The second area of interest shown in Yugoslavian sociological theory is that of the cosiological classics. Prior to World War-II there were only a few of these classics translated. Sociology was in its beginning stages and was more historically oriented.

A search for a new, meaningful, social science discipline began only in the last half of the fifties. This reorientation has brought new visible results in the area of publication. Durkheim's Rules of the Sociological Methods and Comte's The Course of Positive Philosophy were translated

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into the Serbo-Croatian language in 1961. However, analysis and studies of these classics were undertaken only in the last five or six years.\(^9\)

Some studies of classics are comparative. Lukić, for example, contrasts Pareto's theory of the elite with that of Marx. He points out that Pareto's elite circulate: the low class individuals "climb" into the positions of the elite, or, the low class groups form an anti-elite, which will take power and destroy the existing system. To Marx, there is no circulation of the elite, but a social process which removes one elite from power and brings new minority groups into the leading position. That an able minority can lead a society is one of the rare points on which Pareto and Marx agree. On the other question these two men have diametrically opposite views. Here is how Lukić sums up these differences:

Pareto's theory: psychological, individualistic, static, partial, autocratic and conservative.

Marx's theory: sociological, collectivistic, dynamic, extensive, democratic, optimistic and revolutionary.\(^{10}\)

Lukić is critical of Marx for not taking into consideration those subjective factors which are so vividly present in Pareto. He suggests that "social sciences and Marxism should try in the same way as Pareto to determine the psychic elements without which it is impossible to understand social and human behaviour."\(^{10-a}\)

Weber has been evaluated too.\(^{11}\) Pusic remarks that Weber's "ideal type" is too ideal. First, it stresses need of a maximum rationalization of bureaucracy, without allowing for the "dialectical complexity of the occurrences."\(^{12}\) An equilibrium of the forces is much more acceptable in Weber's "ideal type" for example, the functioning of bureaucracy. Second, Weber omits relating the bureaucratic authorities to the general power structure of the system. This interrelationship is a must if the functioning of an institution is to be properly understood.


\(^{10-a}\) Ibid, p. 27.

\(^{11}\) E. Pusic, "Ideal Type of Bureaucracy of Max Weber...", Sociologija, II, No. 2, (1960), 80-93.

\(^{12}\) Ibid, p. 92.
The work done by the Yugoslavians on the prominent sociologists from the past century are of an evaluative nature and serve as basic material for the students in the history of sociology. However, there are hardly any serious works in depth which would be significant contribution to the general field of sociology. Nevertheless, the attempt to translate and to bring these names into the university curriculums is a sign of an objective approach on the part of Yugoslavian sociology.

Interest in Western Sociological Theory

Contemporary Western sociological theory is a very popular subject among the Yugoslav sociologists. As early as 1959, works on functionalism have appeared in scientific journals. Most thorough seems to be the work of Mihailo Djurić: "Functionalism in the Social Sciences."\(^\text{13}\)

After reviewing the historical development and the more recent expression of functionalism, Djurić gives an evaluation of several of America's leading functionalists. He gives references to the anthropologists B. Malinowski, R. Firth, and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, and to several leading

\(^{13}\text{M. Djurić, "Functionalism in Social Sciences", Sociologija, I, No. 1 (1959), 6-36.}\)
functionalists in sociology, M. J. Levy, Jr., E. Nagel, B. Barber, R. Merton, T. Parsons and H. S. Bredemeier.

From the author's own "Summary" here is an abstract of the essay:

This paper discusses some difficulties involved in the application of functional methodology to the study of social phenomena. Starting from Merton's paradigm for functional analysis in sociology, an informed attempt toward further clarification of problems and potentialities of this mode of sociological interpretation is undertaken. The discussion is mainly concentrated around the following topics: (1) basic designs of analysis in functional sociology; (2) functional analysis of social dynamics; (3) the logic of functional explanation.

Although the major part of the paper is concerned with Parsons' abstract statement of functional sociology, several concrete functional analyses are also dealt with (e.g., K. Davis' hypothesis of incest taboo, Malinowski-Brown's functional interpretation of religion and Merton's analysis of nonconformity as a type of reference group behaviour). It is suggested that basic difficulties in the theoretical specification of functions, or functions of social phenomena, which are pointed out, could be relieved and possible resolved only by accepting an alternative orientation in sociological analysis - toward establishment of relevant empirical hypotheses and miniature deductive systems. ¹⁴

The main criticism of Parsons' writings is centred on Parsons' staticism, teleology, the notion of the universal systems of values, and the hierarchical classification of individuals according to the normative system. Another point of criticism is that Parsons "fails" to recognize the importance of conflict, and the material factors in social dynamics.

In brief, Djurić's analysis of the structural-functional theory in the social sciences is broad, systematic and deserves attention. Djurić favors, however, an "establishment of relevant empirical hypotheses and miniature deductive systems." This is to say that only those theories which could lead into empirical testing should be "cultivated". Djurić is convinced that Parsons' theory of "social action" does not offer these possibilities.\(^{15}\)

Similar criticism of Parsons is that given by Ivan Kuvačić in his "Parsons' Theory of Social Equilibrium".\(^{16}\) This essay is a summary of all major critiques formed in American sociology including Max Black, A. W. Gouldner, W. E. Whyte, and C. W. Mills. Kuvačić's original comparison between Marx and Parsons is to be noted:

> It is obvious that Parsons' theory of social equilibrium stands in a direct opposition to Marx's theory of the class struggle.\(^{17}\)

Other works in social theory include such topics as "causality", "social laws", "dialectical sociology" (G. Gurvitch), "social cohesion", etc.\(^{18}\)

\(^{15}\) M. Djurić, "Functionalism in Social Sciences", Sociologija, I, No. 1 (1959), 6-36.


\(^{17}\) Ibid., p. 46

\(^{18}\) See Ivan Supek, The Principles of Social Causation (Beograd: Kultura, 1960); Djuro Susnic, "Causal Explanation
In summary, social theory in Yugoslavian sociology has been occupied with Marxism, the classics and the contemporary sociology. The last one is almost entirely devoted to Western sociology and particularly American sociology. An original contribution seems to be that part of theory which is built around the Yugoslav social economic system, more specifically around the theory of alienation under the present circumstances of self-management of industries, presumably by the workers themselves. 19

The Scope of Sociology: A Variety of Definitions

A substantial number of sociological writings in Yugoslavia deal with the question: what should be the task of general sociology, i.e., with its definition. 20 In


20 See "Bibliography by Subject Matter", under "General Sociology" at the end of this thesis for a comprehensive list of the publications.
several recently published books, which also include discussions of the position of general sociology among other social sciences in Yugoslavia, an attempt was made to bring to the attention of the Yugoslav sociologists the vast literature on general sociology in foreign languages, in particular, English, French, Russian, and German.

This section will not deal with the Marxian definition of sociology. This has been already presented earlier. Here we shall try to briefly review the problem of the definition of general sociology, as well as the question of the scope and method of sociology and determinism in sociology. 21

Iliza Stanojcić in his book "The Subject Matter of Sociology and Its Relation to Other Sciences" 22 summarizes various definitions of sociology, and besides those of Marx and Lenin, includes also definitions of well known soci-


22(Beograd: Savremena Škola, 1964)
ologists from Comte to Merton. After reviewing the various definitions, Stanojčić formulates his own, thus:

Sociology is that social science which aims at discovery and formulation of the most general laws existing in each social-historical period, those laws which are responsible for the structuring and fragmentation of society.

Djuro Šušnić, another Yugoslav sociologist has also summarized different definitions of sociology by well known American sociologists, and has compared them with those offered by his Yugoslav colleagues. He quotes Oleg Mandić's definition of sociology:

For sociology the object of research is social life in general. Sociology studies the relationship among the parts of the social whole through their historical past and present regardless of whether these parts are embodied into the total system or exist for themselves as separate entities.


24 Stanojčić, op. cit., p. -.

25 Djuro Šušnić, "Subject of Sociology - A Specifically Sociological Point of View", Sociologija, V. No.'s 3-4 (1963), 73-83.

26 In Djuro Šušnić, op. cit., p. 76.
In other words, Mandić is saying that sociology is that science dealing with total or partial social groups and with the laws governing their change.\textsuperscript{27}

Mihailo Popović defines sociology in terms of general laws:

Sociology is attempting to uncover the general laws and other factors responsible for the formation and maintenance or destruction of the whole structure of the social system in any particular period of history.\textsuperscript{28}

Other definitions of sociology which would be worth mentioning are by R. Lukić, S. Pulišelić, A. Fijamengo, J. Goričar, and B. Ziherl. Djuro Šušnić has reviewed all these definitions, and found that there are seven most commonly expressed views of sociology. They are:

1. **Nominal definitions**, that is, many definitions which give only different names to sociology but no new meaning. Example: "Science of society," "scientific study of society," etc.

2. Sociology as a science of the **basic structures** of society (stress being made on the factors which weaken or reinforce the structure).

3. Sociology as the science of the **basic laws** of social life.

\textsuperscript{27}In Djuro Šušnić, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 76.

\textsuperscript{28}Ibid., p. 76.
4. Sociology as the subject which deals with social forms, i.e., with inter-human relations.

5. Sociology seen as being oriented toward the study of social institutions.

6. Sociology as that subject matter which studies human behaviour.

7. Sociology as an academic discipline concerned with social groups.\(^{29}\)

Combining the above listed characteristics, Susnic proposes his own definition of sociology:

Sociology is a social science which studies human society, i.e., the basic structure of society, general laws of human life, the forms of human interaction, social institutions, social groups and their intergroup relation.\(^{30}\)

The sample of definitions of general sociology reviewed here indicates that the Yugoslav sociologists are attempting to make their discipline an objective science which studies not only social institutions and social groups but also "the basic structures" and "the basic laws" of the development of any society at any moment of history. In fact, the definitions the Yugoslavs propose are a combination of the Marxian definition (laws and history) with the definitions borrowed from Western Sociology.

\(^{29}\) Susnić, op. cit., p. 76-77.

\(^{30}\) Ibid., p. 77.
Beside the works on the definition of sociology, there are also writings which intend to clarify the relationship between sociology and other social sciences. A notable work is by Ilija Stanojčić who deals at length with the relationship of sociology to history, political economy, social psychology, anthropology and ethnology.  

Along with the various definitions of sociology, and the method, there is an interesting scheme proposed by Rudi Supek on the question of determinism in sociology. Supek says that one-sided determinism in sociology is useless. The complexity of social phenomena in its stratificational aspects, totality, and complex causality, imposes on sociology a need for a multidimensional analysis of social determinism. Supek proposes the following four social determinisms:

1. Social **structure**: production, productive forces, distribution, in other words, the economic core of any social structure.

2. Determinism of the **social mind**: superstructure in a broad sense considering in it time factor too (past, present and future).

3. **Nature**: man's relation to nature.

---

4. Personality: freedom, personal goals, communication of ego with alter ego, etc.\(^ {32}\)

According to Supek, it is imperative that any method of analysis of any social phenomenon must take into consideration at least these four elements of a social system.\(^ {33}\)

\(^{32}\) Sociologija III, No. 2 (1961), 40. Cf. these four determinisms with Parsons' four functional prerequisites of any social system (the Polity, the Economy, Integrative-SubSystem, and Pattern-maintenance or the Latency).

\(^{33}\) Cf. this author with three other authors in the Ante Fijamengo's "Methodology in Our Text-Books of Sociology", Sociologija, III, No. 2 (1961), pp. 3-23.
CHAPTER IV
RURAL SOCIOLOGY

In the first chapter it was stated that rural sociology was among the first disciplines of sociology to be developed in Yugoslavia. After the Second World War and particularly in the first half of the sixties, a rapid intensification of research was evident in this branch of the discipline. Based on the scientific tradition, i.e., on the works of predecessors like Vuk Karadžić, Valtazar Bogić, Ante Radić, Jovan Cvić and Sreten Vukosavljević, it became very popular among young scholars. Even as early as 1948 there was the Institute za Proučavanje Sela (The Institute for Rural Studies) within the Serbian Academy of Science in Belgrade. In 1956, this institute was fused with the Ethnographic Institute of the same Academy. When in 1961 the Institute for Sociology came into being, this rural group was incorporated into it. Also since 1961, rural sociology is being taught as a university subject. (For example, at the University of Belgrade (see Table in Chapter VII) rural sociology is taught by Dr. C. Kostić.

On June 30, 1960, the Agrarian Institute was formed at Zagreb¹, which includes a Department of Rural Sociology as


-77-
a special section. This Institute has been publishing a journal, Sociologija Sela (Rural Sociology) devoted to the problems of rural areas. The first issue appeared in 1963. The editorial preface emphasizes the importance of rural sociology in Yugoslavia, thus:

...In our country there is a rapid decline in the rural population and we are not far away from that moment of history when there will be no more peasants in our country. In Yugoslavia the main aim of the socialist revolution is being realized from day to day; i.e., the general equalization of town and village. This process is to be followed and carefully studied by Marxist-rural sociology...

In the same issue of Sociologija Sela, Cvetko Kostić, after reviewing the history of rural sociology has formulated a definition of rural sociology:

Rural sociology studies the society in a rural environment as a part of the whole society and social system. This society is composed of individuals connected by the relations into which they enter because of necessity and independently of their will. However, free will also plays a role when cultural and other particular social relations are required. Through free will the rural population groups itself according to cultural and other interests. On the same basis the rural population separates itself from the other social systems (e.g. urban) and because of this type of separation many social processes in rural areas are the subject of particular types of social change (in many instances slow dynamics, for example.)

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2 Sociologija Sela, I, (July-September, 1963)

As it can be seen from this definition, the author stresses environment as a factor which determines not only ecological but also social "shaping" of the population: Social relationships, forms of associations and social processes. Rural sociology is divided into two parts: (A) theoretical-descriptive and (B) applied.

A. The theoretical-descriptive part is concerned with (1) individual studies (rural idiography), and (2) discovery of common, typical elements within the individual cases (rural nomography):

1. Rural idiography can be:
   a. Rural econology
   b. Rural historiography
   c. rural sociolography
   d. rural statistics

On the basis of the above outline, we then can say that idiography looks after those individual rural phenomena which stand isolated for themselves.

2. Rural nomography is distinguished from rural idiography not by having a separate subject for its study, but rather through a different method of studying the same subject. It is concerned with those common, typical, and universal elements which are found within the individual cases.
B. The applied or practical part of rural sociology attempts to answer the questions connected with the bringing about of change, such as:

1. What change is to follow rural life,
2. What is the difference between the existing establishment and one that will follow with social change,
3. What are the means of transforming the present into the future type of rural life.\(^4\)

The above outline of the subject matter of rural sociology was systematically prepared by those Yugoslav sociologists who have studied the leading foreign names in rural sociology, in particular, P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, J. M. Gillette, Alvin L. Bertrand and others.\(^5\)

On this basis, the scope of rural sociology has been formulated to include:

1. Social dynamics of rural population (social associations, mobility, social change, etc.), and
2. The laws effecting this dynamic change, and regulating the processes of social transformation (tradition, politics, economics, authority).

\(^4\)C. Kostić, op. cit., p. 20.

Both of these aspects are considered important in view of the new social political conditions of post-war Yugoslavia. The new conditions, for example, have effected or at least have brought about the following changes in the life of the village:

1. deagrarization of the rural population,
2. emergence of the rural-urban workers,
3. new stratification of villages by the initiation of work collectives,
4. the impact of urbanization on the village.\

How significant studies in rural sociology can be in Yugoslavia is indicated by these statistical facts: today there are 2,620,000 peasant farms in the country with 12,507,000 inhabitants. If we include these rural dwellers who are not engaged in agricultural production, but use the village as their residence, then we have 73 percent of the total population of Yugoslavia still living in rural areas. Although the economic system of Yugoslavia is a branch of socialism, most of the land is privately owned; the individual landowners own 86 percent of arrable land.\

All this provides a good setting for the development of rural sociology.

There is no intention in this thesis to give separate attention to the activity of rural sociology in each Socialist Republic in Yugoslavia. However, a skeletal review of the main orientation of this sociological discipline in some of the biggest Republics in Yugoslavia is thought as worthwhile mentioning.

Rural Sociology in Croatia

The Sociological Section of the Agrarian Institute at Zagreb has been foremost in the number of research projects undertaken (see Appendix A). From the projects listed in Sociologija Sela it is clear that most of them are directed at seeking an answer to one of the following questions:

1. What are the types of social change in the village?
2. What is the economic and social life of the rural youth?
3. What are the social-economic consequences of aging among the rural population?
4. What are the changes in the social and economic structures of the rural population?

For description of the projects as well as the names of the sociologists who are in charge of these projects, see: "Scientific and Vocational Work in 1966," Sociologija Sela, V, No. 15, (1967), 60-62.
The most recent projects that have just been com-
pleted or are in progress are devoted to these areas:

1. urbanization of the village,
2. rural exodus
3. rural family
4. social roles and norms of the rural population, and
5. political participation of the rural population.  

Although answers to all the above questions will not
be available for some time, a good number of empirical inves-
tigations have been already published. A trans-Yugoslavian
project was conducted by the Croatian sociologists on the
motivational attitudes of rural youths. The public school
pupils were asked to compare village living with that in the
urban areas. On the question "What do you thing about rural
and urban life?" 23.2 percent have answered that they would
prefer to live in the urban setting because there is more
entertainment; 19.5 percent sees better living conditions in
the city, and 19.2 percent would go to the city because of
the better educational opportunities there.

When another group of 2,209 young working peasants
were asked if they would like to leave their villages, 60.0
percent of the young men answered positively and 64.6 percent
of the girls wished to do so.

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TABLE 1
WOULD YOU LIKE TO LEAVE YOUR VILLAGE?\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Younger Age</th>
<th></th>
<th>Older Age</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male Female</td>
<td>Male Female</td>
<td>Male Female</td>
<td>Male Female</td>
<td>Male Female</td>
<td>Male Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>66.3% 67.0%</td>
<td>54.1% 61.5%</td>
<td>60.0% 64.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>33.7 33.0</td>
<td>45.9 38.5</td>
<td>40.0 35.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0% 100.0%</td>
<td>100.0% 100.0%</td>
<td>100.0% 100.0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>N-650 N-491</td>
<td>N-689 N-379</td>
<td>N-1,339 N-870</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Besides these subjective wishes there are some objective reasons for the exodus of the peasant youths to the city. One of the researchers, who worked on this project, suggested the following reasons as most important for the horizontal mobility of village youths:

a. low standard of living in the village,
b. economical and social dependency of youth on the parents,
c. low social reputation of the agricultural occupation,
d. Lack of organized and diversified leisure time in the village,
e. unsolved social problems of the village,

f. poor perspectives of peasants' holdings, etc.  

Rural Sociology in Serbia

In the amount of activity in field research, Belgrade, Serbia, follows Zagreb. Belgrade's sociologists are interested in rural life, and in changes in the structure of the rural social institutions due to the general technological influence on the village. For this purpose long range projects have been planned in the villages across Serbia. One of the biggest will be a longitudinal study of the changing village. Provisions already have been made for this global study of the Serbian village to be replicated in the decades to come. At present, most attractive to rural sociologists are those areas which received Kolonisti (migrants) after the War, and are under a rapid process of urbanization and technological change, in particular Lesnice in Podrinje and Loznice (near Šabac). In these communities, agrarian reform has made the migrants a majority group. The processes of assimilation, acculturation and integration are therefore interesting areas for sociological investigations.


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The biggest project planned in Serbia is a 10 percent sample of the total 6,000 villages now existing in that Republic, i.e., 600 villages, which will be used for the most extensive sociological study ever made in the Balkans. The investigators claim that any sociological phenomena considered important shall be studied.\(^1\)

Within the same Institute there is also the Section For the Study of the Communes.\(^2\) This group, however, is not the only one to be interested in the Communes in Yugoslavia. On January 25-27, 1965, there was a symposium organized at Ljubljana (Slovenia) in which many sociologists representing such institutes as the Institute for Social Sciences from Belgrade and the Agrarian Institute from Zagreb participated.\(^3\)

Some fascinating reports made during the symposium touched on the cultural and technological lag of the rural communes. Stipe Sušnar reported that there are not enough


\(^2\)Communes are legal territories composed of villages and towns and correspond to Districts in the Western terminology.

\(^3\)There were 36 papers submitted on this meeting. For a full review of the Symposium and bibliographical references regarding the papers, see: Svetozar Livada, "The Meeting on Sociological Research of the Commune in Yugoslavia," Sociologija Sela, III, No. 7-8, (1965), 115-118.
public schools and other institutions in Yugoslavian villages in spite of the progress made so far. There is, for example, 1 public school per 2.5 dwelling settlements; 1 grocery store per 3.4 settlements; 1 railroad station per 13 settlements. Libraries exist only in 500 out of 27,349 villages, and there are only 550 movie houses in the same number of villages.

Rural unemployment presents a problem by itself. Basically, unemployment in rural areas represents overpopulation. From Table 2 it is evident that there are 1,467,941 persons living in the villages who are designated as "manpower surplus." 

**TABLE 2**

THE MANPOWER SURPLUS OF THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS FROM 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Actual Manpower in Agriculture</th>
<th>Actual Demand for the Agricultural Manpower</th>
<th>The Surplus of Manpower in Agriculture</th>
<th>Percentage of the Surplus of the Actual Manpower</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Serbia (Limited Reg.)</td>
<td>1,570,128</td>
<td>915,661</td>
<td>654,467</td>
<td>41.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vojodina</td>
<td>427,560</td>
<td>329,862</td>
<td>97,698</td>
<td>22.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosmet</td>
<td>238,735</td>
<td>127,619</td>
<td>111,116</td>
<td>46.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>956,364</td>
<td>755,340</td>
<td>201,024</td>
<td>21.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>275,667</td>
<td>220,429</td>
<td>55,238</td>
<td>20.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosna &amp; Herzegovina</td>
<td>756,279</td>
<td>519,602</td>
<td>236,677</td>
<td>24.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonia</td>
<td>326,098</td>
<td>235,143</td>
<td>90,950</td>
<td>27.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro</td>
<td>89,402</td>
<td>68,631</td>
<td>20,771</td>
<td>23.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>4,640,233</td>
<td>3,172,292</td>
<td>1,467,941</td>
<td>31.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


If the situation of unemployed the rural population is to be eased, the author of an article "The Surplus of Manpower in Agriculture in Yugoslavia" suggests that this population be shifted from "agriculture to nonagricultural" activities. However, the bulk of these people are unqualified and it would be difficult to place them in the nonagricultural industry. Instead, the author Ivan Kauzer suggests that a committee be set up which would try to employ this surplus "in cooperatives, organizing a kind of industrial production in agriculture".  

In Vojvodina, in the northeastern part of Yugoslavia, similarly to Croatia, there was a strong interest in rural sociology established before World War II. This region was well known for its ethnic diversification. Among the first phenomena studied in Vojvodina after the War was the degree of inter-ethnic integration of the new migrants and the original residents of Vojvodina. The Yugoslavs used Landecker's model as one of the most popular models for empirical testing of


16 In 1865, Djorje Natošević wrote "Why are people in Austria decay?" which is considered first rural study in Vojvodina. There are also works by Mirko Kosić, Ljubomir Lotic, Radoslav Marković and others. For the list of titles see Milan Milutinović and V. Radomirović, "A Review of Research of Village in Vojvodina," Sociologija Sela, II, No.4, (1964) 57-60.
of integration. Bogardus' scale was also used to measure the following four dimensions of integration of the migrants in the social milieu: cultural, normative, communicative, and functional. Besides integration, the horizontal (spatial) mobility of the migrants was also an attractive area for investigation. It was found that the migrants in Vojvodina are far more mobile than the non-migrants. The reason for this is that the migrants had friends or relatives in other parts of this region who had also come as migrants but were given land in other townships. Besides this, it has been also found that the migrants were sojourners in their mental characteristics as well. Most representative of these studies are works by Darinka Kostić, Milorad Vasović, Borislav Domković and Bojislav Djurić.¹⁷

Rural Sociology in Slovenia

In Ljubljana, Slovenia, research in rural sociology is just beginning to catch up with Croatia and Serbia. Most

¹⁷ Darinka Kostić, Changes in the Social Life of the Colonists (Promjene U Društvenom Životu Kolonista), Beograd: Institut Društvenih Nauka, 1963,) et passim.

research is done by the Institute of Sociology in Ljubljana, and focuses on the cultural life of the village, political participation of the peasants, cohesiveness of the local Communes and cooperation among them.  

An interesting project was carried on by Matija Golob. Published under the title "Forms of Mutual Cooperation in the Village," it is as much sociological as it is anthropological in its context. Here is how the author has described the "new" and the "old" forms of cooperation that he found to be present in the mountainous villages in Slovenia:

In these villages with many archaic characteristics, one meets tradition and new forms of economic and social life which flow from urban and industrial centers. In connecting the concrete forms of cooperation among rural inhabitants the author differentiates between those which are related to production and those which imply cultural and recreative manifestations.

Modern forms of cooperation...realize themselves in various economic institutions, such as a gricultural cooperative, forestry-husbandry, road construction enterprise and a few others...But particularly interesting for sociological study of the development of the village, are the relations of cooperation within the so-called transitional types of institutions in which one finds intertwined archaic forms with new content. These are the patterns of keeping up common pasture land, watering places, maintenance and clearing of roads, fixing up fences, etc.  

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The old forms of cooperation are limited to those activities which require no more work than a day or so. For example a peasant might ask the help of others to pour concrete, raise the roof when building his house, and the like. The new forms of cooperation are bigger in size and longer in time, and involve communal effort, e.g., building electric power lines, digging ditches, or cutting trees when building a road.

Some studies dealing with the dynamics of change have found that lack of electrification and housing have been the most acute problems of economic life in the Yugoslavian villages. In 1940 only 6 percent of the rural households were electrified. By 1963 this percentage rose to 54 for the whole of Yugoslavia. Slovenia, as one would expect from historical knowledge, has the highest percentage of its households electrified (80 percent) while the Region of Kosovo and Metohia has the lowest percentage of electrification (14 percent). Slovenia was one of the first Yugoslavian territories to be developed by foreign capital during the long rule of the Austro-Hungarian empire.

In Dalmatia, sociologists have been engaged in historical research in order to find reasons for geographical mobility.

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Throughout history, people from the sterile mountainous villages have moved inland, but the reasons for migration varied from one historical period to another. Three migratory tendencies were historically apparent:

(1) people would move whenever there was extreme danger of war (1914-1915, 1939-1941),

(2) when there was an imperialistic occupation imposed from outside, [e.g., Italian occupation of Dalmatia in 1941, and,

(3) during natural disasters [earthquakes over Makarska in 1962].

After the Second World War, the following types of migration among the Dalmatian population were found:

(1) rapid industrialization of other regions attracted Dalmatians to jobs in industry,

(2) migration from the historically designated unproductive areas of the sea coast to agricultural inland.

(3) veterans from the War who never returned to their own homes, but took their families to the cities, and,

(4) permanent but gradual migration to overseas countries. This migration, however, from time to time, is slowed down by legal regulations, either those of the government or those of the governments of the
There are some projects carried out in cooperation with foreign institutes. More on this will be said in Chapter VII. Here, attention should be drawn to an International Symposium which was held in Belgrade on December 20-22, 1966, and dealt with the "Social Systems in Rural Environment". The purpose of this meeting was to discuss a pilot project to be carried out in 14 villages as a cooperative effort between the European Sociological Centre in Paris, the Sociological Institute of Serbia and the Agrarian Institute in Zagreb. The main purpose of this study was to investigate several hypotheses testing the correlation between techno-economic changes and lessening of social ties among relative.

The pilot project was divided into two phases. The first phase was a general survey of the villages. This work was done during the months of July and August of 1965. The selection of the villages for this phase was based on the following criteria:

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21 In the period 1953-1961, from Croatia only, an average of 18,000 persons migrated to the overseas countries. See: Stipe Suvar, "Interdependence Between Agricultural Production and Social Mobility in the Adriatic Region of Yugoslavia," Sociologija Sela, II, No. 4, (1964), 17-39.
(1) the degree of integration of the village into
the total population as well as into the national
economy,

(2) ecological features (climate, configuration of
the terrain, etc.),

(3) the type of family and the system of relation
among the members of the extended family (cousins,
or other relatives,)

(4) ethnic and religious differences, and

(5) the role of tradition in the social life of
the village.

The second phase of the project consisted of the
actual interviewing of the peasants. This phase was com­
pleted in the Fall of 1965 and the data is being studied.22

To sum up, the extensive bibliography on rural
sociology and anthropology (see Bibliography) in Yugoslavia
suggests that the Balkan villages, being on the cross-roads
of two cultures, that of the East and that of the West, even
without any socio-political changes, have presented an ideal
object for socio-anthropological studies. The changes which
have taken place by the controversial collectivisation and
decollectivisation of the farm land made the peculiarity of

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22 For a full account of this project see "Socio­
logical Research in Yugoslav Villages," Sociologija Sela,
III, No. 10, (1965), 66-67; "International Symposium, Social
System in Rural Community," Sociologija Sela, V, No. 15,
(1967), 55.
of the Balkan villages even more attractive to the social scientists, particularly to sociologists. 23

23 Martin Halpner's The Serbian Village, (New York: Columbia University Press 1958), is an example.
CHAPTER V

SOCIOLOGY OF CLASS AND STRATIFICATION

Sociology of stratification is one of the most interesting areas in Yugoslavian sociology. Both on the theoretical level and in empirical research, this branch of sociology has shown its originality and vigor. Its originality stems from the particularity of the Yugoslavian socialism and inherited class distinctions in the population. This structurally heterogenous population is seen through the presence of distinctively differentiated positions, such as those of the Supreme Court Justices, unskilled farm labourers and street sweepers, to mention only a few. The initiative for a systematic look into the stratificational aspects of the Yugoslavian population came from that objective group of sociologists who were interested in this question of social reality. Some of these men are: Vojin Milić, Mihailo Popović, Slobodan Bosnić, Firdus Dzinić, Radomir Lukić, Milosav Janičević, and others. Most of them write on social class in terms other than exclusively those of the Marxian concept. Vojin Milić for example sees social class in terms of income, prestige and power:

The concept of social position is most closely connected with the concept of social role. The social position of any individual is the result of all his social roles. His social position is a complex result of all social activity of an individual.
Social stratification is a multidimensional phenomenon. But it seems that income, prestige and power are its most universal elements.\footnote{Vojin Milic, "A Conceptual and Hypothetical Frame for the Study of Social Structure," Sociologija II, No. 2, (1960), 3-40.}

Theoretical Considerations Of Stratifications

The discussions on social stratification have as their background the following questions:

1. Are there social classes in Yugoslavia today?
2. If there are social classes, what would these classes be like?
3. If there are no social classes, but there are social strata only, what strata are these?
4. What are the factors which determine the class existence?


For other views on social stratification, see "Social Structure of the Yugoslav Society," a summary of the discussion held in Belgrade on No. 12 and 13, 1962, in Socioloski Pregled, No. 2, (1962), 103-143.

For further breakdown of different conceptual works on social stratification see: Ilija Stanojic and D. Draskovic, "Some Results in the Investigation of Social Structure of Yugoslav Society," Sociologija IX, No. 3-4, (1967), 61-67.


5. Are these factors still found in Yugoslavia today?

6. On the basis of the class-determining factors which of the following would be true:
   
a) In Yugoslavia the social classes are disappearing,
   
b) Yugoslavia is faced with the problem of class-appearance,
   
c) There are no classes in Yugoslavia today but only certain strata which resemble, in a way, a class-type society,
   
d) Slowly but surely Yugoslavia is liquidating the remnants of the old class-society and will eventually one day become a classless society.

The freedom which the Yugoslavs have in this free-floating meditation and utilization of the Western thought in the analysis of social class, desires careful attention. This is because in the writings on social stratification in Yugoslavia, the mixing of the Marxist and non-Marxist is so apparent, and yet difficult to clearly discern. Only careful analysis can bring out the distinction between these mixings. In the following section we shall present some of the Yugoslavian names which vividly represent the extremes within the Yugoslavian brand of Marxism.
When reviewing the works by the Yugoslavian sociologists on social stratification one readily gets an impression that the Yugoslavs are caught in a dilemma whenever they write on social class. This dilemma stems from the two basic groups of sociologists. They are either "true" Marxists or Marxists-"revisionists". Any others are "non-existent" or at least undeclared. The first group does not allow many external influences on their ideologically determined position. These men are: Zihel, Pecujlic, Kosanovic and Gorcar. The other group, though respectful toward the Marxian notion on social class, writes in a more sophisticated manner. These sociologists, for example, neither deny the validity of the Marxian view on class, nor do they stick to it firmly. They somehow build up their theory of the class in the contemporary social experience in Yugoslavia, and hence could be called "revisionist". Quite often their original interpretation of the phenomena from their county resembles the views on the social class from the Western countries. Noticed in this group are: S. Bosnic, R. Lukic, M. Popovic and Rudi Supek.

In the search for answers to the above questions, it was imperative to start the theoretical work with a historical review of the different concepts of social class. To the Yugoslavs among the most important concepts was, of course, that of Karl Marx. Marx saw class through the economic
relationship, i.e., as the basic aspect of ownership of the means of production. If the means of production belong to private individuals then these will take advantage of other people's labour (economic values) and therefore they are called exploiters. Those who sell their labour are exploited or proletarians. This is the basic notion of class by Marx.

After World War II, through the nationalization of private ownership of the means of production, the economic relation of the class-type as defined by Marx, would have disappeared in Yugoslavia. If Marx's notion of social class was the only determinant factor it would look as if there are no classes in present day Yugoslavia. Not to be misled by the application of this criterion to their case, the Yugoslavian sociologists proposed a thorough study of class and stratification. What is peculiar, is the fact that some of the "twentieth century Marxists" or "modern Marxists" (the revisionists) know to manipulate all those criteria, according to which social class has been defined in the West, and adapt these criteria to the Yugoslavian situation, and hence make them almost original. These sociologists think that a study of social stratification should include, beside the question of ownership of the means of production, the following elements as well: social role, social position, types of social institutions in which individuals occupy
their positions, the laws responsible for any change of social structure, hierarchical arrangement of social occupations, types and positions of the work groups in work situation, etc.

Social Class Defined

Misroslav Pečuljić has proposed the following characteristics of the social classes:

1. Classes are large social groupings which are recognized by their specific place in a particular system of social production. This is to say that classes are recognizable according to their relation to the means of production.
2. Classes pursue different and opposite political interests.
3. Each class must have its own class-consciousness.
4. Classes are irreconcilable, conflicting groups.
5. Classes have their lawful tendency toward stratification.

Pečuljić's definition of social classes through their characteristics is typically Marxian in kind. It includes the notions of ownership, class antagonism, class consciousness,

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etc. In order to contrast definition with some more original, contemporary notions of social class, we need to bring in Lukić's definition of social class, which is based on observation of the present-day Yugoslavian society. Lukić states:

In order to answer the question whether classes exist in our present-day society, it is necessary, first of all, to define in a precise manner the meaning of the term "social class" and to examine whether such groupings, as we have determined them, do or do not exist in our society. I propose denoting the two groups that exist in every exploiting society - the grouping of exploiters and the grouping of the exploited by the term "social class". In order to make such a definition of the concept of social class quite clear, it is necessary to define more closely the concept of exploitation. This time I am not going to deal in detail with the classical concept of exploitation but with a new concept of exploitation, which is far more significant for the contemporary society as a whole and our socialist society in particular. Popularly, exploitation is said to be every unjustifiable appropriation of someone else's surplus of labour, including exploitation in the classical form, i.e., when the owner of the means of production appropriates the surplus of labour (or value) of a worker who works with these means of production. This question is especially significant in our society, in view of the distribution according to work.

The basic principle of socialism is distribution according to work, and this means that work or the product of work has its value and that the distribution of social product is to be effected according to the value of the product of every participant in production. If in distribution he received more than the value of his product, it means that he has unjustifiable appropriated part of someone else's layout. This appropriation obviously differs from the one effected by a private owner of the means of production, so that I draw a distinction between the two kinds of exploitation - the classical one and the new "socialist" one.

I consider that there exist groupings of unskilled manual workers, unemployed, poor peasants and the like who are
exploited by highly skilled workers, primarily intellectuals, and especially by the high political and economic bureaucracy, as well as by speculators. I am of the opinion that only the first one results in the forming of social classes and in class struggle whereas the second one can lead to this only exceptionally.\(^3\)

Lukić is aware that only empirical research can prove whether the "class type groupings" exist in Yugoslavia today and hypothesizes the existence of these groups in this way:

As I have already said, in our society there exist classes formed as a result of exploitation in the classical sense, i.e., exploitation by private owners of the means of production of workers employed by them in those spheres of economy where such ownership and such employment still exist. However, in our country, class differences between these two classical classes are not great, because of limited private ownership and the legal protection of workers.\(^4\)

As these "in the classical sense" classes are still encountered in Yugoslavia, so there are also those socialist produced classes.

The study of the question of the existence of classes in another sense, caused by a new kind of "socialist" exploitation is much more complex. Therefore, I feel that the term "class" can be used only for denoting those groupings which are relatively constant and which, therefore, lead to the creation of a definite consciousness which clearly differentiates between, and opposes "us" to "them"....

\(^4\)Ibid., p. 55.
One of the most urgent tasks of our sociology is to ascertain the actual position of these groupings that we call classes....

According to Lukić, the class groupings in Yugoslavia would include: farmers, craftsmen, workers, trade and catering workers, intellectuals, and bureaucracy. Bureaucracy includes professional politicians and economic leaders. To the above Lukić would add the speculators and declassed elements [ex-politicians like Djilas, Ranković or some of the pre-war political elite]. Each group which is constituted from one of the above categories will have its characteristic style of behaviour. Its members would "mutually maintain close connection...share the same ideology...have the same social position." 

In other words, the properties of these groups described here resemble Marx's theory of social class: closeness, consciousness, and L. Waren's style of life. If we exclude Karl Marx's principal characteristic of social class, private ownership, then we can say that all other characteristics of a social class are found in these groups in Yugoslavia.

Lukić, as we have seen, has developed a very interesting theory of so-called "socialist exploitation" which is

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6 Lukić, op. cit., p. 55.
manifested in the unequal wage distribution between those who have directly earned the money and those who indirectly enjoy other people's labour. As examples of these Lukic mentions bureaucracy, highly skilled occupations, political functionaries and the like, all asking advantages over the production labourers. This type of exploitation is seen in a case of higher skilled workers and unskilled labour. Where the former group earns proportionally higher wages than the latter. We also see that this exploitation exists in the unfair treatment of some individuals when these are compared to their fellow "experts" from the same occupational category [e.g., medical doctors in the Army, chemists in the military institutes, TV stars, etc.]. Another example of the socialist exploitation could be seen in the unfair system of awards for the farmers' labour. The prices from their products are very often sealed by the Government. This also is true for some of the industrial products.

Because of this type of exploitation there arises basic social differentiation. This differentiation in turn becomes groups or class stratification. Lukic concludes his thesis on stratification in Yugoslavia by saying that he has called these groupings "social classes", since they exercise a prevailing influence upon the course of development of our
Mihajlo Popović gives a negative answer to the question "Are there classes in Socialism?" if the answer is sought in terms of the Marxian definition of class. Logically the answer is that there are no classes because "social stratification does not rest upon private property and exploitation of the labour". However, if we perceive the class through social roles and social positions then, Popović suggests, we have three kinds of strata in a socialist society. These are:

1. The stratum of high political and economic leaders,
2. The median strata of lower and "small" leaders, various professions like engineers, doctors, professors, administrative officials, and finally,
3. The stratum of direct producers - workers.

The differences among these strata "do not rest on property over the means of production but on various roles

7R. Lukić, op. cit., p. 55.
they play within the social division of work."⁹ Popović then explains his scheme of four basic dimensions of every social activity:

a) technological - instrumental, i.e., the means with which it is carried out, b) dimension of the division of activities, including division of work, c) division (distribution) of social power, i.e., an unequal possibility of participation in decision-making on what work will be done and how will the distribution of products of activities be carried out and d) value normative dimension, i.e., values and norms that orientate and regulate social activity. To each dimension of activity corresponds a definite kind of social relation; to the first dimension - the technological relationship of people towards the means of activity; to the second dimension - the relations among various professions or relations of social division of work in general; to the third dimension - the relations between those who govern and those governed; and finally, to the fourth dimension - the relations among people of different ideologies and among different ideological organizations.¹⁰

The concepts of groups, strata and classes are explained in terms of the "dimension of the division of activities":

Social groups appear as a part of the horizontal differentiation of the social structure, i.e., on the basis of an objective need for uniting those performing the same or complementary roles. The results of a vertical differentiation are strata in the broadest sense (e.g., hierarchical arrangement of occupations) which are defined as social groupings that occupy the same or a similar position (status) in the system of distribution of social power, material and other values and social prestige. The strata in a broader sense appear as classes, castes, estates or in some

other form. Classes are defined as big social strata that differ in that some are the owners of the means of production and others only the owners of their labour force, but what they have in common is that they are personally (legally) free so that those not owning the means of production are only economically forced to sell their own form of labour to others possessing these means and are thus exploited by them.\textsuperscript{11}

Zoran Vidaković, on the other hand, does not see social stratification in Yugoslavia through the strata levels only, as it is the case with Popović. Vidaković is under the opinion that in Yugoslavia we have cases where the class is disappearing rather than developing.\textsuperscript{12} This man then stresses that division of labour is one of the essential characteristics of the socialist stratification, along with those characteristics based on property-ownership which are class remnants, and are eventually disappearing. Vidaković summarizes the class situation in Yugoslavia today as follows:

Since the possibility of formation of antagonistic property relations, on the basis of which some complexes of significant social differences could be transformed into a class division of society, has been eliminated, the centre of the reproduction of these social differences shifts from property relations towards the division of labour which, in the absence of an intermediate factor - class property - cannot restore a class division of the society. But


as the division of labour still contains some of the essential characteristics formed in the society of capital and hired labour, from the class nature of this phenomenon there arises a tendency towards social structuring with limited class characteristics. All more important features of social stratification in the present-day Yugoslav society arise from the elements of a class division of labour and social differences formed in this way render possible the reproduction of specific aspects of division of labour inherent in a class society. The re-establishment of such characteristics of the division of labour is linked with the reproduction of some elements of wage relationships and power over labour.\textsuperscript{13}

Since the division of labour has been labelled as "responsible" for class-type groupings in Socialist Yugoslavia, let us for a moment return to M. Pečujlić's explanation of "class-groupings."

Pečujlić sees three types of social groupings:

1. Class-groupings
2. Bureaucratic groupings
3. Social-professional groupings and self-managing structure of society.\textsuperscript{14}

1. Class Groupings

Pečujlić suggests that the existential type of social division which appears in the sphere of material production


\textsuperscript{14}M. Pečujlić, \textit{op. cit.}, 23-25.
(a) Private monopoly over the means of production.

(b) The assigning of the managerial functions on the grounds of ownership of the means of production (e.g., shareholder participation in choosing the board of directors, and the like).

(c) Unequal distribution of the earned capital (discrepancy between those who work with their hands and those who 'work' with their money).^{15}

Pečujlić further suggests that stemming from the different positions in the economic structure we have diverse positions in the political-power-structure and the rise of class interests. These, however, are of secondary nature since they primarily depend on the economic structure of society. From these positions, both economic and political, we have various class outlooks such as class identification, psychology and ideology. The latter in turn have an effect on class relationship. Pečujlić describes these effects in this way:

Consequently, classes in essence, represent conflicting social groups; banners of sharp conflict which actually is the motivating force of the changes of global social system.... Class struggle, in particular, comprises a component part of the definition of classes. Nevertheless, all these elements are of secondary nature, since they have sprung up from private ownership over the means of production, management of people and exploitation.^{16}

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^{15}M. Pečujlić, op. cit., p. 24.

^{16}Ibid., p. 25.
2. **Bureaucratic Group**

This type of social group developed when "the abolition of private ownership over the means of production and its transformation into state ownership" took place in the Yugoslavian economy. Bureaucracy is seen as a specific strata and described by Pečujlić much along the lines of R. Michael. Thus:

Bureaucracy constitutes a system of basic social relationships which is characterized by the fact that a specific strata - estranged from the direct producers - is in charge of the fundamental social activities and is managing the people. The monopoly of management becomes a specialization, a profession of a distinct social group comprising the following components: (1) Monopoly over the management of state property. (2) The monopoly over the right to dispose, on behalf of the society, with newly created values. (3) Monopoly over political-decision making, determining the position of a portion of a social whole. (4) The section of managers emerges out of the ruling class, gaining greater independence in the process, greater assertion and protection of its own interests.18

3. **Social-Professional Group and Self-managing Structure of Society**

The principal features of this type of group are:

(a) The authority of management is transformed from management over the people to management over the

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17 M. Pečujlić, op. cit., p. 25.

18 Ibid., p. 25; How bureaucracy can become a new class by having the control over the means of production, as it is experienced in Eastern Europe, see M. Djilas, "The New Class," in The New Class (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), 37-103, or see also Rizzi, Burnham, etc.
the people to management over the technical processes. Because of this transformation of authority new social relationships are established in industry.

(b) The functions of management are reduced to technical aspects because the workers' councils have assumed the manager's role.

(c) It is between the bureaucratic and socio-professional (self-managing) type of social grouping that there lies the transitory stage of the first into the second. 19

After having analyzed the three basic types of groups (stratas), Pečujlić recognizes the fact that social conflicts are possible because all basic cells of a society are not harmonic organisms without conflict.

Other sociologists differ from Pecujlic in many regards. Zdravko Mlinar for example in his article "The Integrative or Disintegrative Role of Social Differentiation" 20 says that there is always a danger that vertical social differentiation can become a closed system of social stratification primarily because of the following reasons:


(a) Among a definite number of individuals certain differences are necessary, formed, no matter whether we start from the individuals and their inherent abilities and activities or from the model of a necessary functional partition of the society and appropriate specialization.

(b) Individuals do not mutually differ on the basis of only one but of several criteria. Here the results of numerous empirical investigations have shown that there regularly occurs a cumulation of polarized structural and different functional characteristics with those who can be termed as the "higher" gathered on one side and the various "lower" on the other.

(c) In addition to the afore-mentioned, we are particularly interested to see what are the aspirations (need-motivations) of citizens grouped at the lowest steps of the vertical ladder of a society or group.

(d) Finally, there is an invisible stratification which cuts across the whole society. Namely, individuals - who are actually different from others, not only in the light of one but of several criteria - have begun to associate closely in accordance with the principle of social homophily; the equal with the equal. No matter whether relations of friendship, kinship or legal relations are involved, one notices in all cases a tendency of various strata to close the themselves up, so that, for instance, individuals enjoying the highest prestige associate mainly with their equals and conversely, those with the lowest prestige (the lower incomes, the lowest education, etc.) close themselves up into the stratum of the "lowest" etc.21

Some Yugoslavian sociologists have paid much attention to the social roles and the types of economic activity when they write about social class. Some of these make two basic distinctions in economic activity: Private sector and the sector of the socialist economy. One of these is Slobodan

Bosnic.

Slobodan Bosnic bases his analysis of social stratification on the following elements:

a. ownership of the means of production
b. type of economic activity
c. degree of specialization
d. degree of economic activity

On the basis of the above scheme Bosnic divides the Yugoslavian population into two principal groups: (A) Population with collective control over the means of production, (B) Population with private control over the means of production. Each of these is broken down further as follows:

A. Population with collective control over the means of production.

I. Production (e.g., industrial manufacturing)
   (1) highly skilled labour
   (2) unskilled labour

II. Economic services (e.g., bakeries, laundries, barber shops, etc.)
   (1) highly skilled and skilled labour
   (2) semi-skilled labour
   (3) unskilled labour

III. Unproductive sector of economy (e.g., governmental administration)
(1) people with assigned functions (e.g., bureaucrats and political heads)
(2) highly skilled and skilled workers (e.g., administrators with or without proper schooling)
(3) workers with a low degree of skills (e.g., auxiliary help)

B. Population with private means of production.

I. Production

(1) peasants - hiring the workers
(2) peasants - doing their own labour
(3) agricultural free labourers

II. Service Industry

(1) artisans - owners of the means of production
(2) hired labourers

III. Non-productive sector of economy

1. people of free occupation-intellectuals
2. people of no occupation and free (unemployed) manual workers.

IV. People with no activity but supported by the state, for example, veterans, pensioners, disabled, unemployed, etc.

From the aforesaid, it is clear that sociology of stratification has been receiving much attention in Yugoslavia.
Thus the answers to most of the questions asked about social classes in Yugoslavia can be summarized as follows:

1. Some social classes in Yugoslavia do exist as the remnants of the old class system (from capitalist Yugoslavia, which existed until 1941.) These classes result from the fact that there are still some private owners of shops, service industries, and agricultural land, who by this virtue have maintained a class-type relationship with hired-labour.

2. There are social groups deriving from occupational categories which do, in many instances, resemble classes in the capitalist societies. But because of the system of collective ownership of the means of production on which Yugoslavs make a strong emphasis, they would not say that these social groupings constitute in themselves social classes, and yet they are the subject of intensive discussion and study as if they were social classes.

3. Most theories so far developed in Yugoslavia ask for empirical verification of these critical questions: (1) if there are those remnant classes in Yugoslavia today, are these classes gradually disappearing or re-generating?
(2) Are the occupational groupings becoming more and more distinctive in their outlook so as to act in a way as the social classes act in other societies?

To most of the questions pertaining to vertical differentiation and class positions in Yugoslavia, the answers are still to be found in the future empirical research in this field. However, many substantial projects have been completed and have produced valuable findings.

Empirical Work On Social Stratification In Yugoslavia

The first empirical work on social stratification in Yugoslavia was organized by the Social Science Institute in Belgrade. The sample for this study was a group of 5,012 workers selected from 2,600,000 employees who were working for 255 industries. The theoretical formulation of the class definition was historical-materialistic in its character. This study used subjective approach in testing the acceptance of the working-class status among the industrial workers.

Table 7 shows the answers to the question: "Are you satisfied that you are a worker?" The workers had to choose one of the six listed answers:

1. very satisfied
2. generally satisfied
3. indifferent
4. generally unsatisfied
5. quite unsatisfied
6. don't know

41.2 percent of highly skilled tradesmen were "very satisfied" with their class status. Less satisfaction is found among skilled workers with 22.5 percent being "very satisfied"; 19.4 percent of the semi-skilled showed the same degree of satisfaction, while only 15.8 percent of the unskilled workers were "very satisfied" with their social position. As it is evident that degree of satisfaction with the worker's status decreases with the lesser degree of qualification.

By age groups the degree of satisfaction with one's status progresses with aging:

- 19 years of age "very satisfied" - 10.18%
- 20-24 years of age "very satisfied" - 10.18%
- 25-29 years of age "very satisfied" - 18.7%
- 30-34 years of age "very satisfied" - 24.3%

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23 Todorović, op. cit., p. 113.
When another group of 483 workers were asked how satisfied they were with their working class status, 425 or 88 percent replied positively. However, when the same people were asked what would they like their children to be, 412 or 85.5 percent wished that their children be white-collar workers. Only 25 or 5.2 percent wished their children to be workers, and only 6 or 1.24 percent declared that they would like to see their youngsters go into farming.

Another project was carried by the Central Council of the Syndicate in the Republic of Croatia in 1959. The purpose of this project was to measure the workers' satisfaction with their work position and to see how do workers perceive social mobility in general. The sample was made of 6,562 employees from all over the Republic of Croatia. There were 4,711 men and 1,138 women in the sample. On the question: "Are you satisfied with the work that you do?" 82.9 percent answered positively. The women are a little more satisfied than men (85.7%). The younger workers up to the age of 25 are least satisfied (78.7%).

On the question "Do you expect to get a better paid job in this firm?", 54.4 percent expressed their optimism for

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such a promotion. When the employees were asked what makes one move upward from the present job position 36.8 percent replied that it is only possible if one extends his level of education; for 12.9 percent mobility is possible through one's participation in the workers' council, and 12.6 percent think that membership in the League of Communists can be instrumental for people looking forward to mobility.26

In the same year, 1959, a sociological survey was made among the students in a voluntary youth-work camp.27 The students were asked to rank 36 different occupations according to the social importance and prestige of these occupations. The ranking was made on a 5 point scale. Number 1 on the scale was the highest possible ranking for any occupational category, and the number 5 was the lowest ranking point on the scale.

The following professions were ranked highest by male students according to their social importance: engineers (1.6%), professors (and high-school teachers) (1.6%), industrial skilled workers (2.2%), colonels (2.3%), managers of enterprises (2.5%). ... The lowest scoring received porters (3.8%) and football players with the same scoring as porters.

According to the social prestige the following scoring was obtained: engineers (1.7%), professors (includes high-school teachers) (2.1%), colonels (2.1%), managers of enterprises (2.4%), football players (2.5%)...and the least scoring was given to the porters.

TABLE 3
RANKING OF THE OCCUPATIONS BY THE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>By Social Importance</th>
<th>By Social Prestige</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Football Players</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>2.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers of Enterprises</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professors (and High-school Teachers)</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial skilled workers</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>2.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial unskilled workers</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>3.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineers</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>1.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porters</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>4.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonels</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant-land owners</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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For the answer on the question "According to what criteria do you judge people?" the students had to choose from the following list of criteria: social background, wealth, work, physical appearance, intelligence, political affiliation.

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character, success, and social position. The students have indicated that they most appreciate one's work and then character. Wealth received very little attention (0.02%).

TABLE 4

HOW AND ON WHAT CRITERIA DO YUGOSLAV STUDENTS JUDGE PEOPLE?^a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social background</th>
<th>Wealth</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Success in life</th>
<th>Physical features</th>
<th>Manners</th>
<th>Intelligence</th>
<th>Political affiliation</th>
<th>Social position</th>
<th>Character</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University Male</td>
<td>From Peasants' Background N= 137</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From Workers' Background N= 61</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.01%</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From Clerical Families N= 97</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>37.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female N= 92</td>
<td>0.02%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The students were then asked to answer on what criteria does Yugoslavian society judge people in general. Work, social position, character and wealth were taken as most important indicators for social reputation.

When the students had to point out the criteria according to which Yugoslavian society in general judges people, we see that social position and wealth score almost as
TABLE 5
ON WHAT CRITERIA DOES YUGOSLAVIAN SOCIETY JUDGE PEOPLEa
(University Students' View)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From Peasants' Families</td>
<td>From Workers' Families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>35.8%</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social position</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Success</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


high as work and character. This indicates that idealistic youth differs from the rest of the society by almost neglecting these two elements: wealth and social prestige.

When the students were asked which of the man's virtues do they appreciate most, modesty, honesty and stoicism have received the highest scoring.29

In interpreting the data in Table 6 the researcher Kilibarda has explained that Yugoslavian students have shown "a socialist maturity" by appreciating those virtues of which their society has taught them during the period of building socialism, namely modesty, honesty and acceptance of hardship.

29Šušnić, op. cit., p. 76-77.
**TABLE 6**

**MAN'S VIRTUES WHICH ARE HIGHLY APPRECIATED**
**YUGOSLAV UNIVERSITY STUDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Students</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Peasants'</td>
<td>N = 137</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Workers'</td>
<td>N = 61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Clerical</td>
<td>N = 97</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N = 92</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                      |          |       |       |       |
| Intelligence         | 11.0%    | 14.7% | 21.3% | 19.6% |
| Bravery              | 7.3      | 6.5   | 9.3   | 4.4   |
| Stoicism             | 24.0     | 21.0  | 27.8  | 20.0  |
| Modesty              | 58.0     | 41.0  | 40.0  | 34.9  |
| Faithfulness         | 9.5      | 11.5  | 9.3   | 15.2  |
| Honesty              | 4.4      | 6.2   |       |       |


Since the purpose of this review of this branch of sociology is not to give full details, but rather to summarize the various theoretical frameworks developed so far, it is not possible to go into more empirical cases of social stratification. One should, however, bear in mind that empirical projects are just being announced, and in the next two to three years we shall be able to see more facts from this fascinating area of social stratification under Marxist-Socialistic conditions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Very Satisfied</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Indifferent</th>
<th>Just Satisfied</th>
<th>Quite Unsatisfied</th>
<th>I Don't Know</th>
<th>Unknown or More Answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Highly qualified</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualified</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-qualified</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*From A. Todorovic, "The Social Consciousness of Workers and the Class Identification," Sociologija, VII, No. 3 (1965), 113.*
CHAPTER VI

INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

An outline for the scope of this branch of sociology in Yugoslavia was suggested by Rudi Supek at the Sociological meeting held in Belgrade on March 27 and 29, 1959.¹


From this suggestion it appears that one of the principal aims of this discipline is the study of the system of workers' councils in industry, and its effect on the general socio-economic structure of Yugoslavian society.

The system of self-government in all spheres of community life in Yugoslavia was introduced in 1950. This happened two years after Yugoslavia was expelled by Stalin from the Eastern European community under a suspicion of being "pro-Western". After being isolated from the rest of the communist countries, Yugoslavia waged a counter-propaganda battle in self-defence. The new reforms were initiated in all aspects of life. Among the changes, the process of economic decentralization began by discharging the central planning and management of economy to the local units, which included the direct producers - the workers. However, the giving of such an important task to the workers was impossible without establishing a system of local management. The solution was found in the formation of Workers' Councils. Soon after

According to the law, the Workers' Council is the highest body of enterprise management. It may have from 15 to 120 members. The number of members is fixed by Statute according to the size of the enterprise. The term of office of the Workers' Council is one year. The elections are held at the beginning of every year but not later than the end of April. The list of the candidates may be submitted by the Trade Union organization or by any group of one-tenth of the total number of the workers and the employed of the enterprise. Both, partial and complete lists may be put forward.
the Workers' Councils were constitutionalized, they became established rapidly not only in industry but also in various Workers directly engaged in production and the office staff, technical staff, workers engaged in auxiliary activities, etc., must be proportionally represented on the Workers' Council.

The elections to the Workers' Councils are effected on the basis of general, equal and direct suffrage and by secret ballot. The candidates that obtain the largest number of votes are elected irrespective of the list on which they run. ...At its meeting the Worker's Council determines the economic policy of the enterprise, the organization and the regulation of the internal relations in the enterprise. The scope of competence of the Workers' Council includes the following affairs:...the draft of the enterprise statute, rules and regulations, the draft of the rules on labor relations and other internal rules of the enterprise; approval of the annual economic plan and financial report: management of fixed assets, investment loans and supplementary working assets; approval of periodical reports of total income; deliberation of the workers and the various enterprise funds; settlement of more important organizational problems; election of enterprise representatives to the trade chambers and other representative bodies, and the deliberation of the other matters that belong to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Workers' Council under the general rules and regulations.

The Management Board is an executive body chosen by the Workers' Council and is responsible to it. The Management Board is in a sense the executive arm of the Workers' Council that elects it and supervises its work. So far we have mentioned only the status of the Workers' Councils and the Management Board. The role of Director should also be briefly described.

The Director is appointed by the Municipal Peoples' Committee on the recommendation of a special commission; one half of the commission are named by the Workers' Council of the enterprise and the other half by the Municipal Peoples' Committee. The Commission invites applications to the vacant post of Director, and recommends the most suitable candidate to the Peoples' Committee.

Besides representing the enterprise before the Governmental institutions, the Director is also responsible for the
community activities, such as education, culture, public health, and the like.\(^3\)

Industrial sociology in Yugoslavia stresses this area as its main area of study, on the basis of the general importance placed so far on this system of management by the Government of Yugoslavia. The government is justifying the existence of the Workers' Councils in the following manner:

1. Self management in industry is the best system for implementing Marx's motto: "Factories to workers".

2. If a decentralization of the state power is to be achieved, then the Workers' Councils should be the new institutions which will receive the power from the Central Government. Especially this should be so in the area of planning, wage distribution, management and so on.

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To reorganize the production process and manage the activities of the Workers' Council and of the Management Board, the Director also sees that activities of the enterprise are in accordance with the legislative prescriptions. Briefly: it is both his right and duty to withhold the execution of decision then a Peoples' Committee shall deliberate.

The Director is a member of the Management Board by the virtue of his position (ex-officio) and is on an equal footing with the other members of the Board.

The above description is taken from The Development of Self-Management in Yugoslavia, (Belgrade, 1957), (in English), 18-36.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 5.
3. By discharging the state power to the Councils it is hoped that further steps could be taken toward an eventual withering away of the state altogether. Some areas over which the Councils have acquired control are: (1) wage planning, (2) profit distribution (this is especially true after 1953), (3) dismissal of directors when they are found incapable⁴ (See Table 10).

The first Congress of Workers' Councils was held in Belgrade in 1957. The Congress convened for the purpose of summing up and analyzing experiences gained by the Workers' Councils and indicating the roads and prospects for the development of workers' management and social self-government in the future. To evaluate the progress made thus far by the Workers' Councils, many economists, political scientists and sociologists have been undertaking empirical research projects. This effort makes up the bulk of the content of Yugoslavian post-war industrial sociology. In its theoretical premises, this sociology has emphasized the following aspects in industrial organization:

(1) The workers' participation and their interest shown in the work of Councils.

(2) System of work-rewarding as a positive reinforcement in the forms of wages and bonuses.
(3) Widening of the workers' role not only in the management of affairs but also in production and quality control.\textsuperscript{5}

These points could be grouped into two basic categories: (1) the subjective category (workers' satisfaction or alienation with the work he is performing), (2) the objective category (giving useful suggestions for improvement the enterprise in general).\textsuperscript{6}

From these basic factors industrial sociologists have extracted the following concepts around which their research interest have been oriented:

1. Motivation of the workers under the system of self-management.
2. Adaptation of the peasant-industrial workers to the new situation.
3. Information received and passed from the management "downward".
4. Organization of work, social activity (clubs, syndicates, educational courses, and the like).
5. Theory of the system of workers' management, i.e., the so-called human aspects of it, or

\textsuperscript{5}The Development of Self-Management in Yugoslavia, p. 24.
\textsuperscript{6}M. Ilić and M. Gluščević, op. cit., p. 130.
social relations in the work situation. 7

6. Bureaucracy and democracy in the system
of workers' self-management.

7. Structure of a working group.

8. Adjustment of self-interests to group-interest.


10. Political participation, i.e., the affiliation
of the workers with the League of Communists of
Yugoslavia. 8

There are more concepts and problems around which
the theory of industrial sociology has been build and which
are being empirically tested. One, however, should not over­
look the fact that sociological theory dealing with the ques­
tions of social management of the economy has not been fully
developed as yet. According to Zoran Vidaković, the reasons
for the slow development of theory are these:

7The Development of Self-Management in Yugoslavia,
p. 132.

Self-Management in Yugoslavia has also been applied
to other areas beside the industrial enterprises. In 1962
there were 212,000 members of the Workers' Councils in indus­
try; (1961); 21,470 members of the Housing (Dwelling)
cooperatives; 105,335 members of the Councils in Agricul­
tural Collectives; 119,323 members of the School Boards
(public schools, secondary and vocational schools), 3,983
members of the Senates of the higher schools and universities,

8Joze Derganc, "The Working Group in the System of
Workers' Management," Sociologija VI, No. 3-4, (1964), 72-82.
1. There is a general lag between the development of social sciences and the rapid, often revolutionary, reality, i.e., the fast process of social change in Yugoslavia.

2. Yugoslavia began to introduce a socialist structure in the sphere of social-economic life before she had adequately developed the productive capacity of her economy.

3. There was a strong tendency to "conserve" the development of the Workers' Councils, or at least to limit it to two basic spheres: Social-political aspect of decision making, and distribution of income.9

According to Vidaković, the theory which had to deal with such basic questions became sterile and limited because it could not be generalized. After being used in several research projects such undeveloped theory became exhausted, and useless for further studies. Instead, Vidaković proposes a system of theory which would relate each project of investigations to the total knowledge of the workers' management. This is to say theory must be able to help the accumulation of results, rather than let the results stand isolated by themselves.

The following components would constitute such a general theory for the study of the workers' management in economy:

(1) The workers' management, as related to the particular aspect of general social structure and social dynamics of the Yugoslavian society.

(2) The workers' management as related to the degree of productivity of the total economic system, rather than to the one case under study (technology, means of production, education of the workers, etc.).

(3) The workers' management as related to the quality of the produced goods, i.e., marketing.

(4) The question of the division of labour in socialism.

(5) The aspects of the general production planning and supply of the raw material.

(6) The position of the political authorities to the self-managing economy (the political power, and system).

(7) The workers' management as related to the total cultural needs of Yugoslavian society.

Vidaković concludes that the above suggestions for building a general theory of industrial sociology cannot be integrated into a general theory without considering the theories of all social-science disciplines. Only with help
from all these disciplines an integrated, general theory for the study of self-management in economy can be expected to emerge. ¹⁰

Despite the lack of an integrated theory in industrial sociology in Yugoslavia, there are many worthwhile projects of empirical nature completed so far. This thesis will present some findings from these projects, having in mind three purposes:

(1) to utilize the facts as indicators of the nature of research (e.g., the role of the League of Communists in the economy; the educational levels of the managers and so forth).

(2) to judge the degree of objectivity of the researchers under such a social-political system as it exists in Yugoslavia today.

(3) to support our hypothesis that empirical-sociological investigations have been a reality in Yugoslavian sociology since 1957.

The first empirical projects in the field of industrial sociology were organized by the Institute for Social

Management at Zagreb. The projects have revolved around:

1. the role of the Councils of Producers in the Communes.
2. the functional problems of some Workers' Councils in small enterprises (7 to 29 member collectives).
3. the role of referendum and of the vote in industrial enterprises.

These pioneering projects were carried out from January 1, 1957 to September 1, 1958. They were the first empirical projects in industrial sociology in Yugoslavia. Following are some of the more interesting findings that were reported.

In 30 food servicing enterprises at Zagreb, the ratio of bureaucratic or clerical jobs to the workers was too high. Out of all the employed in these enterprises, 71.1 percent were workers, and 28.9 percent were persons in clerical or white-collar positions. In the field of commerce, this ratio was a little better. Out of all employed, 80 percent were workers and 20 percent were clerks.12

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When some issues were to be voted on, the initiative for calling the referendums came from the following: 35 percent from the Workers' Council, 9 percent from the Management Board, 36.2 percent from the Union ( Syndicate), 11.8 percent from the working collective itself (from the workers), 3.2 percent from the League of Communists organization, and 4.8 percent from the Director himself. It appears from the finding that most hesitant to call the referendums were: the Party organization and the directors, whereas those who favour a referendum as the best method for solving problems were the Workers' Councils and the Syndicate. 13

Almost at the same time, when Zagreb's group began its empirical investigations of the problems in industry, the Center for the Workers' Self-Management in Belgrade also began its series of projects. The most interesting piece of research from this group was a project regarding the directorship of the economic enterprises in Serbia. 14

The sample was made up of 3,500 enterprises all from the Republic of Serbia. As Table 11 indicates, the


This situation today might be changed due to the economic reform which has been started in 1965.
educational level of directors was rather low. Table 13 shows the educational levels of the directors by the type of economic activity (the type of industry). The lowest education of directors is recorded for the whole Republic of Serbia in the construction industry. In this branch of industry there were 60.4 percent of directors who have completed secondary school only. This does not mean that there were not enough qualified persons who could provide leadership for the industry in Yugoslavia. Table 8 shows the number of university graduates in Yugoslavia from 1919 to 1961.15 From the Technical Faculties there were 17,987 engineering degrees awarded between 1945-1961. The next category in the number of graduates is the medical profession. In the same period, 13,499 medical doctors graduated from the Schools of Medicine in Yugoslavia. Following these graduates of the Faculties of Philosophy (12,543 degrees) and of the Schools of Economics (8,789 degrees).16

Returning to the educational levels not only of directors but also other functionaries in the economic enterprises, Table 11 provides us with information for the whole

16 Ibid., p. 124.
country of Yugoslavia. If we compare the educational level of directors with that of the presidents of the Workers' Councils, we see that the latter have less formal education. Since the presidents are elected from the workers' groups, this is easier to understand. One conclusion that can be made is that at that time (1950-1957) the directors were actually nominated by the League of Communists. Only a new empirical study today can give us the present picture of this aspect of industrial life.

A final note regarding the directors in Yugoslavia. In 1956, 563 directors out of 6,079, or 9.3 percent, have been released from their duties. This sample includes only the enterprises with 30 or more workers. It is, however, unknown how many of these were released because of lack of education. The information supplied indicates that 563 directors were released because of the following: 10.5 percent have committed economic crimes ("white-collar crimes"); and 14.5 percent for "negligence". The biggest percentage (75 percent) were released from their duty because of some other reasons.¹⁷

The following findings indicate on whose request the release from directorial duty was made. The percentages

---

### Table 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of school or faculty</th>
<th>1919-1940</th>
<th>1945-1957</th>
<th>1958-1961</th>
<th>Total in 1945-1961</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>2,075</td>
<td>3,777</td>
<td>2,212</td>
<td>5,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,427</td>
<td>1,144</td>
<td>2,571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterinary</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>2,089</td>
<td>1,260</td>
<td>3,349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical (engineering)</td>
<td>4,259</td>
<td>10,616</td>
<td>7,373</td>
<td>17,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>4,905</td>
<td>3,884</td>
<td>8,789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>12,910</td>
<td>5,931</td>
<td>4,940</td>
<td>10,871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>2,752</td>
<td>8,257</td>
<td>5,192</td>
<td>13,449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentistry (Stomatology)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>6,889</td>
<td>6,117</td>
<td>6,426</td>
<td>12,543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacy</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,824</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>2,636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Sciences</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,957</td>
<td>3,178</td>
<td>7,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Schools</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>635</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

are for the whole of Yugoslavia.

**TABLE 9**

**RELEASE FROM DUTY OF DIRECTORS IN YUGOSLAVIAN ENTERPRISES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Release made because of:</th>
<th>in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The request of the state organs</td>
<td>55.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director's own proposal</td>
<td>10.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Workers' Council request</td>
<td>19.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the total membership's (workers') request</td>
<td>10.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Another area of research which attracted young sociologists in the field of industrial life is that of income distribution. A questionnaire asking, among other things, "was the distribution of the net income in your firm for the year 1958 just or not just?" was distributed among the industrial workers of Nis (N= 91 workers), Borski Rudnik (N= 635), Novi Sad (N= 134), Zemun (N= 73), Belgrade (N= 197).  

The sample for each enterprise represented 10 percent of the total number of employees. The answers received are in Table 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons asked</th>
<th>Number of Persons Asked</th>
<th>Distribution Was Just (%)</th>
<th>Distribution Was Not Just (%)</th>
<th>Have No Opinion (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Those from the Management body</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary members of the firm</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are also some projects which have supplied the information as to the social and political participation of the Yugoslavian workers. Among 483 workers selected from all over Yugoslavia, 428 or 88.5 percent belong to the workers Union (Syndicate). From the same sample (483) there were 110 or 23 percent of the workers in the League of the Communists of Yugoslavia. This percentage, however, varies from one type of industry to another. The highest percentage (45.9) of the workers in the League of Communists are from industry and mining. The smallest percentage is in transportation (16.4) and construction industries (12.9).

To the question "do the Workers' Councils possess enough power?" the workers from the same above-mentioned

group (483) replied:

- There is enough power vested in the Workers' Councils . . . . . . . . . 396 or 82.0%
- There is not enough power given to the Councils . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 62 or 12.8%

The Workers' Councils are, roughly speaking, made of the production workers (79.1%) and the administrative personnel (20.9%). Table 14 shows the break-down of these percentages for each categories of skills.

When the cross-national sample of the workers was questioned on the effectivity of the Councils, 25.4 percent praised the Councils for boosting the rate of productivity. Twenty-five percent said that Councils are effective in the political education of the working people; 24.2 percent positively rated Councils for contributing to the elevation of the living standard; 6.9 percent saw the Councils as being quite effective in controlling the wishes of the individuals, and finally 6.7 percent of the workers think that "the Workers' Councils cannot do anything for the betterment of the working class."21

On the question of the workers' right to strike there has not been research carried out that this author is aware

of. Some journalistic articles have appeared here and there. From these articles it is evident that in the period between 1958 and 1966 in Yugoslavia there were 1,365 "work stoppages" or strikes. In most cases the production workers were among the first to start the strikes and the reason for striking as wage disputes.

Numerous other projects range from the study of the cultural life of the workers to the study of motivation for the leadership role in self-management of the Councils. One report has indicated that on the average, 49 percent of the workers in industry regularly read the daily press and that the highest tendency to leave the firm is among highly skilled workers (16.0%) while only 5.6 percent of the unskilled workers with to do so. From the staff-line, about 23.5 percent of the personnel have expressed desire to switch to better jobs.

The nature of this thesis limits the number of projects that can be reviewed here. In summary, the writings that can be classified under industrial sociology in Yugoslavia, show for one thing, a strong empirical trend.

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22 A Comprehensive, Annotated Bibliography of Empirical Projects was published by the Sociological Institute in Belgrade in 1964 (Bibliografska Anotacija Dela Empiriskog Karaktera).

Questionnaires, interviews, statistical techniques and unbiased random samples seem to be in common use.

Secondly, industrial sociologists in Yugoslavia write, by and large, objectively and do not seem to be afraid to uncover the social realities of the day.

Thirdly, most of the empirical research is of the survey type, i.e., it attempts to assess the prevalent patterns, practices or distributions of characteristics, rather than endeavouring to test theoretical hypotheses. In this, it is similar to American Sociology in the 1930's stage of its development. Theory itself seems to include many concepts current in American industrial sociology, yet it revolves around the practical questions of development of the Yugoslavian industrial institutions, in particular, the Workers' Councils.

Finally, in terms of the number of empirical projects undertaken, industrial sociology, together with rural sociology, is one of the two leading specializations of Yugoslavian sociology.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>4 years of public school</th>
<th>completed public school</th>
<th>completed secondary school</th>
<th>higher school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President of the Workers' Council</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President of the Management Board</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director of the Enterprise</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 12

Educational Level of Directors according to Geographic Regions of Serbia\textsuperscript{a}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION</th>
<th>Highest Schooling Achieved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 years of Public School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist Republic of Serbia</td>
<td>22.7 + 54.5 = 77.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Narrow Region of Serbia</td>
<td>21.3 + 52.6 = 73.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomous Region of Vojvodina</td>
<td>22.9 + 59.1 = 82.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Kosmet Region</td>
<td>36.0 + 39.9 = 75.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a} Rudi Supek, "Directors in the System of Workers' Management", \textit{Sociologija}, 11, No.1, (1960), p.133.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Industry</th>
<th>S.R. of Serbia</th>
<th>The Narrow Region of Serbia</th>
<th>Autonomous Region of Vojvodina</th>
<th>The Kosmet Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Higher Schools</td>
<td>Higher Schools</td>
<td>Higher Schools</td>
<td>Higher Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>incompleted</td>
<td>completed</td>
<td>incompleted</td>
<td>completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>60.4</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>67.6</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>46.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade (Artisan-Shops)</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

—


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Category</th>
<th>Employed</th>
<th>Workers' Councils</th>
<th>Management Board</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL Employed</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL WORKERS</td>
<td>79.12</td>
<td>76.26</td>
<td>66.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>highly skilled workers</td>
<td>7.02</td>
<td>13.07</td>
<td>15.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skilled workers</td>
<td>30.82</td>
<td>39.72</td>
<td>35.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semi-skilled workers</td>
<td>20.11</td>
<td>15.01</td>
<td>10.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unskilled workers</td>
<td>21.16</td>
<td>8.45</td>
<td>4.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL</td>
<td>20.88</td>
<td>22.88</td>
<td>33.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with higher education</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>7.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerks with secondary education</td>
<td>8.13</td>
<td>10.89</td>
<td>15.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerks with public school education</td>
<td>6.84</td>
<td>8.95</td>
<td>10.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auxiliary administrative personnel</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER VII

SOCIOLOGICAL INSTITUTIONS

Sociology As An Academic Discipline

In the last decade, sociology in Yugoslavia has become institutionalized, both as an academic discipline on the high-school and university level, and as a sociological research enterprise. As a research discipline, it is being widely used by a number of specialized institutes.

As an academic discipline, sociology was introduced at the five principal universities: Beograd, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Skoplje and Sarajevo in 1953-1954. At this time, sociology was taught under the subsumed names of Fundamentals of Marxism, Historical Materialism, Fundamental Science of Society and the like. It was not until 1959 that a Yugoslavian university had opened the first Department of Sociology. It was known as the 21st consecutive group within the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Belgrade.

In the year 1959-60, the first 137 sociology students registered at the university. In the following school year, 1960-61, there were 294 new students in the Department of Sociology. In 1961-62, the number of sociology majors climbed to 382, but it dropped to 210 in
Table - 15

THE COURSE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF B.A. IN SOCIOLOGY
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BEOGRAD FOR THE SCHOOL
YEAR 1959/1960a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Historical Materialism- General Sociology</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>History of Sociology</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Logic- General Method of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Methodology of Sociolog. Research</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Statistics</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Demography</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Soc. and Ind. Psych.</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Sociology of Work</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Rural Sociology</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Urban Sociology</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Social Pathology</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td>2+2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Soc. Anthrop. &amp; Ethnology</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Political Economy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>History of 19th &amp; 20th C. with Hist. of the Workers' movement</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Political &amp; Soc. Inst. in Contemporary Societies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Foreign Language (either English, French, Russian, Italian or German)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a - taken from Sociologija, I, No. 1, (1959), 191.
1962-64.¹

The first program for sociology majors, a four-year program, was rather of a compulsory nature. The following courses had to be taken:

General Sociology,
History of the theories of social development,
General Research Methods
Sociological Research Methods,
Statistics,
Demography,
Social and Industrial Psychology,
Sociology of Work,
Rural Sociology,
Urban Sociology,
Social Pathology,
Fundamentals of Ethnology and Social Anthropology,
Political Economy,
History of XIX and XX centuries with the History of the Workers' Movement,

¹Andjelić, Tatomir, et al., eds, Hundred Years Of the Faculty of Philosophy. (Sto godina filozofskog fakulteta), (Beograd: Narodna Knjiga, 1963), 169-174.

Offering of sociology as a major at the University of Belgrade climaxed a prolonged discussion on needs to educate highly qualified social scientists who would look at the problems of the socialist development of Yugoslavia. The problems of Yugoslavian socialism are considered particular and in a sense unique that need to be scientifically researched in order to be understood (stratification, crime, family, mobility, workers' management and many other problems). For discussions regarding teaching of sociology see: Sociologija I, No. 1, (1959) and "Programme of Teaching of Social Sciences in Our Higher Schools", Sociologija I, No. 2-3 (1959), 191-192.

The first group to go through the above program graduated in 1963. There were 15 graduates, or 12.6 percent, from the initially enrolled group. From these, there were 11 full-time students and 4 who managed to finish in the regular time, although they were part-time or extension students. All but one of the graduates found jobs either in the institutes for the social sciences or the governmental agencies. The remaining sociologist went into high-school teaching.  

In 1962-63, the Master's Program was initiated at the University of Belgrade. A student could take one of the following major areas offered for specialization:

2The new programme (since 1963) requires seven sociology courses for sociology major: general sociology, history of sociological theories, sociological-research methods, sociology of work, sociology of culture, sociology of settlements and social anthropology with social pathology. The students are also required to take 10 additional, optional, courses and one foreign language. Ibid., p. 171.

General Sociology,
Sociology of Settlements (Urban and Rural Sociology),
Sociology of Work,
Sociology of Culture, and
Sociology of the Family.  

In 1963, the first three doctoral dissertations were submitted to the Department of Sociology at the University of Belgrade. Though these were the first doctoral degree in sociology to be conferred by this Department, yet, even before that time there were sociologists with Ph.D. degrees in Yugoslavia. These individuals were graduates of the Academies of Arts and Science, the Schools of Law, or from the Faculties of Philosophy.

Most of these professors are in the younger age bracket. In 1967, the average age of the teaching staff in the Department of Sociology at the University of Belgrade, was 42.3 years.

The Masters Program in Yugoslavian universities is relatively comparable to that of the Western countries. The students are involved in seminar-type classes and are required to submit theses.
On the doctoral level, however, the Yugoslavs differ from the Western world. There is no residence requirements, for example, but the candidate must write and defend his dissertation.

Sociology Students and Professors

In 1961, the School Council of the Department of Sociology at the University of Belgrade decided to conduct a research study on sociology majors. The purpose of this research was to learn about the social, economic and political characteristics of the students.7

In Table 16, the students' average age is given for each entering generation since the first class of 1959:

TABLE 16
SEX AND AGE OF SOCIOLOGY STUDENTS
IN YUGOSLAVIA, 1959-63a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Male %</th>
<th>Female %</th>
<th>Total %</th>
<th>Average Age Male</th>
<th>Average Age Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I (1959/60)</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II (1960/61)</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III (1961/62)</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV (1962/63)</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>59.9</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


From this table, it is evident that the students' age is
above an expected normal level, which would be 18 or 19
years for the students in their first year. However, some
justification for the over-age could be found in the following
fact. From the 1,011 full- and part-time students of soci­
ology who were registered during 1959-1963, 37 percent of
these came from the Teachers' Colleges. 8 This leads us to
assume that a number of the students may have taught in the
public schools for a number of years before coming to the
university. One also could guess that there were some drop­
outs from other Faculties. Others could have worked after
graduating from high-school before commencing their univer­
sity education.

Students pointed out that almost twice as many
students (49.0%) came from peasant parentage than from a
workers' background (12.2%). 9

The information received concerning the students'
family background indicates that peasant families in Yugo­
slavia are more willing to have their children educated than

8 Borislav Dimković, "What Has Shown the Analysis
Made by the School Council of the Sociological Group Concern­
ing Students of Sociology at the Beograd University",

9 B. Dimković, op. cit., p. 147; for more on the
schooling of the peasants youth see: Adhem Dilić "Rural Youth
and Education After Elementary Schooling", in Sociologija Sela
V, No. 18 (1967), 55-60.
are the workers' families. It is not possible at this time to make any hypothesis as to whether it is the question of "willingness" or simply the question of economic motivation to send children to school. Also, there might be other social factors which could play an important role in such decisions as that to send a child to college.

TABLE 17

FAMILY BACKGROUND OF THE SOCIOLOGY MAJORS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE, 1959-63

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Workers' Family</th>
<th>Peasant Family</th>
<th>Collar Family</th>
<th>Artisan Pensionsers &amp; Deceased</th>
<th>No Reply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I (1959/60)</td>
<td>12 %</td>
<td>16 %</td>
<td>69 %</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II (1960/61)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III (1961/62)</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV (1962/63)</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Probably one of the most interesting activities of the students' life is the students' participation in political organizations.

In Yugoslavia, the students are eligible to participate in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which places the main stress on the political-ideological improvement of the students. The degree of involvement on the part of
sociology majors in the League of Communists is presented in Table 18.

### TABLE 18

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF SOCIOLOGY MAJORS, 1959-63

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Membership In The League Of Communists Of Yugoslavia</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I (1959/60)</td>
<td>62.4 %</td>
<td>72.1 %</td>
<td></td>
<td>67.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II (1960/61)</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III (1961/62)</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>46.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV (1962/63)</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>34.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average for all four generations (1959/63)</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It is noticeable that in each generation of students there is a decreasing tendency toward participation in the League of Communists.

A big drop is recorded for the female students. In 1959-60, over 72 percent of the girls were members of the Communist League. In 1962-63, only 3.8 percent were members. Without going into the reasons for this, it is appropriate to compare these figures with generations in terms of age. While the 1959 female generation had an average age of 24.0
years, the 1962-63 generation was only 19.1 years. If we hypothesize that there is less interest among students in political life, we also should bear in mind the age factor. It is likely that the recruitment of the 1959 generation into the League was during a period in which the students were employed prior to entering university, and at that time they were already members of the Communist Party.

In the generation of 1959-60, there were 3 percent of the students who had taken sociology as their major in order to study and understand Marxism; 26 percent had a general interest in the social sciences, and sociology was of "great help to them." Among the 1960-61 generation, 11 percent of the students expressed the feeling that sociology as a career amounted to 30 percent. In the class of 1962-63,

10 B. Dimković, op. cit., p. 149.

On various problems of the students of sociology see: Srečko Mihajlović, "The Meeting of the Students of Sociology", Sociologija IX, No. 1 (1967), 89-92; During this meeting an attempt was made to analyze some of the reasons for the diminishing political interest of the University students. A typology of the contemporary students, on the basis of their political interests, was suggested. The following five types of students could be seen in today's Yugoslavia:

(1) Destructive, anarchistic type (negative in his political attitudes).
(2) Conformistic type.
(3) Apolitical type.
(4) Moderate - Progressive type, and
(5) Revolutionary or radical type.

Ibid., p. 90.
8 percent declared their interest in sociology, hoping to pursue in it a research oriented career.\textsuperscript{11}

Some evidence has been found indicating a shortage of well-qualified sociology teachers for both high-school and university. In 1963-64, there were 60 sociology teachers in Serbia alone. Only 33 of these were university graduates while 27 had no degrees. Those who had degrees did not have sociology as their area of specialization. For example: in 14 high schools in Belgrade (13 gymnasiums and one teachers' college), sociology was being taught by 22 teachers. The largest number of these (54.5\%) have declared philosophy to be their major.

History as a specialization was reported by 17.9 percent of the teachers. The rest, 27.6 percent of the teachers, were from the schools of Law, schools of Economics, Geography and other social sciences.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{11} B. Dimković, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 155.

\textsuperscript{12} According to the teaching program for the secondary schools revised in 1963/64 sociology is offered in grade 9 and 10, 2 hours of lecture weekly, see: Bogić Knežević, "A Review of the Program for Science of Society", \textit{Sociološki Pregled} No.1 (1965), 89.

On some problems of teaching sociology at the high-school level see discussion by Miodrag Ranković, in D. Drašković, "Round Table and Annual Assembly of the Sociological Association", \textit{Sociolgia}, VI, No. 3-4 (1964), 155-170. For the problems of the University level see discussions by C. Kostić, in \textit{Ibid}, p. 157-159.
At the university level, there is a problem of a shortage of specialists in specific areas, as for example, in the Sociology of Work. Otherwise, there is a constant trend to have the university professors sent abroad to acquire specialization. There is not enough data on the university professors but we could speculate that the teaching personnel at the universities across the country is becoming a rather selective group with fluent ability in at least one or two foreign languages.

Universities and Institutes

The University at Ljubljana (Slovenia) has done empirical projects in the area of mass-communication, agriculture and industrial sociology. This university is strongest in the area of industrial sociology.

The University at Zagreb (Croatia), known as Sveučilište, has done a great deal in the area of rural sociology, political-revolutionary movements in Yugoslavia, general theoretical sociology and some research in industrial sociology. At this university, there is a traditional orientation towards peasant life and, in cooperation with the Agrarian Institute and the Journal, Sociologija Sela (Rural Sociology), Zagreb's group of sociologists are enjoying a good reputation.
The University at Sarajevo is in the process of developing sociology. Some names from this school have become known through their writings in the periodical, Pregled, (Review), such as B. Djurdjev, I. Kosanović, and Lj. Živković.

At Skoplje (Macedonia), a big project of social psychological nature was done concerning earthquakes and their consequences on the residents of that city. Some professors are known for their writings on general sociology.

The University of Belgrade is known through the names of its professors who have published the first volumes in specialized areas: K. Milić and M. Djurić in Methods; A. Todorović in Urban Sociology; I. Stanojčić and R. Lukić in General Sociology, to mention only a few.

There are several specialized institutes for sociological study. Most institutes were formed after the rebirth of sociology in 1957. The largest ones are: the Institute for Sociology and Philosophy (Institut Za Sociologijo in Filozofijo) at Ljubljana; the Agrarian Institute-Sociological Section (Agrarni Institut-Odjelj Za Sociologija) at Zagreb; and the Institute for Social Management (Institut Za Radničko Upravljanje) in Belgrade. In Belgrade, there are three big

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institutes engaged in sociological research: the Social Science Institute (I.D.N., that is, Institut Drustvenih Hauka), the Institute for Sociology (Socioloski Institute), and the Institute for Criminology and Criminalistics (Institut Za Kriminalistička; Kriminološka Istraživanja). A complete list of the projects undertaken by all these institutes is offered by Sociološki Pregled (Sociological Review).

There are other institutes which do have some sociological orientation but are not exclusively in the field of sociology. Such an institute is the Institute for History of the Croatian Workers' Movement (Institut Za Istoriju Radnickog Pokreta Hrvatske) at Zagreb. This institute was formed in 1961 and has since published the journal, Putevi Revolucije, (the Roads of Revolution). In 1965, there were 68 projects underway (36 researchers were from the Institute while 32 were from the outside on a contractual basis). This Institute, like the others, received over 64 foreign journals and periodicals. In 1965, the library had about 15,000 volumes of domestic and foreign social science publications.\(^\text{15}\)

\(^{15}\) Franjo Tudjman, "Three Years of the Operation of the Institute", Putevi Revolucije, No. 5 (1965), 278.
Another institute which is not directly concerned with sociology, but touches on some sociological aspects, especially the sociology of revolutions and ideology, is the Institute for the Study of the International Workers' Movement (Institut Za Proučavanje Medjunarodnog Radničkog Pokreta). This institute, its home in Belgrade, is probably the only institute which is fully subsidized by the government. All the others operate on a contractual basis. The clients are either local governments, the federal government, or individual enterprises. The funds, however, are hardly sufficient, and some financial help is always needed. This is especially true for such institutes as the Institute for Urban Study at Zagreb which must rely on Croatian local governments.

The Institutes are the driving force of empirical research in Yugoslavia. They have the library staff coupled with highly specialized researcher-sociologists and their assistants.

Besides the research activity, these institutes have other roles to play. They mutually cooperate with each other, for example, in sponsoring symposiums or other types of working meetings. At the meeting at Ohrid, held on May 5th to

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16 For a comprehensive list of the Sociological Research projects compiled by the Sociological section of the Agrarian Institute in Zagreb, and names of clients, see: The Work of the Agrarian Institute in 1965", Sociologija Sela IV, No. 11-12 (1966), 162-167.

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the 8th, 1965 a single delegation from Belgrade was made up of no less than 46 persons.\textsuperscript{17}

Besides mutual cooperation between Institutes, there are also sociological societies in which sociologists and researchers participate. The Yugoslavian Sociological Society has been in existence since 1954 with Dr. Oleg Mandić as its first President.\textsuperscript{18} The Society is responsible for coordination among various other local societies and for publication of the Yugoslavian central periodical: \textit{Sociologija} (Sociology). It also sends delegations abroad and organizes visits to Yugoslavia for foreign lecturers and delegates.

In the separate Socialist Republics, there are local sociological associations. They are responsible for local activities in the field of the education of sociologists as well as some research and publications.\textsuperscript{19}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{17}Vojin Radomirović, "Meeting on Methodological Problems in Yugoslavia Held at Ohrid", \textit{Sociologija Sela III}, No. 9, (1965), 71-75.


\textsuperscript{19}On May 16, 17, 1960, the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Serbian Sociological Association was held in Belgrade. The Association had 40 members at that time. The President elected was Dr. Vlada RASKOVIĆ. The meeting had 4 sections at work: Theory, Methods, Sociology of Work and Social Pathology. See: \textit{Sociologija}, IV, No. 3-4, (1962), 113-115. For the activity of the Croatian Sociological Society in 1965 and see: \textit{Sociologija}, VIII, No. 1-2 (1966).
\end{flushleft}
The Journals

During a meeting of the Yugoslavia Sociological Society, held on March 27, 1959, it was decided that the periodical Sociologija (Sociology) be published. The first issue of the periodical Sociologija appeared in 1959. It has been called the "Journal of Sociology, Social Anthropology and Social Psychology." At that time, it was a publication of the Yugoslav Sociological Association and the group of sociologists at the Institute of Social Sciences. Later, it became the periodical of the Yugoslav Sociological Society in Belgrade. It is published quarterly and priced at $2.40 per annum.

The first Editorial Board was composed of: Milos Ilic, Cvetko Kostic, Vojin Milić, Radomir Lukic', Vuko Pavicevic, Ilija Stanojčić, and Rudi Supek.

In the introduction of the first issue of Sociologija (1959), the scope and general purpose of the publication was described as follows:

The periodical has as its basic aim to introduce our sociological works to the foreign social scientists, as well as to bring their works closer to our attention. We are aware of the interest that these scientists in other countries show for our country and for our social life. This interest illustrates the faith which the people of the world show in mutual understanding and eventual human unification in the future. To speed-up this process the understanding and sharing of science is of a paramount importance. The science in our view, then, must stand for truth and should be called to serve as a link between the peoples wherever they have
Pursuing the pledge given in its first issue, Sociologija has been giving summaries of the articles either in the French or English language. Also, it informs its members of the status of sociology in other countries, and occasionally translates some foreign articles. It publishes theoretical works as well as summaries of empirical projects, and is carefully edited and technically well done.

Sociologija Sela (Rural Sociology) is the sociological quarterly journal published by the Agrarni Institut at Zagreb (Agrarian Institute). Since July, 1963, the first editor-in-chief was Stipe Suvar. The price for a subscription to this journal is about $2.00 per annum. The journal is devoted to the study of rural life and is the only journal specializing in rural sociology. Most of its articles are abstracted in two foreign languages: Russian and English. (Sociologija offers abstracts only in one foreign language, either English, Russian or French, depending on the author).

The first issue of Sociološki Pregled (Sociological Review) was published by the Serbian Sociological Society in 1961. Until 1964, it was published annually. In the issue of January-April 1964, the editorial board announced its intention to publish the periodical quarterly. Shortly thereafter, the Pregled ceased its publication, due to a lack of funds.  

One remark regarding academic freedom as evidenced in these journals can be made. There is evidence that "personal" clashes and group conflicts are freely recorded in these journals. This is especially seen in the minutes recorded from official meetings and symposiums. These clashes, however, occur over specific issues or on questions of theory and methods, as discussed in Chapter II.

22 The first editorial board was made up of Radomir Lukić, Vojin Milić and Dragoljub Mićunović. The editor in chief was Mihailo V. Popović.

The following issues of Sociološki Pregled appeared within 4 years of publication: No. 1 (1961), No. 2 (1962), No. 1 (1964), No. 23 (1964), No. 1 (1965), and last No. 2-3 (1965). For a full list of these journals see: J.S. Roucek, Contemporary Sociology (New-York: Philosophical Library, 1958), p. 958.

Some journals appeared after 1958, e.g., Population (Stanovništvo) was published for the first time in 1963 by the Institute for Social Sciences in Belgrade; Sociological Bulletin (Sociološki Bulten) was published by the students of Sociology at the University of Belgrade and it is proposed that this Bulletin be republished by the Yugoslavian Association of Students of Sociology.

Another well edited and widely read journal is GLEDISTA (Views) published in Belgrade by the students and professors of social and political science.
International Cooperation

Yugoslavian sociologists participate in most international sociological conferences and symposiums. Occasionally, they organize international meetings in their own country.

To list all the events in which Yugoslavian sociologists have participated would go beyond the scope of this work. Yet, a full understanding of the cooperation of sociologists from this country with other colleagues can be achieved only through a description of the meetings. The following are some of the most important dates from the international calendar of the Yugoslavian sociologists.

In 1958, Yugoslavia and France have established a permanent Sociological Seminar. Yugoslavia is represented by the Institute for the Social Sciences from Belgrade and France and participates through Centre de Recherches Cooperatives de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (VI-e section) in Paris.

The first seminar was held in Yugoslavia in April, 1960, and lasted twenty days. Several topics were included in the program of which a number dealt with social class, industrial life and the family, and the workers' power through participation in workers' councils.
The Italian Sociological Association in cooperation with the International Sociological Society held an International meeting in Milano between June 28 and July 3, 1960, at which Yugoslavian Sociologists were represented by Dr. Radomir Lukic. Then on September 8 to September 26, 1961, an International Seminar on family was held in Opatija, Yugoslavia. 23

However, one of the biggest cooperative projects ever carried out in Yugoslavia was undertaken by the Institute for International Social Research (Princeton University) and the Institute for Social Research in Belgrade. The aim of the project was to compare the wishes and fears of the peoples around the world. The project has been underway since 1957 and included besides Yugoslavia, eleven other countries including U.S.A., S.R. of Germany, Brazil, Cuba, India, Israel, etc. In Yugoslavia the research project started in 1962. The sample included 1,524 persons from whom 756 were male

and 756 were female. Table 19 shows some results.

TABLE 19
FEARS AND WISHES OF YUGOSLAVIAN PEOPLE\textsuperscript{a}

\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Item} & \textbf{\%} & \textbf{No. of Replies} \\
\hline
War & 76 & 1,164 \\
Natural Disaster & 19 & 295 \\
Return of the old Regime & 7 & 105 \\
Tito's Death & 6 & 98 \\
No Fears & 6 & 85 \\
Disunity of the Yugoslav peoples & 5 & 76 \\
Occupation & 5 & 72 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}


Following is a summary of the part of the research done in Yugoslavia, including Dr. Cantrila's hypothesis regarding the expressive optimism of the Yugoslavian citizens:

In considering the general results of this survey, the start was made from the hypothesis that the Yugoslav society as a whole is characterized by expressive optimism on the personal and generally national level, and that the women, as equal members of the society, look also with optimism to the present and future.

The results show that there are differences between wishes and fears of men and women, but these differences are expressed more in the frequency of some modalities than in their diversity.

The dominant wishes of Yugoslav people concerning personal level are connected with the improvement of their material situation, and with health, happiness, and education of children. Personal fears are mostly connected with health: personal health
(43%), health of the family members (31%), happy life of children (14%), and happy life of a whole family (11%). The fears in connection with deterioration of material situation regarding employment, income, housing conditions, or similar, are appearing much more seldom.

General population wishes, with frequency of over 20%, show political maturity and understanding of the essential problems of socialism and peace. Thus, for example, 40% of the respondents have wishes for the improvement of the standard of living of the Yugoslav population, and about 25% of them wish the preservation of peace and long life of Tito. About 76% of the respondents are mostly fearing the horrible consequences of the atomic war. Fears of the war on the personal level were expressed by more than 25% of the respondents.

The evaluation of the position on the scale shows that Yugoslav citizens are characterized by an expressive optimism. The evaluation of the personal position states: past 4.3, present 5.0, future 6.7. The position of the society is evaluated in the past 4.9, in the present 6.8, and in the future 8.6. As in the case of expressed wishes, the differences in the evaluation of the position of the scale between men and women are minimal.

Observing general results of the survey as a whole, and measuring the optimism and pessimism on the personal and general level, the basic hypothesis of this work concerning the expressive optimism of Yugoslav people, was confirmed. Optimism concerning the evaluation position on the line past-present-future was expressed by 48% of the respondents, while concerning the society optimism is even more obvious and is expressed by 65% of the respondents.

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It is also worthwhile mentioning that Yugoslavia is an active participant in the work of the European Sociological Centre (*Centre de Sociologije Europeenne*) which was formed in 1960, as one of many similar institutes within the university of Paris, more precisely within the L'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes.

Between September 21 and October 1, 1963, the United Nations European study group met at Leicester, England at which, among 15 other countries, Yugoslavia was represented by the late Darinka M. Kostic.

Before sending its 12 member delegation to the First World Congress for Rural Sociology held on August 17 to 22, 1964, in France, Yugoslavians attended the first meeting of the working group on Rural Sociological Problems in Europe in Paris on August 12 to 14, 1964.

At St. Vincent (Italy) the International Sub-Committee met on September 9 to 12, 1964. Dr. Oleg Mandic attended the meeting as a representative of the Yugoslavian

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25 Cvetko Kostić, "European Sociological Centre", *Sociologija Sela* III, No. 10 (1965), 74.


27 A review of the Congress is offered by Rudolf Bicanin, "The First World Congress for Rural Sociology", *Sociologija Sela*, II, No. 5-6 (1964), 110-114.
Sociological Society. Also at the international sociological meeting of the French speaking sociologists (Association Internationale des Sociologues de Langue Française) held in the City of Quebec between September 29 and October 4, 1964, Yugoslavia participated by sending two of its sociologists: R. Lukic and Oleg Mandic. Mandic delivered a paper on social stratification in Yugoslavian society.

At the initiative of the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Arts (Zagreb), the European Sociological Centre, the Congress for Freedom in Culture (Paris) and the Yugoslav Sociological Society, the First International Colloquy on the contemporary rural problems was held in Dubrovnik on November 18 to 23, 1965. In the same year the Institute for Sociology (Belgrade) in cooperation with the European Sociological Centre (Centre Sociologie Europeene) and the Agrarian Institute from Zagreb, has undertaken a pilot-project in the villages across Yugoslavia. This is a part of a larger international project designed to see some of the social changes in the Mediterranean countries. 28

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One of a few international sociological meetings held in Eastern Europe which the Yugoslavian sociologists attended was the colloquy on rural sociology held in Prague on November 24 to 27, 1965. Yugoslavia took an active part at the meeting through its delegate S. Suvar who delivered a paper. A year later Yugoslavia acted as host for 50 delegates from 25 countries who came to Zagreb on October 18 to 20, 1966, for the Fifth International meeting on the Socio-Economic changes in the village and the position of women and family in the contemporary rural life.

In order to analyze the French-Yugoslav joint project on social change in the village and to compare it with other Mediterranean countries, an international symposium was held in Belgrade on December 20 to 22, 1966. The principal speaker at this meeting was the Director of the project Jean Cuisenier from France.


As the last note on international cooperation by Yugoslav sociologists, one should not miss mentioning that Rudolf Bićanin and Radomir Lukić have been selected for the advisory board of the recently published *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (N.Y.: Free Press, 1968).

Translation of foreign text books has become very intensified in the last few years. For example W.J. Goode and P.K. Hatt, *Methods in Social Research* has been published by the *Jugoslovenski Zavid Za Proucavanje Skolskih i Prosvetnih Pitanja* in 1966; 32 C.W. Mills' *Sociological Imagination*; G. Gurvitch's works; G. Friedmann's works; W. Foot White's *The Organization Man*; and many other, particularly Western, authors, are now available in the Serbo-Croatian language.

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APPENDIX A

The following are some of the projects that were carried out by the Sociological Section of the Agrarian Institute at Zagreb in 1966.

1. Social Changes in the Village

2. The Social and Economic Position of the Rural Youth

3. The Changes in the Social and Economic Structure of the Village


a This is a partial list.
APPENDIX B

An Outline of Historical Materialism

I. The Elements of the Form of Society (Social Structure)
   A. The Classes
   B. The State (The origin of the classes; the protector of social unity)
   C. Social Being As the Determinator of Social Mind
   D. The Elastical Determinism - A Methodological Principle

II. The Discovery of the New Laws of Social Development
   A. The Basic Laws of Social Development

III. Historical Types of Society
   A. The Earlier Social - Economic Formations
   B. Contemporary Capitalism
   C. Socialism

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APPENDIX "C"

Selected Readings
from
Yugoslav Sociology
A CONCEPTUAL AND HYPOTHETICAL FRAME FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE

( Summary )

By Vojin MILIĆ

1. The division of labor has horizontal and vertical dimensions. Horizontally, social role is any permanent or only temporary function of individuals in the divisions of labor, hardly any individual has only one social role.

2. But, division of labor has a vertical dimension, not only cross-culturally but also in every particular society, into many more or less hierarchically structured roles. Income, prestige and power are considered as the main elements of social rewards for the performance of social roles. The more or less uneven distribution of these rewards is the basis of social stratification, which is conceived as the vertical dimension of social structure.

Two in some sense basic, concepts in the analysis of social stratification are those of social position and social stratum.

The concept of social position is most closely connected with the concept of social role. The social position of any individual is the result of all his social roles. His social position is a complex result of all social activity of an individual.

Social stratification is a multidimensional phenomenon. But it seems that income, prestige and power are its most universal elements. I tried to explain the reasons why income, prestige and power predominately determine the place of any social position in the stratification, and at the same time I pointed at some unresolved problems which appear in the application of the multidimensional conception of stratification.

According to the manner of their acquisition, two main types of social position can be distinguished: inherited and acquired.

Social stratum is conceived as the basic form of stratification. Its concept is defined by means following three characteristics: (1) it is composed of the people with similar social positions, and sometimes a stratum has a special social function, (2) the stratum is the social frame, (3) the stratum is a cultural subgroup. In short, social stratum is a real social form and not a conceptual or statistical construction, with the consequence that on the same levels of stratification so many strata can be formed as there are ethnic or racial groups. These factors can induce the formation of quite unexpected political and social relationships between social strata.

The social stratum is a broad social frame for the formation of social interest groups. Its basic common interests follow from the fact that it is composed of people with similar social roles.

The problem of moral integration of social strata is analysed in the frame of Merton's theory of the influence of social structure on social
After explaining various aspects of mobility (intra- and intergenerational, horizontal and vertical), I tried, following Th. Geiger's idea, to show how the volume and main directions of mobility depend from the channels, and in contemporary conditions, especially from the openness of the school system, as the principal social institution which prepares for various future social roles.

I tried to demonstrate that global and local studies of social structure are complementary and equally necessary; that the description of social structure is only the first-step which would become inasmuch scientifically meaningful as more significant regularities in relationships between social structure and other social phenomena could be systematically established. So conceived, theory of social structure could be one of the broadest theoretical approaches in sociological study of society.

Printed in Sociologija, II, No. 2 (1960), 3-40;
SOME TRENDS IN DEVELOPMENT OF METHODS
IN CONTEMPORARY URBAN SOCIOLOGY

SUMMARY

By Silvano Bolčić

This paper discusses various developments of the methods in contemporary urban sociology, American urban sociology, in particular.

1. As a rule, experience influences statistical and ecological approaches to a great extent. Social intervention is conditioned by establishment of boundaries of urban agglomerations, boundaries or urban service areas, growth rates, and changes in population structure.

2. From methodological point of view, those investigations which deal with the indicators of the social features of the urban unit (such as indexes of social status, indexes of segregation and indexes of urbanization) have high importance. No smaller prominence have the studies of the stratification and social structure of the cities and the studies of the social features of individual parts of the cities (such as "subcultures" and "social areas").

3. The predominance of statistics in these investigations has twofold consequences. On one hand the results are more objective and comparable, on the other, some sociological methods (e.g. methods of complex observations, survey methods and research in attitudes) are ignored.

4. The city is a complex community and recent urban research has not overcome the difficulties incurred by this fact. Therefore, the greatest part of investigators use the method of partial analysis of some individual aspects of urban units and not the one of total analysis of the city. It is certainly a consequence of prevalent theoretical approaches reducing the city to population and area. The institutional, organizational, i.e., social system, of the city has been forgotten.

5. Various methods of investigation of the city have been developed; however, none of them is concerned with analyzing the functions of the city in a global social system. Employment figures do not reflect the real social functions of the city in its environment and in the social system as a whole.
6. Highest concern has been given to theoretical and methodological problems in research. There is less information on practical methodological techniques for collecting and analyzing sociological data, though contemporary urban sociology has developed the latter considerably.

7. One should regard the city as a community with a system of activities, institutions, social groups and social relations. A more complex methodological approach, a development of methodological tools for analyzing statistical data and developing methods of observation, attitude research, functional analyzing that corresponds to the complex sociological approach, are indispensable.

Printed in Sociologija, VII, No. 4 (1965), p. 44.
THE THEORETICAL PREMISES FOR THE FOUNDATION
OF SOCIOLOGY OF ART

SUMMARY

By Miloš Ilić

It is assumed in the article that the sociology of art is a fairly new discipline of sociology, originating from the early 19th century. The elements of the earlier sociological analyses of art were only of episode significance from the establishing of the art sociology point of view.

The author opposes the shallow or superficial sociologism which confines itself to the stating of the general dependence of art on society. The thesis, developed by Charles Lallo, that can be safely relied upon, claims that the social environment is the necessary but insufficient condition for the emergence of art. It is emphasized that the initial steps in the development of art sociology, as a rule, underline only the influence of society on art but neglect the reciprocating influence of art on society.

In his analysis of the relation between work and art, the author has noted that the rate of their correlation has been transformed through history. The effect of work, particularly of its social component, was more noticeable in the first, original and primitive forms of art. True enough, it is also manifested in the modern, contemporary art, but less straight, finer and refined.

The points that can be considered sociologically important in the development of art are especially those transitive from the primitive artistic creation, which is closely combining the process of art creation and their consumption or utilization, to the differentiation of artistic creation from utilization of art. This point signifies the actual separation of the artist from the public. It is simultaneously followed by the other forms of social differentiation: separation of the artistic creation from the artistic reproduction, the art from the craft and so on. Under the influence of work the differentiation of the artistic styles had also taken place. This was very subtly explained by Arnold Hauser, who claimed that the naturalistic style prevailed in the fine arts of the earlier stone age (Paleolite), while the newly born and the predominant style in the later stone age was abstract, formalistic, geometrical and ornamental. The pattern for such development of art was mainly noted by Hauser in the transition from collecting to processing and productive economy, i.e., from collecting to processing and productive work.
The collecting work dictated the imitation and copying of nature (naturalistic style) in the art, and the processing work imposed artistic stylization.

The social conditions also affected the division of art into religious and secular, court and popular arts. The principle of the so-called frontal approach in the fine arts, at a certain stage of development of fine arts, required public to be taken into account as one of the primary social factors for the future development of art in general.

Marx's ideas about the relation of work and arts are of particular importance for the sociology of art. Among these ideas, the particular place is taken by the thesis that the stage of labour development or, indirectly, the stage of production, through mythology, influences the art and the artistic transposition of reality. Then the attitude that social and practical experience, the labour specialization, prepares the man to perceive certain aspects of art, sometimes even disables him to understand certain artistic specific features. Finally, that the distribution of labour may in some circumstances have an unfavourable, preventing effect on the possibility of aesthetic perception of reality and art.
THE ASPIRATIONS FOR DIRECTORSHIP

SUMMARY

By Janez Jerovsek

In some communes in Slovenia we were establishing what kind of people have aspirations for directorship. Having this aim in view, we have examined in these communes all applications of such aspirants of the year 1963, that is, the applications of the aspirants who competed for such announced director positions. We have established that for these positions applied mostly those men who did not fulfill professional and educational requirements for such positions. We have also established that for these positions were applying in relatively satisfactory number also people who are not members of the Communist Union. When we structured all reported aspirants on the basis of education, we have observed the following tendency: the higher was the formal education of the aspirants, the smaller was the number of non-members of the Communist Union among them. The non-members of the Communist Union among them were quite rare, better to say, only exceptional cases.

The essential conclusion drawn from this analysis was that a relatively very small number of people with high education have aspirations for directorship. That had been the reason why some communes, which announced the invitations for applications, found themselves in awkward positions because nobody with required education had applied, and they had to seek the necessary candidate through informal channels.

Consequently, we have made a survey of 303 engineers, jurists, and economists employed in industry; by this survey we wanted to establish reasons that prevent people with high education to have aspirations for directorship, as well as to see with what intensity these reasons work. We have established the following facts: some years ago the bodies that were making the choice among aspirants in communes were strongly respecting political criteria. During the last two years, they commenced to give preference to the professional criteria over political ones. The positive change of the criteria was made in fact, but this change was not made in the too strong a respect for political criteria the respondents have seen one of the main reasons that such a small number of people with high education have aspirations for directorship.
The other reason they see is the fact that the position of directorship is subject to the principle of rotation, that is, to re-election, and as such is not secure. As reasons they also quoted political demands of such a position too strict requirements in invitations for applications, relatively small income (in comparison to skilled positions), and so on. The respondents showed a strong direction of aspirations towards profession or towards narrower specialization.
ASPIRATIONS AND PROFESSIONAL ORIENTATION
OF RURAL YOUTH

SUMMARY

By Edhem Dilić

In this article the author presents the summary results of an interview which embraced 4,293 pupils in the concluding classes of primary schools in villages and 2,271 young peasants in the age between 14 and 25, who live and work on their own or of their parents' holdings. This investigation was done as a part of a wider study project: "The Possibilities of Extending Socially Owned and Socially Leased Land as a Consequence of the Influence of the General Social and Economical Development on Changes of the Agrarian Structure".

As it was predicted, the pupils of the concluding classes of the primary schools almost entirely tend to non-agricultural occupations, because only 0.4 percent respondents declared their wish to become agricultural workers. The interviewed pupils prefer mostly those occupations and professions which enable quick economical independency and stability of income, while general attractiveness of some nonmanual jobs (doctor, technicians, etc.) proved to have no significant influence upon the selection of desired occupation. In the same way the majority of the interviewed pupils prefer living in towns, especially because of wider possibilities for entertainment, better general conditions of life, wider possibilities for education and more developed cultural and communal institutions.

Investigation of the aspirations of young peasants who, due to the particular reasons have not availed themselves of social mobility but remained to live in their native villages and on their own or on their parents' holdings, proved that in a certain sense it can be spoken of their unadaptability to their present social position. A minority of them, mostly of older age, partially have stabilized themselves residentially, but still indications of their spatial mobility exist. The basic reasons of feelings of neglectance of those young peasants who wish to proceed their schooling and to leave agriculture and village life, should be sought among the following factors: a) low standard of living, b) economical and social dependency, c) low reputation of agricultural occupation, d) lack of organized and diversified leisure time, e) unsolved social problems and want of social benefits, f) poor perspectives of peasants' holdings, etc.
The author concludes his article with the statement that rural youth predominantly prefer values of urban life and in order to attain these values is ready to leave their villages and agricultural occupation. This fact, together with some undesirable consequences of the rural exodus of youth not only in the zones of emigration (depopulation of villages, senilization of agricultural population and social problems related to this, abandonment of agricultural capacities, etc.) but also in the zones of immigration (difficulties of accommodation, an increase of unemployment in towns, etc.) indicate the significance of further research of this phenomenon.
PRACTICE OF MANAGEMENT AND STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT
IN LABOUR RELATIONS

SUMMARY

By Veljko Rus

As shown by various research works (A. S. Tannebaum, T. Burns, R. Likert, M. Crosier) the structure of influence is having important effect upon the degree of participation, group homogeneity, the system of control and the system of communications in general. In prevailing conditions of self-management the problem of influence distribution is particularly interesting, due to the fact that, beside the traditional managing bodies, self-managing bodies appear, too.

In our case, we have made research only in one medium-sized metal-working enterprise. Here, as we ascertained, still exists, both on the line of management, as well as on the line of self-management, an oligarchic structure of influence, while the vertical communications between managing bodies are one-lined.

The lower and middle managing staff's daily practice is, in general, of liberal type, corresponding to the relatively high qualification structure of the whole personnel. The liberal type of management is in certain contradiction with the structure of influence on the global management system. A spontaneous passage from one-lined to functional system has been noticed with highly skilled workers, allowing a more integrative practice: it is the start of tendencies from the oligarchic structure of influence towards the polararchic structure. Expressive tendencies of passage from authoritative organizer towards skilled and expert counsel may be noticed with the lower managing staff. As much as those tendencies are confirmed by certain examples, that much they importantly diminish the centrifugal tendencies in the collective. But, the global structure of influences being oligarchic, while the management system one-lined, this process is greatly hampered and is resulting in a separatism of the lower managing staff who, in the majority, are not identifying themselves, either with the managing body, or with the staff.

The workers' aspirations forecast the perspectives of development. We have ascertained that, in majority, workers prefer a polararchic structure of influence. We, too, came to the conclusion that these aspirations are strongly linked to the aspiration towards the metamorphose of the lower managing staff into instructors. With the lower managing staff the
aspirations are contradictory: while the majority trends towards elimination of the highly skilled worker as authoritative foreman, they are, at the same time, for the conservation of the actual oligarchic structure of influence.

ABOUT SOME NEGLECTED FIELDS IN OUR THEORETIC SOCIOLOGY

SUMMARY

By Jože Goričar

The author starts from his claim that sociology is a unique science both in "space sense", (there is no particular national sociology) and in the sense of a unique theory and empiricism in sociology. (Theoretic sociology should not be separated from the empiric one.) Starting from this knowledge, the author points to those fields of sociology which have up to now both theoretically and empirically been dealt with insufficiently. Considering society as a matter of general sociology, the outgoing point is the category of "the social being", which, in Marx's authentic language, is identical with "the real historical life of people", the actual process of their living.

Starting from the general theoretic supposition the author considers the undeveloped fields of Yugoslav sociology, referring to the problem of systematic material of the entire sociology. This problem is rather neglected in modern sociology, but it is worth being considered - though unreal pretentions exist at the present moment, which might lead to a definite solution of the problem of systematization - for such considerations open the way to succession of former theoretic and methodic problems which are of great importance. One of these problems is the social structure.

The author distinguishes three important varieties of structure. The general structure of society which is in accordance with the known Marxist scheme of the economic base, the legal-political structure and social consciousness (it is found that this scheme is insufficient for a more detailed systematization of a general sociological structure), then the demographic statistic structure of the society and, at last, the so-called internal social structure. The latter structure reveals itself if one starts from the concrete and complex social happenings which involve the concrete, historical people, in short, if one starts from "the actual life process." Within these complex social happenings, the structural element appears, such as social roles, relations, processes, meetings, institutions and social levels. The Yugoslav sociology, so to say, has not paid up to now any attention to the structural elements of internal social structures, though they are, according to the author's opinion, of great analytic and methodic value for a coherent theory on society and the happenings within it.
The second neglected sociologic problem is the complex of the social movements. It especially deals with the social movements on the following three levels:
1. The level of social mobility,
2. The level of social changes due to the whole society;
3. The level of social developments which appears as an aspect of historical movements of the whole society, through social-economic formation.

While the latter aspect of social movement is widely treated in Yugoslav sociology, the first two aspects remained rather neglected.

In connection with this problem the author finds that the Yugoslav theoretic conception is not based enough on some fundamental knowledge of western sociology and similar scientific disciplines. The knowledge is either accepted literally or not mentioned, but, unfortunately, it is in most frequent cases, unknown at all.

The most neglected complex of the sociologic knowledge in Yugoslav sociology to which the author points, is the complex of typology of the entire society. In connection with this, it would be necessary, first of all, to solve the problem, what should be considered as society as a whole in the modern world, a problem not as simple as it might seem. That this problem is not simple, results from the fact that in modern sociologic literature a great number of different and sometimes contradictory answers are to be found.

At the end the author raises another question regarding whole societies and social-economic formations and gives the following hypothetic answer to such a question: the whole societies are concrete historical phenomena of social economic formations which appear separately with a great number of specific characteristics of their existence.

In this article the author pleads that the Yugoslav sociologists should already start, seriously and responsibly, to treat such and similar problems which, however, cannot be only studied by means of a cabinet, social-philosophical way, but the solution of these problems requires, among the other things, extensive empiric (research) of many phenomena and processes in modern societies.
THE PRIMARY SCHOOL AND ITS EFFECTS ON VILLAGE

SUMMARY

By Stipe Šuvar

The primary school is one of the most important social institutions in the village and many useful actions in rural communities are in close connection with it. The author of this article presents the data on geographical distribution of primary schools in particular regions of Yugoslavia. The special attention is given to the history of primary education and literacy in Yugoslav villages: the first inceptions of literacy were related to the role of church (more of catholic and orthodox than of islamc church) and her endeavours for the political domination and control in villages. The state initiative for the establishment of primary education goes back to the second half of the last and the beginning of this century, but the real expansion of the primary education started after the last world war. Taking into account the all-embracing net of primary schools at present, it is interesting to follow the genesis of parents attitudes towards the education of their children. In the past, many parents were opposing the idea of necessity of schooling their own children. The dominating attitude was that for children is more useful to gain so-called working experience and training in operating and running the farm activities and business, and thus become a new labour force. With this idea in mind, peasants manifested considerable pessimism towards all walks of life that are not similar to their own. This attitude had very negative consequences, particularly on education of the female children. On the other hand in some regions of the country - particularly in those ones with poor national resources and more mobile population - the prevailing attitude was, that it is necessary to give a child the nontraditional and out-of-family education as a good and safe base for "an entrance into the higher social strata". According to this thinking the school is comprehended as ways and means for deserting the village. For rural regions this usually resulted in a loss of the most vital individuals with no compensation at all. Here we should look, according to the author, for the roots of nowaday's spread opinion that village is not a suitable environment for educated people and therefore never happens that educated descendant returns to his father's estate to take up agricultural occupation.

After presenting some interesting observations on differences in the course of schooling between the rural and the urban children, the author in a very systematic way expilicates the data on the degree of literacy in particular regions and
within particular social groups in Yugoslavia. In the case of these data, he comes to the conclusion that a primary school in our rural environment has not yet realized fully its social functions.

Besides its educational function, the primary school initiates numerous cultural, entertaining and sports activities in the village. On the contrary to this, its influence on economic life in village is of no significance at all. As forms of such influence the author mentioned school gardens before and school cooperatives after the war.
SOME TENDENCIES IN THE FORMATION AND REPRODUCTION OF CREATIVE INTELLIGENCE OF SERBIA

SUMMARY

By Miloš Nemanic

The subject of this research is regional formation of the intellectual elite of the Serbian society from the twenties of the 19th century to the twenties of the 20th century. During this time there were 700 representatives of different intellectual activities: university professors, scientific workers outside universities, educational workers, writers, musicians, painters, actors, and journalists. All these persons were included in The Serbian-Croatian-Slovene National Encyclopedia (1924-1928) by Stanoje Stanojevic, as well as in The Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia (the publication began in 1955), so that both encyclopedias were used as the basic sources of data.

However, the research of the regional formation encompassed only 463 persons born in different towns and villages of Serbia proper. Belgrade was not included in this analysis because, as a completely urban region and as a cultural and administrative center of Serbia, it naturally had the strongest participation in the process of formation of intellectual elite. As many as 237 persons are originating from Belgrade (33.8%). With regard to the rest of the towns and villages, they were divided into four large regions: SUMADIJA, EAST SERBIA, JUŽNA MORAVA and STAROVLASKI KRAJ. Within each of these regions the structure was given regarding the type of settlement: town or village settlement. The rate of 100,000 inhabitants was used as a scale between creative intelligence and each region.

The basic intention of the research was to establish the existence of differences between these regions regarding their participation in the formation of the intellectual elite. The basic hypothesis that the different socio-historical conditions, under which particular groups of society are developing, may strongly influence the selectivity in this sense, was confirmed. On the one hand, there were two regions, Sumadija with 176 and Starovlaski Kraj with 98 persons, which constantly represented the richest source of the intellectual elite, both by their general rate and the specific rate concerning town and village settlements. On the other hand, there were two regions whose balances regarding this are rather deficient, that is, East Serbia and much more, Juzna Morava. As regard the latter, this fact is rather comprehensive when it is known that the biggest parts of Juzna Morava territory were under Turkish dominance up to 1878, and that in the region of
East Serbia there are some parts which are economically and culturally the most backward ones.

The two fundamental conclusions are drawn: that in addition to the discriminatory role of the town settlements in comparison to the village settlements (319 persons, or 45.7% were from towns by origin, and only 144, or 20.5%, were from villages), there are strong discriminatory tendencies between particular regions, on account of unequal social conditions.

VILLAGE AND TOWN
(CRITERIA OF DIFFERENTIATION)

SUMMARY
By Cvetko Kostić

Differentiation of village and town in the modern society has become a very difficult problem because of the formation of various transitive forms of settlements as a consequence of the ever-increasing influence of the process of industrialization and urbanization. To date there are the following criteria for differentiation used by different scientific disciplines: linguistic, historical, juridical, urbanistic, statistical, socioprofessional, sociological and combined ones. Every one of them has its advantages and defects. Very often this fact is overlooked as well as the fact that some old criteria cannot be applied, especially because of these reasons: the concept of village and town changes in time and space, there is no identical viewpoint on the concept of human society, many authors using already adopted terms put quite a few new social contents into old patterns. This concerns also the conceptions of some sociologists, such as F. Tonnies, W. Sombart, P. Sorokin and others.

Contemporary sociological investigations and social development prove that in modern society there are not two but four patterns of human settlements: village, town, urbanized settlement and conurbation. Especially the number and the significance of urbanized settlements grow (workers colonies, suburban residential settlements, mining colonies, etc.) as well as conurbations. The conurbations are very significant social phenomenon: according to their internal connections and the level of links they can be technical and organic ones, and according to their pattern two main types can be distinguished: Manchester and Ruhr.

Only the concrete sociological investigation can give the real answer to which of these four categories every settlement belongs according to the domination of either the process of urbanization or the process of ruralization.

APOLOGY OF IRRATIONALITY AND FORCE

-Pareto's Place in the Sociology of Knowledge-

SUMMARY

By Vojin Milic

The nature of consciousness and thought and their role in social life is one of the two basic themes in Pareto's sociology. The relevance of his ideas for the sociology of knowledge has been understood almost immediately after the appearance of the Traite, and it was clear that his standpoint represented a full-fledged variety of irrationalism.

After the explanation that the idea of irrational consciousness, which predominates in social life and masks the real motives of human actions is the common starting point of Pareto's methodology and his critique of ideology, his conception of rational and irrational (logical and non-logical in his own terminology) action and thought are discussed. It is explained how he reduced the concept of rationality to purely instrumental efficiency, that is completely uncompetent for the evaluation of practical goals, and is therefore an unautonomous servant of irrational drives. Beside the sphere of technology, the field of economic behaviour is the only domain wherein rational thought can develop itself. In all other fields, it is subjugated to irrational vital forces, with the consequence that social utility of ideas is completely independent of their truth.

The psychological interpretation of the sources of rational thought is no less restrictive. The rational thought is conceived in a purely intellectualist way, as motivated by economic interests only, and as basically incompatible with emotions and sentiments. In other words, the psychological basis of rationality is much narrower than the individual primary life experience, and therefore a rational self-consciousness, which could influence the life conduct is judged as impossible. Pareto's thesis that theory and practice ought to be divided follows as a logical conclusion, with the consequence that no objective and rational criteria for a critical evaluation of practice could exist. Its efficiency is the sole real justification of practice.

In the second part of the article the structure and social functions of irrational thought are analyzed. The relationship between residua, as the changeless, transcendental categorical apparatus of irrational consciousness, and derivations, as its much more diversified and changing manifestations, is interpreted, with the remarks that: (1) the
classification of residua does not have a satisfactory psycholog- 
ical theoretical foundation; (2) that the theory does 
not explain why the motives stemming from the emotional 
sources which express themselves in some residua could not be 
developed in rational forms of experience; (3) that it does 
not explain the assumed basic characteristic of irrational 
thought to mask the roots and intentions of human actions; 
and (4) that the presupposed basic difference between interests 
and residua is unacceptable.

But the author attempts to demonstrate that the anthropo-
pological theory of residua is only a part of Pareto's explana-
tion of social origins and roles of irrational consciousness. 
Much more interesting for the sociology of knowledge are his 
ideas on the social functions of irrational thought. These 
functions are discussed by Pareto in the frame of his general 
conception of social structure and organization, as based on 
an unavoidable social heterogeneity, i.e., inequality of the 
ruling and subjugated social strata, and in the frame of his 
conception of history as a perpetual struggle for power of 
different elites. Such a situation, which Pareto conceives 
in an unhistorical manner, transforms itself in completely 
different ideas of utility and justice, and it is impossible 
to find a rational and objective common denominator in them. 
That is the real social cause why the utility of an idea is 
independent of its truth.

Pareto analyzes the social functions of irrational 
thought in the main from the standpoint of the ruling elite, 
and thinks that it is an important means for the conservation 
of social equilibrium. The functional efficiency of irration-
al ideas depends on their emotional appeal and influence, which 
in a basically antagonistic social situation are necessarily 
connected with the deception of unprivileged strata, and in a 
lesser - although not negligible - degree with the self-
deception of the elite, especially in the period when it is 
striving for the conquest of power. From this standpoint 
Pareto studies - by methods very similar to the traditional 
critique of ideology - the structure of moral doctrines, re-
ligions and myths, as the most developed forms of irrational 
thought, pointing out the activistic nature of myths and the 
predominantly conservative role of religions. But in his 
pluralistic conception of social determinism, consciousness 
and thought are estimated as the least influential factor.

Pareto's classification of derivations, as specific 
procedures of irrational thought, is introduced by an inter-
mputation of his ideas concerning the "logic of sentiments", 
and of the concordance with the sentiments as the criterion 
of "truth" in irrational thought. Thereafter, some suggestions 
of Pareto on the methods which would make the mass manipulation 
more efficient are exposed, as well as his ideas on the role 
of the casuistry in the "adaptation" of irrational doctrines
and norms to the changing social conditions, in order to conserve their social influence and to veil and mask the real goals of action.

Closely connected with his general conception of the nature and social role of consciousness are Pareto's ideas on intellectuals, as a particular social group. Analyzing many places in his work, author demonstrates his extremely negative opinion on intellectuals, which are judged as the worst kind of potential social elite; they are unable to understand the fundamental role of force in social life, being blinded by "pathological humanist creed" that it is possible to create by the rational means a more human society. Of course, Pareto was not an extreme irrationalist; he admitted the role of reason in the development of civilization. Nevertheless, his opinions on intellectuals, and on "speculators" and "foxes", i.e., the type of elite which develops "the instinct of combinations" in its striving to create new forms of social life, but is in the same time less able to defend its ruling position, make the assumption very probably that he shared the common opinion of irrationalist anthropology, that the consciousness contributes to the decrease of vital energy of irrational drives, which is judged necessary for the adaptation of man to an amoral reality, and so lessens the chances of individual and group survival.

The paper ends with some remarks which intend to situate Pareto's sociology in the broader stream of reactionary thought in the decades before the World War I, that more or less directly influenced the totalitarian ideology in the period between the wars.

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* This list of the Yugoslav periodicals is taken from: Yugoslav Periodicals 1968, prepared and published by Prosveta, Export-Import Agency (books) Belgrade, Terazije 16, or P.O.E. 555., which accepts subscriptions to any of the listed periodicals.
ABBREVIATIONS:

E. = English
Mac. = Macedonian
Scr. = Serbo-Croatian
Sl. = Slovenian
B-M. = Bimonthly
B-W. = Biweekly
Irr. = Irregularly
M. = Monthly
Q. = Quarterly
S-A. = Semiannual
W. = Weekly
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VITA AUCTORIS

Vladislav Tomović, son of Mr. Anto Tomović, a retired high-school principal, and Mrs. Rajna Tomović, now from Windsor, Ontario, Canada, was born on June 15, 1933 at Sjenica, Serbia, Yugoslavia. He was brought up at Berane (Ivangrad), Montenegro, where he completed public school. In 1951 he moved to Beograd where in 1955 he graduated from high school. In 1956, he served in the Yugoslavian Army. In the school year of 1957-58 he was enrolled at the University of Belgrade but in order to join the family in Canada he quit the university and left Yugoslavia. On March 21, 1958 he arrived in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and worked in Canada on many different jobs including harbour labour, ditch digging, etc., but mostly earned his living as a civil engineer technician. In 1959 and 1960 he wrote articles for the Yugoslavian central sport paper, Sport, about sport in Canada and the United States. In 1960 he married Miss Nada Radonjić, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Vukašin Radonjić, a historian from Titograd, Montenegro, Yugoslavia. Presently they have two children: Diana and Lilian.

In 1962-1964 he attended the Macomb County Community College at Warren, Michigan, through the Division of Extension. From 1964 to May of 1966 Mr. Tomović studied at the University
of Windsor, majoring in sociology and minoring in political science. In May of 1966 he received a B.A., degree in Sociology from the University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, Canada. From 1966 to 1968 he took full-time studies at the same university toward his M.A., degree in Sociology. In 1966-67 Mr. Tomovic served as a student-assistant in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and in the following school year was one of the winners of the Ontario Graduate Fellowships.

On June 1, 1968 he obtained his M.A., degree in Sociology. His thesis was on the Post-War Sociology in Yugoslavia. At the time when this Vita is being written, he has been offered an Ontario Graduate Fellowship for the Ph.D. studies in Sociology at the University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.

On June 14, 1968 Mr. Tomovic presented his first academic paper on historical materialism and sociology in Yugoslavia at the annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Slavists in Calgary, Alberta, Canada.