



HISTORY OF

ISA

1948-1997

Jennifer Platt

Association internationale de sociologie
International Sociological Association
Asociación Internacional de Sociología

50^e anniversaire
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A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE ISA: 1948-1997

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OF THE ISA:
1948-1997**

INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

1948-1997

JENNIFER PLATT

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

EC	Executive Committee
IIS	Institut International de Sociologie
ISA	International Sociological Association
IPSA	International Political Science Association
ISSC	International Social Science Council
RC	Research Committee [of ISA]
SSD	Social Science Department [of Unesco]
TG	Thematic Group [of ISA]
Unesco	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WG	Working Group [of ISA]



Participants to the I World Congress of Sociology, Zurich, Switzerland, 1950

INTRODUCTION

Why should sociologists be interested in the history of the International Sociological Association? There are at least two good reasons, both having to do with the nature of the enterprise in which we are collectively engaged.

The first is that ISA is the principal organizational mechanism by means of which sociology is an international activity. As you will see when you read the history, the ISA is only very imperfectly international. Of course, this is part because the numbers of institutions and practitioners are quite disproportionately distributed across the globe, although the disparities are less great than when we started out 50 years ago. No doubt this is also in part because the efforts to make our activities truly international have been less intensive and less persistent than they ought to have been.

There are of course many technical and financial problems in the way of a true internationalization of our activities. Has there also been some reluctance to go beyond formalities and pieties in this regard? Let us hope not. Perhaps this history will aid us to deal with the technical difficulties with more dispatch and more efficacy, in ways that will allow us to fulfil the intellectual exigency of a pluralistic perspective on social knowledge.

The second reason why we should be interested in the history of the ISA is that the ISA is one element, but an increasingly important one, in the organizational carapace within which we are forced to conduct our professional activities. It is no doubt less important in its impact on our daily lives than departmental structures at our universities or, in many cases, national associations, but it plays its role in forming and constraining our efforts.

Reading this history may help us to reflect on the definitional evolution of what is included within the boundaries of our so-called discipline. The rise and decline of research committees is one index among others that allows us to view ourselves as a complex organization. We may become conscious of the degree to which our structuring is fluid and therefore changeable, as well as perhaps the limits of the possible openings that exist to other themes, other vistas.

The history of ISA, like any organizational history, is useful primarily if use is made of it by the persons whose story it tells. This particular history is but a brief introduction to a story that needs to be told at greater length and no doubt from several different standpoints. Let us hope that reading it and participating in the debates to which it may give rise will encourage more such efforts. ISA is fifty years of age. This is both very young and quite old. It is surely time to take stock, but we can also say that there is a future that remains to be constructed.

Immanuel Wallerstein



**Stanisław Ossowski, Poland, Vice-president,
1959-1962**



**Participants to the V Word Congress of Sociology, Washington, DC, USA,
2-8 September 1962**

FOUNDATION AND BACKGROUND

The process of founding the ISA started in 1948, at the initiative of the Social Science Department of Unesco (SSD); this was part of a broader initiative, which also included the foundation of parallel worldwide associations in economics, law and political science, soon combined in the International Social Science Council (ISSC). The initiative to set these up must be understood against the background of the political situation

at the time, and cannot be regarded as intended to perform purely intellectual or cultural functions. The victors in World War 2 were concerned to establish a postwar settlement which would abolish the circumstances which produced fascism, and which led to war between nations and other forms of social friction. Social science was seen as in itself promoting democracy, and its research as serving broad social purposes. Unesco's objectives in relation to social science were described as

'to knit together social science scholars of the world... with the expectation that this will increase international understanding... to raise the level of social science research in the belief that greater knowledge in these fields will benefit mankind...to promote research in fields crucial to the establishment of a peaceful world order...'¹

Unesco had a clear conception of the ISA as playing a part in the performance of its wider role. That is reflected in the wording of the report on the ISA's founding conference:

'The IAS [sic] wishes to cooperate with Unesco and the United Nations by mobilising the talent and resources of the sociologists of the world in order to find a solution to the problems with which these organisations are concerned and to whose solution sociology can contribute.'

International sociological contacts did not start with the foundation of the ISA. Before the war, the Institut International de Sociologie (IIS), founded in 1893, existed and was active. It was, however, a body of a very

different kind: its members were individuals, elected to it by their peers, and the membership was limited, so that it was an elite body of individuals. However, in a small sociological world even such apparently limited contacts could be important, and a number of the founding participants in the ISA had met under its auspices. This was certainly not the only mode of contact among sociologists from different countries, which does not always require formal organisations set up for that purpose; for instance, Anglo-American relations were well established on an informal basis among those with shared interests, there was an established pattern of students from other countries studying at German universities, and colonial relations created social-scientific outposts in colonised countries as well as recruiting the colonised to higher education in the metropole. Migration, often as a result of the political situation in the country of origin, had also led to the dispersal of some scholars to other countries. In addition, various fellowships took a select few to and from the USA for shorter periods, which often led to longer-term contacts.

Unesco is based in Paris, so that is where the first meeting was held to discuss the setting up of an ISA, and Parisian social scientists were very prominent in the early meetings. The first, held on 14 Oct. 1948, was organised by SSD and chaired by its Acting Head Arvid Brodersen. It was attended by Georges Davy, Georges Gurvitch and Gabriel Le Bras of Paris, Arie den Hollander of the Netherlands, René König from Switzerland, Louis Wirth and Paul Lazarsfeld from the USA, Erik Rinde from Norway, and Otto Klineberg, from the USA but there in his capacity as the Director of the International Tensions Project of Unesco. (T. H. Marshall of Britain had been invited, but was unable to attend.) Lazarsfeld's presence appears to have been largely due to the fact that he happened to be in Paris at the time; most of the others were from the nearest countries on the allied side in the war. (We may note, however, a recurring theme: four originated in countries other than those where they now worked.) A statement of the functions of an international association was drawn up for wider discussion. The first head was 'Promotion of Sociology as Science and Action': 'The encouragement in all countries of sociological study, teaching and research, with emphasis upon the scientific character and the practical contribution of sociology'. Other heads were: 'International Research' (encouragement of cross-national work and the creation of instruments suitable for comparative studies), 'Exchange of Information' (summaries of international trends, an information bulletin, an abstracting

service, a centre of primary documentation, the distribution of microfilms of important source materials, and the encouragement of translation) and 'Personal Contact' (including international meetings, the exchange of teachers and students, and support for research outside the researcher's country).

Once the decision had been taken to set up such an association, a 'Constituent Congress' was planned. The initial problem was who, or which bodies, to approach as informants about each country, or as potential members or delegates. A report, by Rinde in his role as Rapporteur of the Preparatory Committee, reviews the situation after six months of work in 1949. For the countries that had replied, he found that exclusively sociological associations existed in only eight countries: Belgium, Brazil, China, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands and USA. In four other countries sociology was in associations with other social sciences, and in ten it was organised in institutes. Finally, there were at least ten countries where sociology had some position in academic life but there were neither associations nor institutes. Many countries then had few or no sociologists, or even social scientists, clearly distinct from members of other disciplines. But even long sociological traditions did not necessarily mean that the current situation permitted easy representation. For instance, the Romanian contact reported that '*avec le réforme de l'enseignement public de l'année 1948..., la sociologie, en Roumanie, est totalement abolie...*' [under the 1948 reform of public teaching, sociology in Romania was totally abolished]; civil war in Greece and China made contact very difficult; Germany's war role was seen as making national representation premature.

When an appropriate contact was found, the funds available limited invitations to those from more distant places to an Oslo meeting. In some cases an invitation, or attendance in response to it, depended on the presence in Europe for other reasons of an appropriate person; for instance, a sociologist from Uruguay was Cultural Attaché at its embassy in Rome. Where those involved were aware of having any choice of potential delegates, the importance of drawing in national notables was stressed by Rinde:

'It is... highly important that the delegates to the congress are people of standing in their respective countries so they will be able to

convince their national organisations about joining the organisation and also that the national organisation will feel that they are properly represented in the new organisation'

The Constituent Congress was held in September 1949. Twenty-one countries were represented at it: Austria, Belgium, Britain, Canada, Cuba, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, India, Israel, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Uruguay, and the USA had national representation, while Leopold von Wiese from Germany was present on the understanding that it was in a personal capacity. Statutes, based on a draft from the Preparatory Committee, were adopted. A provisional executive was set up from among those present, with Wirth as President. The delegates present also constituted themselves as a provisional Council. Rinde was appointed Executive Secretary and Treasurer, with the Secretariat in Oslo. A number of decisions about activities were then made. A conference was planned for 1950; the Secretariat was to compile a list of sociologists who could advise on exchanges of teachers, to compile a directory of departments and other centres of sociology and to produce registers of current research, and to explore the possibilities of funding for cross-national research cooperation; a Research Committee was set up, with the remit of '...deciding what enquiries should be carried out, and ...of advising on the importance and degree of priority to be given to different research works' and of cooperating with international organisations.

The system of national association membership of the ISA followed the general United Nations model of representation, with all nations treated equally, as UNESCO policy required, although it was evident that this model did not have a good fit to the state of development of sociology. An immediate concern was to widen membership, and an issue that arose in the short term was which to regard as eligible of those bodies which applied for membership. The number and range of applications showed the high hopes held for sociology to help in solving important social problems. As Meynaud² pointed out, the emphasis on world coverage led to the recruitment of some associations 'about whose scientific qualifications [one] could have no illusions'. Others may have had 'scientific qualifications', but were not distinctively sociological; in particular, they were sometimes general social-science associations. Where there were no associations at all, room was made for other affiliates such as

departments and research institutes. It had been agreed that where there was no appropriate national body individual membership would need to be permitted. This was, however, intended to be the exception, and numbers remained very low until the statutes changed.

The existence of the ISA itself played a part in increasing the number of associations. An internal memo of the SSD in 1949 declared that '...from the UNESCO standpoint, what we want to do is to get national societies set up in countries where nothing of the kind at present exists...' At least 16 national associations existed before 1950, though their distribution showed surprisingly little relationship to the quantitative distribution of sociological teaching and research; they included Germany and the USA, but also Finland and Zambia. Eleven national affiliates were founded in 1950 or 1951, and had joined the ISA by 1953. For instance, the Österreichische Gesellschaft für Soziologie was founded and joined in 1950; the Sociedad Mexicana de Sociología was founded in 1950 and joined in 1951; the British Sociological Association, some of whose first leaders had been among the ISA's founding fathers, was set up in 1951 and immediately joined.

The governing body was the Council, consisting of representatives of each of the countries whose organisations were affiliated with the ISA; a country could have two representatives if the importance of sociology in it made that deemed appropriate. This body was responsible for the election of the members of the Executive Committee (EC), to be drawn from within its own membership; it also fixed dues. The EC consisted of a President, three Vice-Presidents, and seven further members, with an Executive Secretary responsible to it in charge of administrative affairs. The first World Congress, organised in Zürich by René König in 1950, initiated the intellectual activities of the ISA. Its theme was 'Sociological Research in its Bearing on International Relations', and it was held in part jointly with the newly founded International Political Science Association (IPSA). At the Congress, the Council met and elected the first full Executive. The nominating committee had used three criteria for the names it put forward: continuity, efficiency and accessibility, and geographical distribution. Some members were unhappy that the names provided no representation from Mediterranean Europe or Spanish-speaking Latin America, and that Poland appeared although it was unlikely that a Polish representative would in practice be able to participate, but a major-

ity did not accept these arguments. Wirth became President, Vice-Presidents were from Brazil, Britain and France, and of the other members three were from Western Europe, and one from each of Egypt, India, Japan and Poland. The Secretariat was confirmed in Oslo, led by Rinde, and dues were established. A general membership policy was agreed; 11 national associations and 18 other bodies were admitted as members. The ISA now clearly existed in an approved form, and was ready to develop its activities.



IV World Congress of Sociology, Milan and Stresa, Italy, 8-15 September 1959

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*Établie par l'Association internationale
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pour la documentation des sciences sociales*

1950-1969

Membership

The expansion of sociology led to the continuing creation of national associations which could join ISA; a further 17 were founded and joined over the rest of the 1950s, and another 12 in the 1960s. The size of the associations varied greatly, in relation to national population, academic tradition and rules for admission to them. Some were known to be much more active than others - by the end of the 1950s some were said still to exist only on paper³ - and some had a much wider and more cross-disciplinary or policy-oriented mission than simple academic sociology. (There was continuing concern over which bodies it was appropriate to admit as national members; the principle was to find the most truly sociological and national, but the necessary information was not always available.) Caution is, therefore, necessary in interpreting the growth as simply one of sociology narrowly defined, or in assuming that all performed the same functions and were directly comparable; despite that, the growth is striking. [3 *] Within the total numbers, the proportion from Western Europe fell from 45% in 1950-1 to 35% in 1970 and that from N. America fell from 10% to 4%, while the proportion from Eastern Europe rose from 5% to 15%; other regional shifts were less marked.

Relations with Unesco

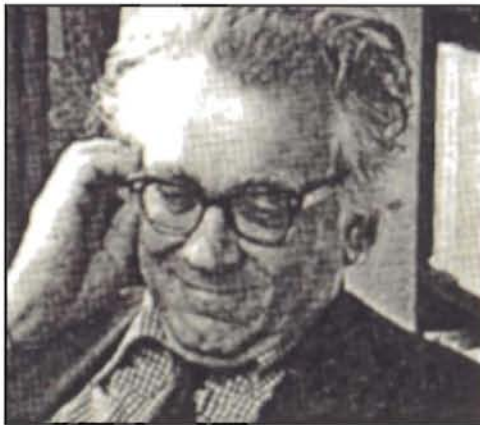
ISA's budget relied heavily on Unesco funding, which was much more likely to be available for activities close to the SSD's own agenda. The boundaries between the SSD and ISA were not always clear in the early days. SSD implicitly assumed that ISA could be treated simply as an extension of its work, and obliged to follow its priorities. Rinde had recruited an administrative officer for the Oslo secretariat from the SSD; that was then headed by Alva Myrdal, a fellow-Scandinavian, which may also have been relevant. Unesco observers regularly attended early EC meetings. Unesco's mission meant that it saw as the most appropriate activities those which diffused knowledge of sociological work, whatever its origin, throughout the worldwide sociological community; thus bibliographical initiatives and reviews of work in specified fields, as carried out

* This and other such numbers in brackets refer to the corresponding tables at the back of the booklet.

under the auspices of *Current Sociology*, were important from the earliest days. Similarly, it was concerned with teaching, and accordingly there was ISA activity to diffuse good practice in the teaching of sociology, intended particularly to assist countries developing their first courses. A mode of funding additional to the basic subvention was the holding of contracts by ISA for activities on behalf of SSD. These included, for example, an evaluation of the 'Tensions' studies, a 'Round-Table Conference on Peaceful Cooperation', and work on the access of women to education, the positive contribution of immigrants, and the role of the middle classes in development in the Mediterranean area. Often each claims the credit for such activities in its reports.

Unesco's emphasis was on research topics directly relevant to international understanding, such as the 'Tensions' project, planned to encourage 'a concentrated and integrated attack on the causes and cures of tensions affecting international understanding'⁴. The theme of the first World Congress reflected this, as did a main theme of the second, 'Intergroup conflicts and their mediation' (its secondary theme, the training of sociologists, was associated with the teaching agenda). Boundaries were also unclear in the sense that some of the same people were prominent in both, and correspondence suggests that SSD saw this as desirable and sometimes pressed for it. ISA EC members included Angell (President 1953-6), Marshall (President 1959-62), de Bie (EC 1950-6, Secretary 1959-

62) all of whom were or had been members of the SSD staff, as well as others associated with Unesco activities in other ways.



Stein Rokkan, Norway, Vice-president, 1966-1970

The issue of boundaries also arises in relation to the other international social-scientific bodies and activities under Unesco auspices, especially IPSA, which has shared some key concerns and prominent figures, such as Stein Rokkan (who would probably have become President of ISA in 1970 if his choice as President of IPSA had not pre-empted his time). The Research

Committee on Political Sociology is a joint committee of the two associations, and the development of data archives, with which it has been much concerned, is part of a wider programme to promote cross-national comparative research through the development of training and the provision

of infrastructure services; much of this has been carried out through the ISSC, on which leading ISA figures have also been active. An important product of the period of 'peaceful coexistence' after the full rigours of the Cold War was the Vienna Centre (European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in the Social Sciences), set up in 1962 under the auspices of the ISSC as a base for cooperation among social scientists from East and West in international comparative studies. The policies of the Centre studiously balanced East and West in its internal organisation. It was not exclusively sociological, but numbers of those active in it have also been prominent in the ISA.

Activities

World Congresses were held at three-year intervals until 1962, since then they have been every four years. At the first, the official attendance list shows 154 participants, though that is probably an underestimate. They were drawn from at least 26 countries, ranging from Ecuador to Egypt, but nearly three quarters were from Western Europe and 15% from North America. A similar distribution continued for the next Congresses until the first to be held outside Europe, in Washington in 1962, which showed a radical shift towards North American participation, followed by a swing back again in 1966 at Evian. The total numbers, however, increased with each Congress, reflecting the growth of worldwide sociology, and increasing prosperity and ease of travel, as well as the institutionalisation of the ISA. [5, 6] Papers on stratification dominated the 1953 Congress, reflecting a leading contemporary research theme, but the diversity of topics increased over time, whatever the official main theme, and Unesco-related themes became less central; the 1966 Congress was probably the last with a major programme on teaching issues - among a total of 476 papers. By 1962, special provision was made in the programme for sessions organised by the Research Committees. Fewer papers were already being given in plenary session, and as attendance grew this became inevitable; a qualitative change started, which some of the early members did not like. As one of them remarked, 'ça ne pouvait plus faire des congrès entre copains...' [it could no longer be a congress among friends].

What was initially *the* Research Committee decided to start its work on issues of social stratification and mobility; this was authorised at

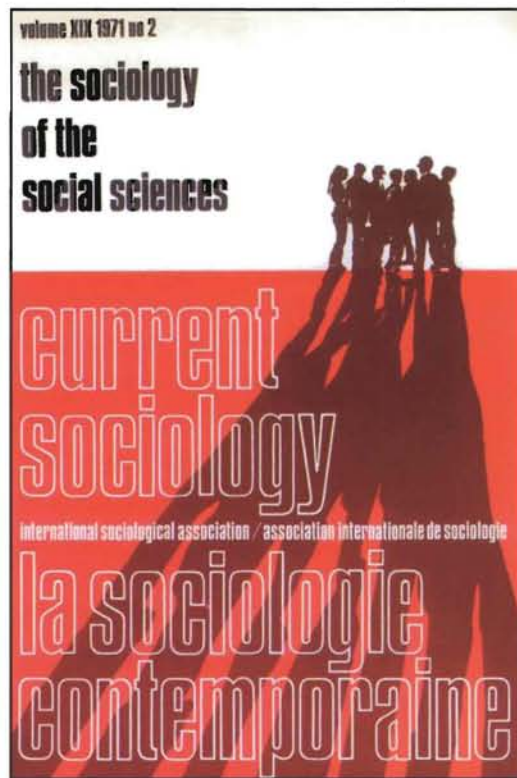
the first World Congress, and already in 1951 a programme had been drawn up, a first working conference was held, and working papers were published⁵. A review of what was known on the subject in each of the countries represented was made, and fresh research was initiated. As a direct result, by 1953 studies were under way in Japan, Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden. By the 1959 Congress, however, differentiated RCs had been created, though they were still initially referred to as 'sub-committees', and the original one became the RC on Social Stratification and Mobility. Its initial concerns were subdivided to develop new RCs on Education and on Poverty, Social Welfare and Social Policy, but before those the first new RCs were those on the Family, Industry, Religion, Mass Communication, Urban-Rural Sociology and Psychiatric Sociology; by 1969, the total was 17. [4] Some of these had ambitious programmes of international activity. For instance, the RC on the Family had a policy of going to countries with a nucleus of interest, and choosing a topic where a group had done work on which they could speak from strength, in order to promote further family research in areas where there had been little. (In West Africa, this had the unintended but happy by-product of bringing together francophone and anglophone research communities which had been largely unaware of each other.) Its 1966 meeting led to a Cross-National Family Study, in which Australia, England, Finland, Iran, Japan, Nigeria, Puerto Rico, USA and Yugoslavia took part. This and other RCs soon started to generate their own publications, usually based on papers from their meetings.

Initially the RCs were conceived as working groups, and the total membership of each was limited to 18, no more than two of whom should come from one country. The latter rule meant that some active researchers could be excluded on national grounds. Membership was by invitation, inevitably reflecting personal networks and skewing membership in an elitist direction. Dissatisfaction with the limitations which this imposed, and with the lack of recognition within the governance of the ISA for their role, led to pressure for change; an informal meeting of RC officers at the Evian congress put forward proposals which led to the setting up of a general review of ISA's Statutes.

Teaching was also important. One of the first activities was participation in an Inquiry into the Teaching of Sociology, which collated

reports commissioned from a wide range of countries and led to recommendations. Following on from this, Unesco initiated further reports on areas in the social sciences, one of which, drawing on material contributed from around the world, was on teaching in industrial sociology. In 1957, a Unesco contract led to work by Tom Bottomore on a 'Guidebook for the Teaching of Sociology in India', which became his well-known textbook ⁶, and in 1959-60 he directed an advanced course in Agra for young Asian sociologists. The reviews of different fields regularly given in issues of *Current Sociology* also constituted an important teaching resource. However, teaching seems rapidly to have become less salient in the 1960s; by the 1964-9 report of the Secretariat there is no reference to teaching matters. Two possible reasons for this are lessening need, as sociology became more widely institutionalised and fewer new courses were being set up with little experience to draw on, and a shift in interest within Unesco away from the SSD. (As one of its officers said, 'the basic preoccupations of the Organization began to turn from problems of postwar moral and intellectual renewal to problems of development.' ⁷)

Current Sociology started to appear in 1952. It provided not only trend reports, at this period still normally on broad fields such as the sociology of social stratification or the family, but also regular classified bibliographical updates on work across the whole of international sociology. (The latter split off after 1957.) At a time when other bibliographical resources were much scarcer than now, this was a major contribution to the diffusion of knowledge. The other major publication was the *Transactions* of the World Congresses, which contained many of the papers given at them. These continued until the 1970 congress, after which it was decided that the costs involved, and the effort of producing them, were too great.



Administration and Finance

The Council decided, at the 1950 Congress, to set up four standing committees, on Teaching and Training, Research, Membership, and Liaison (the liaison being with the UN and its agencies). Membership of these was in part drawn from outside the EC. It also designated an Administrative Committee, consisting of the Europe-based Vice-Presidents and EC members with practical access to Unesco in Paris and to the Secretariat, who were able to meet more often and at less cost; this recognised the difficulties of transport and communication at the time, also reflected in the choice wherever possible of committee members located conveniently for their tasks. (In the 1950s, there were severe practical limitations on any international activity. The effects of world war were still evident in many countries, the jet plane was in the future, and currency restrictions often made travel very hard where political constraints did not. The records show many discussions of how the same person might represent two organisations, or whether someone from further away might be passing through Europe anyway; those actually able to attend committee meetings were usually only a subset of the members, though there was some participation by mail.) In 1951, a Programme Committee was added to plan the second World Congress; in 1953, the Membership Committee and Committee for Liaison were dissolved, on the ground that their functions could now be adequately performed by the Administrative Committee and the Secretariat

The Executive Secretary was elected for a three-year term, and the location of the secretariat was decided in relation to that; the decision on person and location was a joint one. The post was until much later always held by an academic sociologist, usually on a part-time basis, with local support and clerical assistance; for many years it remained in Europe, though moving several times, sometimes after more than 3 years. The countries chosen were usually among those whose nationals had been most active within the association.

In the 1950s, the regular general subvention received from Unesco was a very significant part of the total budget; some support also came from US foundation grants for travel to World Congresses and for the research programme. (The availability of travel grants made a considerable difference to whether those from more distant countries were able to

attend.) World Congresses usually received some local subsidy to their costs. As publications built up, income was also received from them; by the later '60s, this contributed more than dues did to the total income. Members' dues were not nearly enough to cover the running expenses of the Association - and they were not always paid. The 1964-9 Secretariat report pointed out that the costs of the central administration had increased to about 50% of the total, as activity expanded, and this meant that more would be needed if better support was to be given to RC activities. It was not to be expected that dues from national associations would be sufficient to cover running expenses, given that those associations were often short of money and that the ISA needed to promote the discipline in areas where sociology was not yet established and there were no active associations.

Political Issues

A problem which was salient in the early years was that of relations with the IIS. Its activities had lapsed during the war, but afterwards Corrado Gini of Italy revived it, or claimed to have done so - the claim of continuity was disputed. Some of its leading figures had Nazi or Fascist associations which made them unacceptable to many; on the other hand, some Arab countries, König reported



ISA Newsletter 1, 1970

after a trip to the Middle East, preferred it because the SSD was seen as pro-Israeli. Considerable embarrassment was caused to the early ISA by its announcement of congresses which made claims for IIS as in effect a rival to the ISA. Gini took part in the early activity of ISA as an Italian representative, but continued to act in opposition to it, which led to ill feeling. When he was nominated as the Italian representative on the Council in 1951 an EC resolution asked the nominators either to give an assurance that his oppositional activities would cease, or to designate another representative. No reply was received, so the decision was made to replace him by his alternate. In 1952, the IIS approached SSD to raise the possibility of affiliation with the ISA, but on conditions which ISA could not accept. By 1953, 'friendly collaboration' had been agreed; conference dates were not to clash, and copies of conference proceedings were exchanged. However,

in 1954 the Executive Secretary reported that stories had appeared in French newspapers giving the impression that the IIS was the only international sociological body, and was writing to correct this. As ISA became more solidly established and postwar politics less relevant, this appears to have ceased to be an issue. The IIS continued its activities without directly competing with ISA, more recently has even affiliated to it, and ISA leaders have also played a part in it.

That was not the only way in which broader international politics affected ISA. One obvious consequence followed from the changing official stances towards sociology in the Communist countries of Eastern Europe. From the late 1940s until the death of Stalin, sociology, which in some had been well developed and institutionalised, was generally repressed as a bourgeois science, though sociologists in countries such as Poland managed to maintain some activity; after 1956, political controls still existed, but some empirical sociology developed, and selected sociologists were allowed to attend international meetings. It was the height of the Cold War, and this made the major cleavage seen as relevant for the ISA's internationalism to bridge the one between East and West. Negligible numbers from the Eastern bloc attended the first two World Congresses, but at Amsterdam in 1956 there were 44, 9% of the total and responsible for 17 papers, while in 1959 this rose to 112 and 13%. Several Eastern and Western sociologists active at that period mention as a key part of their ISA experience the opportunity for the first time to meet colleagues from the other side. Another effect of the larger politics was the emergence of the Third World within the ISA; the creation of many new nations, as colonies became independent in the 1950s and 1960s, meant that there were many more potential collective members. It was at Evian in 1966 that the Third World for the first time had enough participants to make a real impact, though they remained a small minority.

Whatever the formal situation, international politics have also been relevant to ISA's internal politics. An important but often hidden activity, continuing to the present day, has been responding to individual or national cases of the political oppression or maltreatment of sociologists worldwide; how effective this has been cannot be assessed. The archives show discussion among key officers, after Wirth's death, of the necessity for another American to replace him - though this was partly because of the importance of U.S. bodies as potential sources of funding. The pattern

of representation of regions on the EC [9] did not show only the weight of the contribution made by their citizens to sociological work. Sometimes the politics have been more cultural, as has been shown by the changing position of French language. Initially, ISA's two official languages were French and English; this of course reflected part of the history of sociology, with German and Italian, the languages of countries defeated in the war, omitted. When ISA was first set up, the tradition of French as the language of diplomacy was still strong, and the location of the Unesco offices in Paris reinforced that; as US hegemony became entrenched and Unesco less central, the practical position of French was threatened. In 1954, Gurvitch proposed a French-speaking section of the ISA; this was not agreed - and in 1958 the Association Internationale des Sociologues de Langue Française was founded at his initiative (and soon affiliated to ISA). Another problem ISA has had is that of more than one claimant to be the national association, or two equally national associations. This sometimes, but not always, reflected well-known national divisions such as those of language. For example, in 1961, an Indian Sociological Society and an Indian Sociological Association both existed and claimed to be national associations. For ISA's purposes, however many were accepted as collective members representation on the Council was national, so the groups had to agree their national representation. (In the Indian case, they could not do so, so it was decided that their representatives should take turns.)

Key features of this period were the expansion of sociology worldwide, the lesser significance of Unesco as the sociological community developed and the postwar settlement became history, and the extension of ISA to become much more genuinely international - with the problems as well as the benefits that that brought.

7th WORLD CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY

CONTEMPORARY AND FUTURE SOCIETIES
PREDICTION AND SOCIAL PLANNING

INTERNATIONAL
SOCIOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION
ASSOCIATION
INTERNATIONALE
DE SOCIOLOGIE



UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP
OF UNESCO
AND IN COOPERATION WITH THE
INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION

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VARNA Bulgaria Sept. 14th-19th **1970**

Poster of the 7th World Congress of Sociology, Varna, Bulgaria, September 14th/19th, 1970

1970-1997

Organisational Change

1970 marks a crucial break in the history of the ISA, because that is the year when a major change was made in the Statutes, until then essentially unchanged since 1950. The two key elements in this change were the introduction of general individual membership, and the opening up of the Research Committees. A memo to Council members from the President and Executive Secretary said that the proposed changes addressed three problems of the current structure: the need (both financially and to further the mission of internationalisation) for wider membership, the need to create a balance between the interests of the national associations and of 'our most active agents of internationalisation, the Research Committees', and the need to democratise election procedures so that leadership within the RCs would be legitimated.

The changes meant that EC members no longer had to be drawn from within the Council; a nominating committee was created, and at least two candidates were required for each office. For the first time the RCs were recognised in the Statutes, with principles laid down for their recognition and operation, and represented in the Association's governance. The Research Council was created, with representatives from each of them, and with the power to elect to the Executive four 'associate members' (with rights the same in essence as those of other members) in addition to the 11 national representatives.⁸ This represented a rejection, by the existing Council composed of national representatives, of direct representation of the RCs on the Council. It has been suggested that in particular it showed the resistance of Soviet-bloc countries to anything which took matters out of national political control, and also to any provision related to number of individual members when countries with non-convertible currencies found such membership difficult. An (anonymous) article presenting the changes declared that this would 'strengthen the links between the active leaders in the Association' (it was commonly understood that national representatives were less likely to be really active internationally than those in the RCs), and that 'The Association will increasingly take the form of a federation of such Committees'.⁹ These changes in effect meant that the RCs became 'sections', in that there was no longer a limit set to the size of their membership, though individ-

ual applications still had to be approved - and were sometimes rejected, though on what grounds is not known. Large groups could hardly carry out research in the same sense that smaller ones might, so a move to wider membership was likely to imply a change in their assumed functions, whether or not that was intended. Similarly, the removal of the provision setting limits to national participation opened up for the first time the possibility that there could be national imbalance within an RC, and so that they might be less rigorously international in membership, although rules were laid down for the minimum numbers of countries that should be represented in one.

Once these issues had been opened up, many other changes took place over the next 25 years. In 1974, the provision was added to the Statutes that members could join more than one RC, but not be an officer of more than one, or belong to the Board of more than two. The growth of

the women's movement was shown in the request from some RCs that the number of women on the EC be increased in the short term by adding one as an observer; this was narrowly rejected. In 1978, further amendments made the number of EC members elected by the Council eight rather than seven, and the number from the Research Council five, no

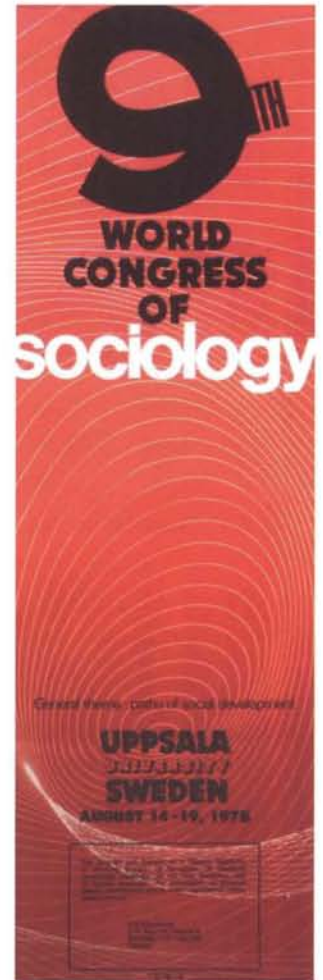


Poster of the 8th World Congress of Sociology, Toronto, Canada, August, 19th/24th, 1974

longer called 'associate'. Greater representation for the RCs was argued against on grounds which included its inconsistency with geographical representativeness, the fact that they stood for a minority within the Association whereas the national associations covered almost everyone, and the wish not to over-emphasize research at the expense of education and training. It is, however, possible that other concerns were also relevant. A memo from a Hungarian member of the Statutes Revision Committee (Szalai), to 'leaders of the delegations of the socialist countries' to the 1982 Congress, is on file. This assumes that these countries have a shared interest, and sees the proposal to prevent more than two persons

from one country being on the EC as favourable to socialist countries, since where there are more than two they will probably be non-socialist. Socialism apart, informed participants suggest that in general those countries with fewer individual sociologists, or fewer who can afford individual membership, have tended to favour representation by nation as the dominant mode of participation in governance. The American Sociological Association has usually favoured individual membership. It was the only association to vote against the 1994 revisions, on the ground that it would have preferred ISA to become an individual membership organisation with no collective members' voting rights; that idea was turned down by the drafting committee, because it would have given most of the voting power to the USA and Western Europe.

Further extensive amendments were made in 1982, in response to a 1978 decision to review the whole of the statutes in the light of changing circumstances. (That decision may well have been influenced by the opinion expressed in the Report from the Secretariat for 1974-8, which urged that it was time to revise the Statutes to 'give less responsibility to those who do not particularly want it, and ... provide for greater involvement of those who seek it.') The Research Coordinating Committee (actually in operation since 1970) was formally created, elected by the Research Council. It would take responsibility for the oversight and approval of RCs, and five of its seven elected members would be its members of the EC. The probationary status of 'Working Group' was introduced for groups aspiring to become RCs. A requirement that at least half of the Board of each RC should be renewed every four years was made. A provision was added that no more than two members of the EC should come from any one country - and that if elections produced a result with more than that, those chosen by the Council should take priority over those from the Research Council. The quorum for election of Officers and EC was raised from one-third to half of the Council's members, and longer notice was required of proposals to change the Statutes.



Poster of the 9th World Congress of Sociology, Uppsala, Sweden, August, 14-19, 1978

In 1986, a proposal from the EC that the President could be elected after two terms on the EC, not only one, was narrowly rejected, and one to make the limitation of time on the EC to two terms apply only to *consecutive* terms was heavily rejected. The issue at stake was seen as one of efficiency based on experience, versus democracy based on regular turnover, and this time democracy won. The proposal to have the VP Research elected by the Research Council, and seven rather than five members of the EC chosen by it, was put forward in 1990 from the Research Council, and was passed with no opposition, though with many abstentions.

From 1994, yet further substantial amendments came into force. The Chair of a Constitutional Revision Committee defined revision as necessary because of the growth of associations within or transcending the nation state [i.e. with boundaries not coinciding with those of nations], and the growth of the RCs. He saw the original Statutes as premised on Cold War politics - and added that the end of the Cold War also diminished the incentives for government subsidies, and so created a stronger need to give individual members more incentive to join and pay their dues. The idea of moving to an individual-membership association, and ending the national basis of representation, was raised for discussion. The Research Council meeting of 1992 had come out in favour of a shift to a structure which gave the RCs equal power with the national associations; the Vice-President for Research saw this as necessary to overcome the widespread feelings of alienation and resentment against the centre.¹⁰ The RCs' representation on the EC (elected by the Research Council) was enlarged to eight, who would also belong to the Research Coordinating Committee, to be chaired by the Vice-President for Research, and it was specified that the Research Council should meet at least once between World Congresses. In return, all members of RCs became expected to be individual members of the ISA.

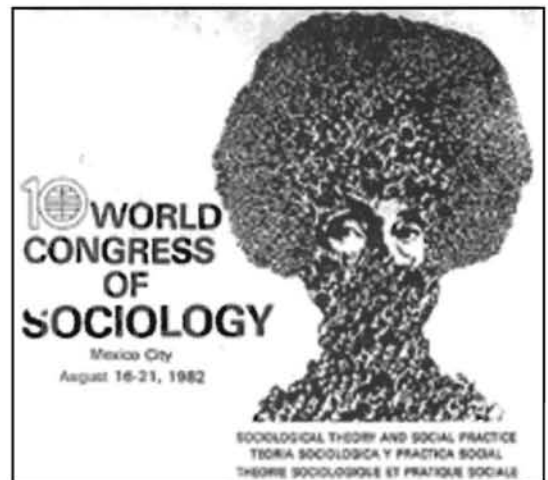
The former Council became the Council of National Associations, and this Council too was to elect eight members of the EC and meet at least once between World Congresses. The two Councils together composed the superordinate Assembly of Councils, which determines the general policies of the Association and elects the President and Vice-Presidents. (This meant that for the first time the RCs participated in voting for the officers.) Correspondingly, the EC was to report and make pro-

posals to the Assembly, and might act directly on matters of urgency; it should meet at least twice between World Congresses. The provision that no one may serve for more than two terms was modified to say that this may only be done if the third term is as President. The number of Vice-Presidents was increased to four, and each given a title corresponding to a function (Research, Congress Programme, Finance and Membership, and a new one - Publications) for which they chair the appropriate committee of the EC. The introduction of specific titles for the VPs was important, as it meant that for the first time the function to be carried out was known in advance, and so that those elected were certain what would be expected of them, and individual qualifications for a post could be borne in mind in the electoral process. Finally, Spanish was added to the list of 'recognised' languages, but English was declared the 'administrative' language of the Association, replacing the formulation that English and French are the 'working' languages.

Not all the constitutional change has been unidirectional, but general tendencies are clear. The RCs have come to play an increasingly powerful and central role, much more equal to that of the national associations, at the same time becoming less like research groups and more like sections. There has been democratisation, of both the central committees and the RCs, though different models of what that might be have sometimes been apparent; those models sometimes reflected conflicts of interest between countries with different situations in their sociologies, or wider ideological and political cleavages.

Membership

The general trend of individual membership has risen over time, though there have been sharp short-term fluctuations responding to World Congress dates and locations, the level of dues, and statutory changes. [1, 2] It is not a very good index of real participation rates, as many active RC members have not joined as indi-



Poster of the 10th World Congress of Sociology, Mexico City, August, 16-21, 1982

vidual members. Significant in another way is the membership of national associations. By 1970, many had been founded, so the rate of increase levelled, and some countries which had formerly been represented by other bodies were now represented by a national and specifically sociological body. [3] Some variation is attributable to changes in the number of separate nations, as much as to change within sociology, as when countries of the former USSR were admitted in their own right. Not all members, once admitted, maintained their affiliation, so some fluctuations are concealed in the totals. National memberships are distributed geographically quite differently from individual ones, since their potential number depends on the boundaries of political units. It is, thus, inevitable that the interests and preoccupations represented in different ways within the ISA's structure vary.

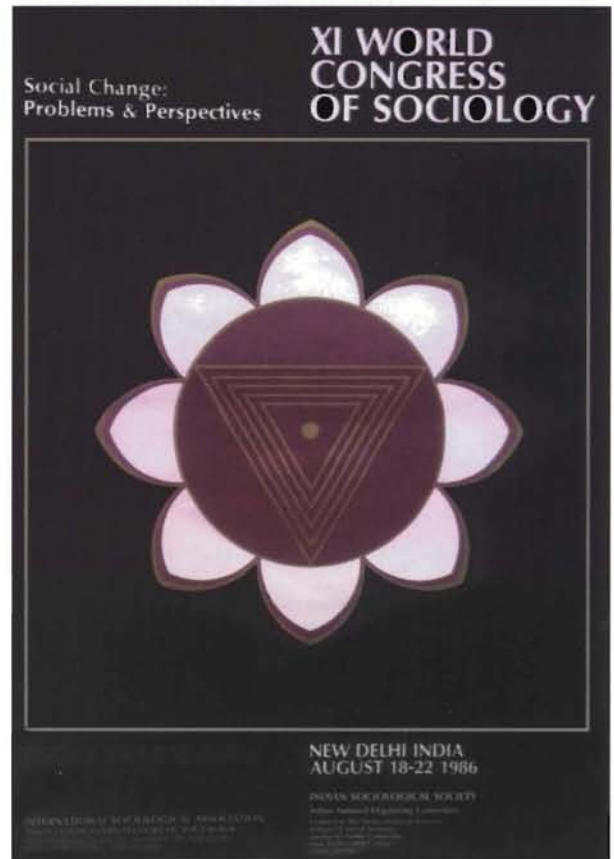
Activities

The first World Congress in a socialist country was in Bulgaria in 1970, and in 1982 and 1986 the first two in the Third World were held in Mexico City and New Delhi. As ever, the size and national distribution of attendance was strongly influenced by the location chosen, though the underlying trend of attendance has continued upwards. [5, 6] Varna naturally had far more participants from the socialist countries than other congresses; it was still the period when travel for their citizens was very limited. (The 250 Bulgarians, however, cannot all have been sociologists in the conventional Western sense; it was assumed that some were there for reasons of political control.) Contrary to what might have been expected on geographical grounds, the contributors from the Third World were unusually numerous at Uppsala in 1978, both because of the theme - 'Paths of Social Development' - and because of the special availability of Unesco travel grants for speakers. It is reported that the majority of those present in Delhi were Indian. Although each Congress has had an official theme, these have had less importance in determining the range of sessions and topics as the numbers attending, and RC salience in the programme, have increased. The Congress became so large that many countries did not feel able to undertake its organisation, and few cities have the necessary facilities. Japan, for instance, was asked to consider holding one in the 1970s, but felt that the resources required were too great. Among

available locations, the desire to encourage the sociology of the region has been relevant to the choice, but ease of access for the wider membership has been in conflict with that.

In Mexico an issue arose over the place of the local Spanish language. Many local sociologists, especially students, felt excluded, and protested at the lack of translation facilities. (ISA has seldom been able to afford simultaneous translation, whatever the location, and when it has been available that has only been for the large plenary sessions.) They also objected, against the background of the Latin American tradition that sociology is not a purely academic exercise, to the lack in the programme of any relation to Mexican specificity, especially at what was there a time of economic and political crisis. The problem was dealt with by the organisers by the creation of a parallel programme that would make it possible for Mexican and Latin American sociologists too to participate; fortunately the building used had a lot of rooms, so the number of simultaneous meetings could be expanded. When a similar protest was made in Madrid, it was agreed to add Spanish to the list of official languages.

There have been a number of efforts to hold regional meetings to supplement World Congresses, and to increase the chances of those in areas more distant from their locations to take part in international discussions. In the most recent period, a series of regional colloquia has been the most systematic and widespread of these. They were held for Southern Africa, East/Central Europe, East Asia, Southern Asia, Arab countries, Nordic countries, Southern Europe, Latin America, North



Poster of the XI World Congress of Sociology, New Delhi, India, August, 18-22, 1986

America and Portuguese-speaking countries; each also had a few participants from outside the region. The theme was preparation for the central theme of the World Congress; each has produced a publication to be available there. Funding for these colloquia was mostly raised locally, though some Unesco money was used for the expenses of 'outside' participants from non-OECD countries. One good side effect of these meetings has been to stimulate some fresh regional collaboration.

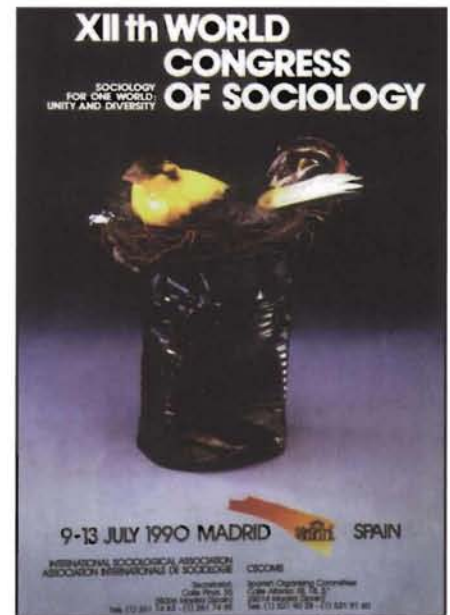
The number of RCs has continued to increase, despite the efforts of the EC to limit them. The numerical increase does not simply show new ones being added to the original list; some have never really taken off or have faded away, and others have merged or split. As with *Current Sociology*, the topics have tended to become more specialised: 'Childhood' was added to 'Family', and 'International Tourism' was added to 'Leisure' and 'Economy and Society', rather than being covered within them. [4] In addition, some have specialised internal working parties which operate to some extent independently. This surely reflects the general differentiation of a now much larger discipline, combined with the search for a manageable grouping within which intellectual interchange is practicable.¹¹

The changing pattern of topics - sometimes shown in changes of title, rather than the creation of new groups - says something about changing interests within the discipline, and changing conceptualisations of its parts, but also about its relation to the wider society. It looks as though groups concerned with issues of development and aspirations for social change were especially likely to be founded in the 1970s, reflecting some of the political hopes and concerns of that decade. There have always been some RCs with policy relevance, and others for areas more strictly academic. Although the titles do not reveal it, others besides Political Sociology have been to some extent cross-disciplinary, and have also involved practitioners. For instance, Law and Society has always had many members whose primary affiliation was with areas related to law rather than sociology, Sport has had strong links with other international bodies interested in sport issues, and Medicine has been involved with practitioner bodies. In another way, Women and Society has had connections to the wider women's movement, and within the ISA has regularly drawn attention to gender issues within the organisation. Such patterns, though in many ways valuable, have also meant that some of those active in such RCs are less likely to identify with the ISA as such; this has some-

times given rise to centrifugal tendencies, and has created difficulties for attempts to make ISA membership general.

For 1972-4, when membership had just been opened up and each member could join two RCs, the secretariat reported 32 RCs with a total membership of 1775, with the largest numbers in Family (118), Organisation (112) and Medicine (111). By 1997, there were 59 RCs, WGs and TGs with a total reported membership of 4442; the largest single one was Migration, with 310 members, closely followed by Social Stratification with 294. Many members joined more than one RC, so these numbers do not represent so many individuals. (Some caution should be shown over the numbers. RCs have often said in the *Bulletin* that it is hard to tell exactly how many members they should report, in part because the usual problems of collecting dues from members are much worse when membership is international, so that sending money can be complicated if not actually impossible.)

Space does not permit a review of the full range of RC activities, but a few examples may be given. Most have newsletters, but some also produce substantial journals, such as RC 33's *Bulletin de Méthodologie Sociologique*. The active promotion of research by the RC as such may have been less common than in the earliest period, but comparative publications have often arisen from their activities: for instance, from the RC on Political Sociology came *Electoral Behavior: A Comparative Handbook* and from the RC on the History of Sociology *Emerging Sociology: an International Perspective*¹²; for each RC members from different countries wrote up data in a standardised form to permit comparison. (Parallel studies have been commoner than identical ones. That is, however, an advance in internationalism on commoner models, and creates pressure for concepts and theories which transcend local particularities. There is a strong tendency for everyone to study their own country in such work.

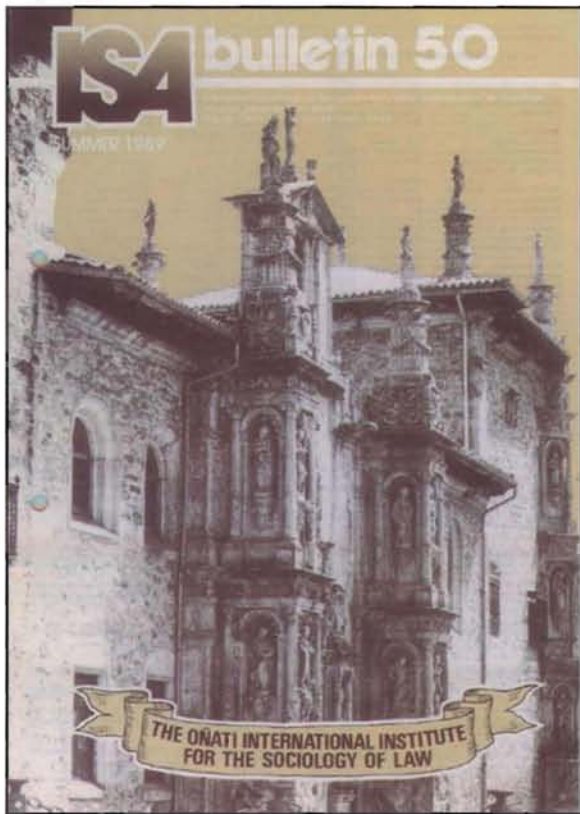


Poster of the XII World Congress of Sociology, Madrid, Spain, 9-13 July, 1990

When they do not, there may be overtones of intellectual imperialism.¹³) The RC on the Sociology of Law was particularly ambitious in setting up in 1988 (with the help of the Basque government) the Oñati International Institute for the Sociology of Law; this is a centre for research and documentation, and also runs postgraduate courses. In addition to such efforts, most RCs hold regular conferences between Congresses, and these of course promote many less formal modes of cross-national cooperation

Current Sociology has continued, but its character has changed over time. For a while in the 1970s part of the role it played was as a journal publishing work from the RCs, including two special World Congress issues¹⁴, and commissioning trend reports from them when one was wanted

in their field; this role has become less relevant as they have developed their own publications, and more specialist journals have been created. There were also a number of reports on the sociology of different countries, which brought lesser-known national sociologies to wider attention. Its bibliographic function became less important as other sources, such as *Sociological Abstracts* - with which there has been close cooperation - developed, and so the old style of trend report seemed less appropriate. More recently, therefore, it has published trend reports on more narrowly focused and specialised topics. A recent initiative in the spirit of CS's bibliographical component has been the



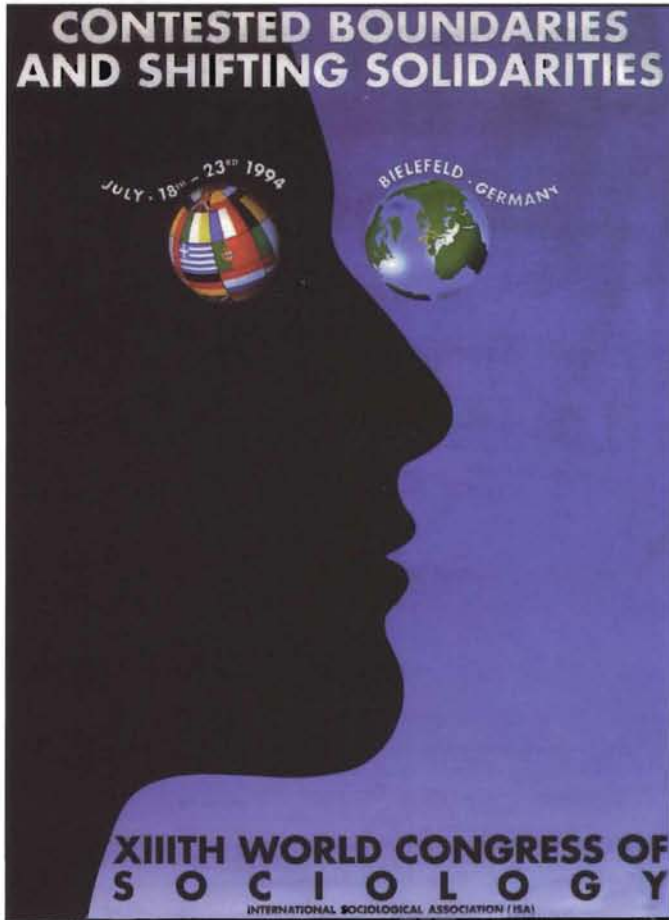
Abstracts project, using the network of the RCs to identify significant articles in their fields in languages other than those of the sources regularly scanned by *Sociological Abstracts*, for which English-language abstracts are provided to appear there.

A new journal, *International Sociology*, was set up in 1986, with the remit to operate in a genuinely international and global spirit, striving to overcome the barriers of language and culture which had often hindered Third World authors publishing to wider audiences. It had a policy to seek out papers from countries outside the First World, to operate positive discrimination in favour of authors from sociologically disadvantaged areas and to accept that Western sociology should not be imposed on indigenous cultures, which generate their own view of themselves. Early issues included, for example, material on Yoruba sociology from Nigeria, as well as important discussions of the general issues involved. In its short existence this had built up a circulation of c. 1000 by 1990, rising to 1706 in 1994; in its first 4 years it had papers submitted from 51 countries, and published papers from 33, which included 11 from the Third World and 5 from the former Second World, though the largest contributors were the USA and Germany.¹⁵ By the time this history is published, it will have become a membership journal for the ISA, offering a significant new benefit to individual members.

After the decision had been made that World Congress Transactions would no longer be produced, a partial substitute for them was created: the book series Sage Studies in International Sociology, published by Sage, but with an editor appointed by the ISA and responsible to it. Its remit is to publish topical volumes based on World Congress sessions and on the work of the RCs, with special attention to international representation. The first three volumes appeared in 1975, and by 1995 47 volumes had appeared.

A less-known facet of ISA activity may be mentioned here: the custom has grown up of holding a small conference in connection with the main committee or Council meetings between World Congresses. This is a creative administrative solution to the problem of finding funding for attendance by members. It also helps to promote cross-national intellectual communication among them and so to create better understanding between them, and gives some return to the local hosts. It has taken a different form at different meetings: for instance, the 1997 EC meeting in Tokyo brought together the EC with a large number of Japanese sociologists to share ideas, while Research Council meetings have had contributions from many RCs on topics of wide relevance such as cross-cultural

and comparative research (which led to a book ¹⁶), or the market situation of social research and expertise.



Poster of the XIII World Congress of Sociology, Bielefeld, Germany, July, 18-23, 1994

A Worldwide Competition for Young Sociologists was initiated in 1987, and has continued to run in the period up to each World Congress. The competition is for essays; winners are invited to the World Congress, a seminar is held for them, and where possible places are found for their papers in the RC programmes. It requires elaborate organisation, with initial juries covering a range of languages, and distinguishing between those using them as a first and a second language. The first competition received 335 entries, from 64 countries; a special effort was made to get the news to countries of the periphery rather than the centre, and the result

was that more than half were in languages other than the ISA's official languages, and nearly a third came from the Third World. The second had 153 entries from 41 countries, and the third, in progress at the time of writing, 138 entries from 54.

Administration and Finance

ISA's financial situation became increasingly problematic as its size and activities expanded. The President reported to the Council in 1970 that 'Unesco subsidies to the international social science associations have remained more or less constant over the past decade while the ISA's con-

stituency has quadrupled and its operating costs have increased even more.' The Secretariat's report for 1971-4 showed that expenditure had gone up nearly 50% since 1967, mainly spent on clerical staff, and in consequence assets had been sharply reduced. The workload had greatly increased, and its office was now larger and more bureaucratised. In 1970 the dues of national associations were raised, with countries in 3 groups on the basis of national income, but with the USA and USSR in a special category. This revision, combined with the introduction of individual membership, meant that from 1967 to 1973 the proportion of total revenue from dues rose from only 9% to 39%, while the proportion from Unesco subvention fell from 62% - and even 86% in 1969 - to 45%. (The remainder was accounted for by publications and subventions from other sources.) A transition had been made from a situation with high reserves and low expenses, through a period of heavy deficits, to one where reserves were low but revenues were higher and the deficit was negligible.

When the secretariat moved to Montréal in 1974 costs were higher than in Milan, but significant financial support was received from the Québec Ministry of Education, the Université du Québec à Montréal and the Canada Council funding agency. Nonetheless, there were still some financial problems. The 1978 congress had been budgeted to make a profit which could be used to cover other costs, but had actually made a loss. The President ruefully remarked that '...the original budgeting was done 3 years before the Congress by people who are sociologists and amateurs in financial matters...they did not foresee the effects of inflation and devaluation; neither did they anticipate the costs that were caused by our colleagues through damage to housing, thefts, vandalism and the need to hire extra staff to police the meetings in order to prevent even more of these events.'¹⁷ However, international exchange rate movements had helped to produce a surplus on the year. This was a period of serious inflation; the 1974-8 report from the Secretariat concluded that 'The outlook for the future is good if we can continue to increase revenues from memberships and from publications faster than inflation increases our expenditures.' The President's 1978 report to Council noted with relief that the ISA was not bankrupt, but by the 1982 meeting it was said to be 'on the verge of bankruptcy'; membership dues had been constant for many years while operating costs rose with inflation, activities had been limited by shortage of funds, and the situation would have been much

worse without support from Canadian sources. Dues were therefore raised, and 4-year membership was introduced for the first time.

In 1983, the Secretariat moved to Amsterdam, and once again there were significant subsidies from local sources: the Ministry of Education, various Dutch universities, and in addition the University of Amsterdam provided free office space etc. For 1983-5, 43% of the budget came from those sources, 21% from Unesco, and 34% from the ISA's own revenues. The international financial situation again caused problems: devaluation of the dollar (in terms of which fees were set) contributed to an expected loss on the 1986 World Congress, there was increasing demand for travel grants as universities were forced to cut back, and there was the recurring problem of collective members in arrears with their dues.



Poster of the XIV World Congress of Sociology, Montréal, Québec, Canada, July 26/August 1, 1998

In 1987 the move was made to establish a Secretariat led by a professional administrator, instead of an academic on secondment. This was set up in Madrid and has continued there, which has given it its longest period of stability in personnel and location. In 1996 a half-time scientific secretary, a sociologist seconded by the Universidad Complutense where it is based, was added to the staff. A professional Secretariat was inevitably more expensive. Initially, a large Spanish subvention was received, which by 1992 covered half of the budget; the fees of collective members contributed less than 10%, and of individual members only 11%¹⁸.

When the Spanish subvention was suspended in 1993, this meant a large deficit on the year; only a third of the revenue came from dues, despite an increase in membership. This was not a satisfactory situation, so a major change in dues was made. The possibility of individual membership for periods less than 4 years was eliminated. The basic charge for a regular member went up from \$80 to \$200, and the discounted rate for members from countries with non-convertible currencies and students

went from \$40 to \$80. (This coincided with the change to expect all RC members to become individual ISA members, so that they would no longer use its services as 'free riders'. An incentive to RCs to encourage this was also given by making the newsletter grants, long available, dependent on the number of ISA members in the RC.) Dues for national associations were also raised; they related to size of budget or membership, and distinguished between OECD and non-OECD countries. In 1998, a further modification makes individual dues steeply graduated by gross national product. Countries with low national incomes, or non-convertible currencies, have been able to have few individual members even if their sociology was well developed. It is hoped that this will increase membership from countries where it has been financially more difficult, and so make the pattern more truly representative of sociologists around the world. At the same time as these changes, *International Sociology* becomes a membership benefit instead of an extra, and so will be more widely distributed. The impact of all this cannot yet be assessed.

Meetings of the EC have often been partly subsidised by host countries or local institutions, as well as drawing on funds owed to ISA in principle but held in non-convertible currencies. For many years the costs of travel to meetings by EC members have not automatically been paid, and members have wherever possible found them from home sources or covered them by fees for seminars given in the host country. Such factors as this, combined with the importance of governmental and other local subsidies, plus the further subsidies concealed in institutional support to individuals, mean that the ISA's formal budgets cannot give an adequate picture of the whole financial position. International economic changes, especially in exchange rates, have been very consequential; rates of dues have been set in dollars, but what that has meant in the currency of the country where expenditure was to be made varies. National politics - for instance, changes of government or minister - mean that inevitably from time to time they, as well as local academic politics, may affect the Secretariat's situation. Other factors which have been relevant include changing Unesco policies, which in the more recent period have been much less interested in the social sciences than when ISA started. Unesco funds have traditionally helped to provide grants for travel to World Congresses of speakers from the Third World. From 1996, the rules for the allocation of ISSC-Unesco grants changed so that they are no longer given

on an annual basis, but only for specific projects; this means that identifiable projects need to be found if such funds are to be received.

1971 saw the start of a newsletter, which became the *ISA Bulletin*, distributed free; this has been the main mode of communication with individual members. Modern technology has made significant differences to communication more recently. ISA now has a Web page, and has set up a mailing list for individual members with e mail which distributes messages from the President, responses to them from members, and calls for papers. The Vice-President (Research) has also conducted electronic discussions among members of the Research Council, despite the problems of varying time zones. However, limits are set to the effectiveness of these recent initiatives by the uneven distribution of the necessary resources.

Internationalism

Internationalism can take many different forms, and the appropriate models have been contested; some stress cross-national homogeneity or the irrelevance of nationality, while others emphasise the value of national diversity and the contributions which can be made from many traditions. Very broadly, the former were more prominent in the ISA's earlier activities, while the latter have been more prominent recently. There had been a generation for whom wartime experience, as soldier, prisoner, exile, or allied researcher, was crucial in establishing international contacts. The 1950s were a period of US hegemony both politically and sociologically, so that the intellectual evangelism of the large numbers of US sociologists was assisted by the educational policy of the US as an occupying power in Germany and Japan, and by its more diffuse relations with other countries, especially in Europe. ISA's more recent policies have, together with a more complex emerging geopolitical situation, ensured that numbers did not count for everything, and have played an active role in bringing the work of sociologists in non-metropolitan countries to wider notice.

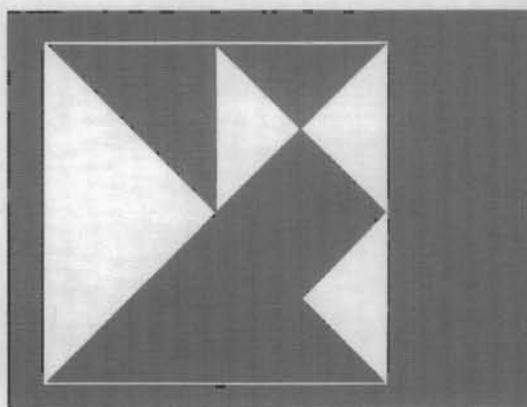
Unesco encouraged the internationally comparative research which soon emerged as an important ISA activity, developed through the RCs. However, such work has huge practical difficulties of organisation

and funding, and sociological difficulties over conceptualisation and comparability, which have limited its extent. Work done within a comparative framework, but with local variations, has been commoner. But ISA has done much to encourage the work which has been done, and to combat the tendency for initiatives to come only from the developed countries. International data archives, though their holdings may be of data from independently conducted research, have made a great contribution to the practical possibilities for cross-national and comparative work, and ISA has played its part in promoting them. Many RCs have published collective works with contributions from diverse countries within an editorial framework. That is an advance in internationalism on more ordinary publication models, and creates pressure for concepts and theories which transcend local particularities.

Internally, ISA's formal structure has ensured that a wide range of national representation is maintained on its committees. [8, 9, 10] For general activities, numbers and funds weigh more heavily, and national representation in membership and World Congress attendance is accordingly skewed, though there have also been idiosyncratic national variations in participation which cannot be accounted for in those terms.

Crisis and Contention in Sociology

Edited by **Tom Bottomore**



SAGE Studies in International Sociology 1
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MEMBERSHIP AND ACTIVISTS

*T*his section gives a more analytical overview of the characteristics of the individual membership, and of those who have played activist roles as officers and committee members.

It is evident that people who have played one role within ISA have often also been drawn into another. Most of the Executive Secretaries later became elected members of the EC, and there are similar patterns of movement to and from editorships. [7, 12] Slightly less obvious is the tendency for prominent organisers of World Congresses to join the EC afterwards. When EC members have been elected as RC representatives, they must already have been active within an RC. It has been common to criticise *national* representatives as not really international-minded - but also, paradoxically, to suggest that they may not be sufficiently central nationally to be regarded as really representative of their national sociology. Some of our data can be made to bear on these issues. Very commonly RC activity has led on to EC membership: those who have been EC members have served a total of 260 terms of office as members of RC ECs; 42 of the 65 EC person/terms from 1970 on which did not represent RCs were filled by people who have also belonged to an RC EC; several members of the EC have moved between positions where they do and do not *represent* RCs on it. Against that background, it is hard to sustain a sharp distinction between the two groups. It is noticeable, however, that some particular RCs have repeatedly had members on the EC; this might reflect a deliberate policy, or it might simply show that they have a large and active network. Turning to the national issue, of terms served by EC members not acting as RC representatives, at least 26% have been by people who have been on the EC of their national association, often as President. (This is a minimum estimate, as the identification of national officers rests mainly on the reports from associations in the **Bulletin**, which are irregular and often incomplete.) Some colleagues play a mainly national role, while others are active cross-nationally, but this suggests that the division between the two may not be a sharp one.

Gender

It was not without reason that the earlier Statutes always referred to officers as 'he'. Until 1970 there were no women on the EC; the first was elected in 1974. After that women became somewhat more prominent, though still far from equally represented; they were 16% of the 1974 and 1978 ECs, rising to 33%, 29% and 33% for 1986, 1990 and 1994. There has only been one woman President, Margaret Archer, and three Vice-Presidents. Among the Executive Secretaries, of the 17 who have held the post only one apart from the present holder was a woman; the situation is similar among editors of ISA publications.

The RCs provide a much larger base. For the terms of office on RC ECs which started before 1970, only seven of the 101 cases where gender could be identified were female. (In nine cases gender was not identified.) It may have some significance that all those women were either British or from Eastern Europe. In the 1970s, the women's movement was developing - with varying levels of activity in different countries - and the RCs became much more open, in addition to the general expansion in higher education, so change could be expected. The change recorded, however, was not very dramatic. For terms of office starting in the 1970s, where gender was identified 16% were served by women - which sinks to 12.5% if RC 32, *Women and Society*, is excluded. For terms starting in the 1990s, the proportion had doubled to 32%. Women have been much more prominent in some RCs than others, which affects such figures.

It should not be assumed that these data necessarily show bias against women within the ISA. A count of identifiable gender in the 1976 membership list reveals that only 22% of individual members then were female. The list shows, too, that those women were concentrated in a small number of nationalities, so that where representation was national, formally or informally, they were likely to be under-represented on RC ECs with a typical gender distribution in their membership. But we may also note that where, as has sometimes happened, the same leaders have held key positions for a long time, this is likely to perpetuate an older situation.

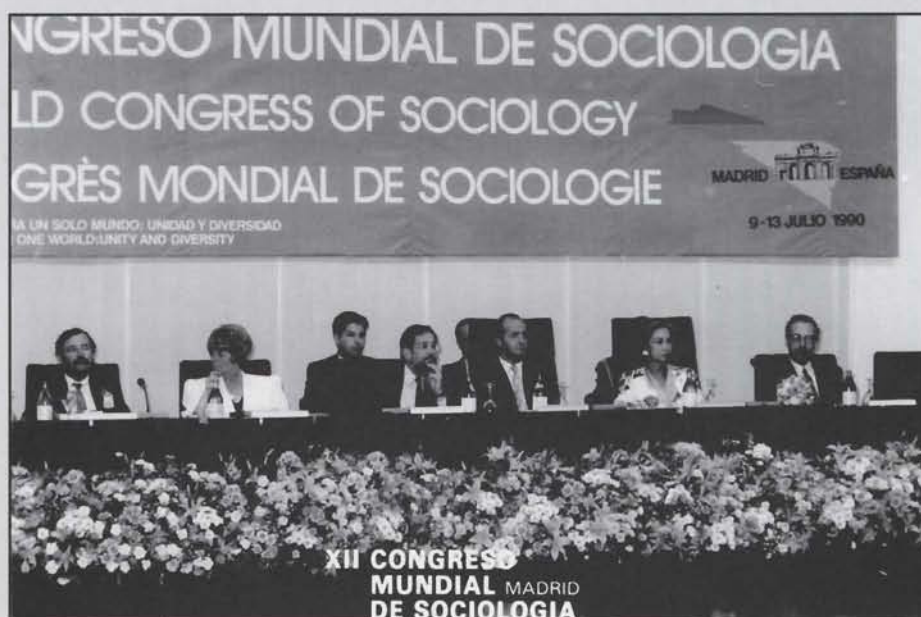
Nationality

Data have been presented on broad regions, but within regions some nations have been much more active than others. Size of population is obviously relevant, but certainly does not account for all the variation. Poland has had more EC members than the USSR, Sweden than Spain, Britain than France; some countries have been steadily represented throughout, while others have risen and fallen. [10] Language issues, as well as the obvious influences of geography, political blocs and the extent to which sociology has been institutionalised as a distinct discipline in different nations over time, have probably contributed to such outcomes.

Migration and Identity

One of the problems of dealing with data on nationality in the ISA is that the records are not always clear or consistent; nation is routinely recorded, but sometimes as nationality of origin and sometimes as current address. This is not just a problem of method; it has a substantive meaning. It has been quite common for the formal ISA representatives of some nations to be based in a more conveniently metropolitan location. But there have also been many people active within ISA who could be seen as having ambiguous national identities. Systematic data would take more effort than has been practicable so far, but some limited observations can be offered. ISA membership lists reveal many cases of, for example, E. European names with Canadian addresses, German names with U.S. ones, English names with African ones. This reflects well-known patterns of migration, chosen or forced. The earliest days of the ISA show some curious struggles to find national representation when a potential representative for Mexico is rejected on the ground that he is Hungarian, or the correspondent in Egypt is a Czech refugee. However, the macro-historical processes which led to such situations have been supplemented by distinctive patterns of academic and political mobility, which have led in particular to many sociologists who started their careers elsewhere ending up in N. America, and a number from the Third World working (often for international organisations) in Paris. The list of members of RC ECs provides 22 cases of people whose national location has changed during their total period of office, from France to Senegal, Turkey to Britain, Costa Rica to El Salvador...but nine of them ending in N. America.

It is striking how many of the most prominent figures in the ISA have had careers which are highly international, both personally and intellectually. For instance, Stein Rokkan of Norway studied at U.S. and U.K. universities; then at the Oslo Institute for Social Research, where research was regularly guided by U.S. visitors, he worked on several internationally comparative projects; he continued to work on comparative politics, and played a key role in establishing the international network of data archives. René König had a French mother and a German father, lived as a child in Italy, Spain and Poland, studied Oriental languages in Vienna, then worked in Paris, Switzerland and the USA before ending in Germany.¹⁹ Jacques Dofny was Belgian, served in the US army in the war, and studied in England and Germany before working in Paris and Québec; his interests, sociological and political, were in the international working-class movement.²⁰ Even short-term migration to study or research in another country may lead to longer-term consequences; one can trace in recruitment to the EC some such connections, for instance between France and Latin America, or between the USA and former students from Europe. The current EC includes among its 21 members at least two with permanent jobs outside their country of origin and one who had one for some years, another who divides his time between two countries, and two more who have held frequent visiting positions abroad. It is impossible to know whether such patterns are atypical of senior academics across the world, but one may suspect that these are more marked. Two different but compatible explanations suggest themselves: those whose interests are more international will travel more and be more interested in the ISA, and those who travel more are likely to be known to a wider range of colleagues and so to receive more votes in ISA elections.



Opening Ceremony, Madrid Congress, July, 9, 1990



CONCLUSION

Over the 50 years of its history, ISA has changed significantly. It has grown from a small body dominated by a Euro-American elite in a world where there were few sociologists, to a much larger and more complex body in a world with many more sociologists and sociology widely institutionalised but internally more differentiated. It has also grown from a body dependent on Unesco to one with much more autonomy; this has meant an increasing focus on research, rather than teaching and the diffusion of knowledge, although the emphasis on internationalism and support for sociology in less sociologically developed areas remains. Thus it has become, at least for those whose involvement is only in Congresses and RC activities, more like a large national association and less like one with a special agenda. (It may be assumed, however, that it performs somewhat different functions for members from centre and periphery, however those are defined.) There has been a continuing tension between national and intellectual criteria in representation and policies, though the organisational balance has shifted in the direction of intellectual representation. However, worldwide communication is not yet so effective, nor the cross-national sociological community so strong, that the geopolitical or linguistic rather than personal characteristics of colleagues have no relevance.

It is not easy to evaluate ISA's success in promoting the internationalisation of sociology. However, its range of activities has been wide, and repeated efforts have been made to devise new ones which will promote that end. It has provided many opportunities which were not otherwise available; individuals have testified to the importance of these in their intellectual careers. The conception of its mission has changed from the diffusion of Western sociology to one which recognises the value of work in other traditions; concomitantly, the emphasis has shifted away from the Cold War divide as the key one to bridge. It seems reasonable to conclude that it has made large contributions to international sociology, even if it has unavoidably fallen short of the ideals some of its leaders have held. It has worked in circumstances often far from helpful; financial and organisational problems have persisted, some of them inevitable in a worldwide organisation. The altruism of members, individual or collective, is limited when it comes to paying for activities from which they do not benefit, and the range which can be provided is limited by the

funds available, while geographical, political and linguistic constraints have also set limits to the range of activities freely accessible to all. Important policy changes have been made recently, and external circumstances are constantly changing. It remains to be seen how ISA will develop over its second 50 years.



Meeting of the ISA Executive Committee, Japan, September 1997



Mexico 1982 Congress: dancing participants

TABLES

1. Numbers of individual members, by World Congress year.

For this table, unlike others, each date refers only to the particular year named there. That is because, after 1970 and while membership was available for one year only, it fluctuated from year to year and was always considerably higher in World Congress years. Individual membership had a different significance before the Statutes were changed in 1970 to make it generally available and encouraged. The decline over time until then represents the declining necessity for individual membership, as more national associations through which members could be affiliated were founded.

1953	1956	1959	1962	1966	1970	1974	1978*	1982	1986	1990	1994
53	47	40	26	29	??	435	2907	c.900	1929	3060	3069

* The figure for this year has been calculated from the published list of individual members on December 31; another figure in the records gives less than 1000. It is assumed that this reflects the variations by date *within* Congress years. The only other year where the figures have been calculated from the list is 1986; it is not known at what stage in the year the other figures had been compiled.

2. Individual membership: Percentages in regions, selected years*

Individual Membership	World Congress Location			
	1973	1978	1986	1994
	Europe	Europe	Asia	Europe
Latin America	3	3	4	4
Eastern Europe	6	8	6	6
Western Europe	30	44	41	45
North America	51	34	34	31
Africa	2	2	2	1
Asia	3	6	9	9
Oceania	3	2	4	4
N	454	2,907	1,929	3,069

* The years presented are not those which would ideally have been chosen, but those as near as possible to World Congress years at regular intervals (after individual membership became general) for which the data could be obtained in time.

3. National association members

The national associations *admitted* are often a larger number than those who have paid their dues; non-payers have usually been kept on the list in the hope that their dues will eventually arrive, which they tend to do as World Congresses approach, since the ability to participate in Council meetings depends on it. The data below come from various sources, which do not always indicate which definition of membership they are using; when they do, it is the paid-up numbers which have been used.

1953	1956	1959	1962	1966	1970	1974	1978	1982	1986	1990	1994
25	29	35	37	41	25	27	29	30	34	36	45

Figures for these years are not strictly comparable to the earlier ones, as they come not from lists for that year but a 1997 list which records when an association now affiliated first joined; it therefore omits any which are no longer on the books. Of the associations listed, 11 had not paid since before 1996, four of them not since 1992 or '3.

4. Research Committees, Working Groups, Thematic Groups: Dates of existence.

The cell is checked each time that the relevant RC/WG/TG was in existence during the period between the date at the head of that column and of the next one. Where the same group has only changed name, it is treated as the same; the historically first name appears first, with dates for changes. ('Sociology of', or the equivalent, is omitted from the names.) Where there has been a split or a merger, the two groups are treated separately or together accordingly after it.

	1959	1962	1966	1970	1974	1978	1982	1986	1990	1994
Social Stratification and Mobility	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Family	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Mass Communication / '78 Communication, Knowledge and Culture	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Psychiatric / '65 Social Psychology / '75 Mental Health	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Religion	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Industrial / '66 Work & Organisation*	x	x	x	x	x					
Urban-Rural / '65 Urban	x	x	x	x						
Medicine / '86 Health		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Research
CommitteesWorking
GroupsThematic
Groups

	1959	1962	1966	1970	1974	1978	1982	1986	1990	1994
Law		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Leisure		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Political		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Armed Forces .../ '80 Armed Forces and Conflict Resolution			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
New Nations / '68 National Development / c.'70 National Movements and Imperialism			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Science / '93 Science and Technology			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sociolinguistics			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sport			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Knowledge			x	x						
Community				x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Poverty, Social Welfare and Social Policy				x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Regional and Urban Development				x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Time Use Research				x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Aspirations, Needs and Development				x	x					
International Relations				x	x					
Alienation Theory and Research					x	x	x	x	x	x
Deviance and Social Control					x	x	x	x	x	x
Education					x	x	x	x	x	x
Ethnic, Race and Minority Relations					x	x	x	x	x	x
Futurology / '74 Futures Research					x	x	x	x	x	x
History of Sociology					x	x	x	x	x	x
Innovative Processes in Social Change/ c.'80 Social Practice and Social Transformation					x	x	x	x	x	x
Logic and Methodology					x	x	x	x	x	x
Migration					x	x	x	x	x	x
Organisation					x	x	x	x	x	x
Social Ecology/ '92 Environment and Society					x	x	x	x	x	x

	1959	1962	1966	1970	1974	1978	1982	1986	1990	1994
Sociotechnics / '88 Practice					x	x	x	x	x	x
Sex Roles / '80Women in Society					x	x	x	x	x	x
Work					x	x	x	x	x	x
Aging						x	x	x	x	x
Conceptual and Terminological Analysis						x	x	x	x	x
Economy and Society						x	x	x	x	x
Participation and Self-Management						x	x	x	x	x
Youth						x	x	x	x	x
Arts							x	x	x	x
Biography and Society							x	x	x	x
Labour Movements in the Industrial and State Arenas							x	x	x	x
Agriculture								x	x	x
Clinical								x	x	x
Comparative								x	x	x
Disasters								x	x	x
Famine and Society								x	x	x
Housing and Built Environment								x	x	x
Population								x	x	x
Social Indicators								x	x	x
Social Psychology								x	x	x
Sociocybernetics and Social Systems Theory								x	x	x
International Tourism									x	x
Rational Choice									x	x
Social Classes and Social Movements									x	x
Theory									x	x
Childhood										x
Occupational Groups										x
Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change										x
Total number in existence	7	11	17	23	35	37	40	50	54	57

* This was divided into two separate RCs, Work and Organisation.

Research Committees

Working Groups

Thematic Groups

For 1964-74, the table draws on reports from the Secretariat; after that, it is based on material in the *Bulletin*. Precise formal starting points are not always clear. Sometimes, too, periods of inactivity are concealed within apparent continuity, as for the temporary suspension of Social Stratification and Mobility in the early 1970s. Movement between RC, WG and TG statuses is not recorded here.

5. World Congress participants

Regions - percentages

Many of these figures should be treated with care, and not regarded as exact. It is clear that at some of the earlier Congresses accompanying family members, travel agents, interpreters, diplomatic representatives, and others not taking intellectual part in the proceedings, were counted as part of the attendance. Moreover, it appears that sometimes the data refer to nationality, and sometimes merely to current address; the two of course tend to coincide, but do not always do so. (There is reason to believe that the numbers for 1970 should be treated with particular caution.) Unfortunately no figures for 1978-86 have been located, and the totals suggested are clearly estimates, whose foundation is not known.

Year	1950	1953	1956	1959	1962	1966	1970	1974	1978	1982	1986	1990	1994
Western Europe	74	75	69	65	28	63	39	24				59	50
E./Central Europe	3	1	9	13	4	13	38	10				6	11
Asia	4	5	5	3	5	2	4	6				6	8
Africa	1	1	2	1	.05	2	1	1				1	2
Pacific/Oceania	1	1	*	*	*	*	*	1				2	3
Latin America	3	4	4	2	3	2	2	4				5	5
N. America	15	13	11	16	59	18	5	54				21	21
unknown	12#				94#			272#					
Total	154	281	487	867	1196	2074	3014	2681	circa 4000	circa 4500	circa 2500	4730	3678

* Some attendance, but a figure of less than 1%.

Percentages are to the base of the total for the nationalities known.

6. World Congress locations

1950	Zürich, Switzerland
1953	Liège, Belgium
1956	Amsterdam, The Netherlands
1959	Stresa, Italy
1962	Washington DC, USA
1966	Evian, France
1970	Varna, Bulgaria
1974	Toronto, Canada
1978	Uppsala, Sweden
1982	Mexico City, Mexico
1986	New Delhi, India
1990	Madrid, Spain
1994	Bielefeld, Germany
1998	Montréal, Canada

7. Secretariat locations and Executive Secretaries

The names of those Executive Secretaries who have also been members of the EC, before or after their term of office - usually after - appear in italics.

	Town and country of Secretariat	Executive Secretary*
1950-2	Oslo, Norway	Erik Rinde
1952-3	Oslo, Norway	<i>Stein Rokkan</i>
1953-9	London, England	<i>Thomas B. Bottomore</i>
1959-62	Louvain, Belgium	<i>Pierre de Bie,</i>
1962-7	Genève, Switzerland	Roger Girod and <i>Michel Bassand</i>
1967-	Milano, Italy	<i>Angelo Pagani</i> and <i>Guido Martinotti</i>
	Milano, Italy	<i>Guido Martinotti</i> and <i>Enzo Mingione</i>
-74	Milano, Italy	<i>Enzo Mingione</i>
1974-9	Montréal, Canada	<i>Céline Saint-Pierre</i> and Kurt Jonassohn
1979-82	Montréal, Canada	Kurt Jonassohn and Marcel Rafie
1982-3	Amsterdam, Netherlands	<i>Felix Geyer</i> and Walter Becking
1984-6	Amsterdam, Netherlands	<i>Felix Geyer</i> , <i>Izabela Barlinska</i> and Peter Reinsch
1987-98	Madrid, Spain	<i>Izabela Barlinska</i>

* Where two names are given, the second (or second and third) were formally Deputy Executive Secretaries. During the period under Rokkan, Betty Kilbourn - an administrator rather than a sociologist - ran the office and was Assistant Secretary-Treasurer. Similar arrangements may also have existed later, whatever the job titles.

8. Executive Committees of the ISA

1949-1950 [Provisional EC]

President:

Louis Wirth, USA

Vice-Presidents:

Georges Davy, France

Morris Ginsberg, UK.

Members:

I. Ganon, Uruguay

Theodor Geiger, Denmark;

J. N. Khosla, India

René König, Switzerland

Stanislaw Ossowski, Poland

A. Zaki, Egypt

1950-52

President:

Louis Wirth, USA [died 1952]

Vice-Presidents:

Fernando de Azevedo, Brazil

Morris Ginsberg, UK

Georges Davy, France

Members:

Robert C. Angell, USA [coopted 1952]

Pierre de Bie, Belgium

Theodor Geiger, Denmark

G. S. Ghurye, India

René König, Switzerland

Kunio Odaka, Japan

Stanislaw Ossowski, Poland

A. Zaki, Egypt.

1953-56

President:

Robert C. Angell, USA

Vice-Presidents:

Georges Davy, France

Morris Ginsberg, UK

Leopold von Wiese, Germany (FRG)

Members:

Pierre de Bie, Belgium

K. A. Busia, Gold Coast [Ghana]

L. A. Costa Pinto, Brazil

G. S. Ghurye, India

Kunio Odaka, Japan

T. T. Segerstedt, Sweden

H. Z. Ülken, Turkey.

1956-59

President:

Georges Friedmann, France

Vice-Presidents:

L. A. Costa Pinto, Brazil

A. N. J. den Hollander, Netherlands

H. Z. Ülken, Turkey

Members:

Robert C. Angell, USA;

K. A. Busia, Gold Coast [Ghana]

René König, Germany (FRG)

D. P. Mukerji, India

S. Ossowski, Poland

W. J. H. Sprott, UK

T. T. Segerstedt, Sweden.

1959-62

President:

T. H. Marshall, UK

Vice-Presidents:

René König, Germany (FRG)

D. P. Mukerji, India

S. Ossowski, Poland

Members:

Herbert Blumer, USA

A. N. J. den Hollander, Netherlands

Georges Friedmann, France

Henning Friis, Denmark

Gino Germani, Argentina

W. J. H. Sprott, UK

Renato Treves, Italy

1962-66

President:

René König, Germany (FRG)

Vice-Presidents:

Herbert Blumer, USA

Gino Germani, Argentina

Renato Treves, Italy

Members:

Raymond Aron, France

Henning Friis, Denmark

F. V. Konstantinov, USSR

Charles Madge, UK

Kunio Odaka, Japan

Stein Rokkan, Norway

Jan Szczepanski, Poland.

1966-70

President:

Jan Szczepanski, Poland

Vice-Presidents:

Raymond Aron, France

Reinhard Bendix, USA

Stein Rokkan, Norway

Members:

Franco Ferrarotti, Italy

F. V. Konstantinov, USSR

Charles Madge, UK

Ehsan Naraghi, Iran

Kunio Odaka, Japan

Leopold Rosenmayr, Austria

Aldo E. Solari, Chile.

1970-74

President:

Reuben Hill, USA

Vice-Presidents:

Tom B. Bottomore, UK

Jivko Ochavkov, Bulgaria

Aldo E. Solari, Chile

Members:

Hubert Guindon, Canada

Kiyomi Morioka, Japan

Gennadi Osipov, USSR

Angelo Pagani ('70-2), Italy

Michel Bassand ('72-4), Switzerland

Leopold Rosenmayr, Austria

Erwin Scheuch, Germany (FRG)

M. R. Srinivas, India

Associate Members:

Anouar Abdel-Malek, Egypt

Robert K. Merton, USA ('70-1)

Morris Janowitz, USA ('72-4)

Adam Podgorecki, Poland

Stein Rokkan, Norway.

1974-78

President:

Tom Bottomore, UK

Vice-Presidents:

Anouar Abdel-Malek, Egypt

Ulf Himmelstrand, Sweden

Alain Touraine, France

Members:

Akinsola Akiwowo, Nigeria

Michel Bassand, Switzerland

Reuben Hill, USA

Guido Martinotti, Italy

R. Mukherjee, India

M. N. Rutkevich, USSR

Magdalena Sokolowska, Poland

Associate Members:

Joseph Ben-David, Israel

Juan Linz, Spain

Morris Janowitz, USA

Stefan Nowak, Poland.

1978-82

President:

Ulf Himmelstrand, Sweden

Vice-Presidents:

Fernando H. Cardoso, Brazil

Magdalena Sokolowska, Poland

Ralph Turner, USA

Members:

Akinsola Akiwowo, Nigeria

Joseph Ben-David, Israel

Jacques Dofny, Canada

Leela Dube, India

A. M. Guillemard, France

Shogo Koyano, Japan;

Juan Linz, Spain

Guido Martinotti, Italy

Khatchik Momdjian, USSR

Stefan Nowak, Poland

Pamela Roby, USA

Alexander Szalai, Hungary

Francisco Zapata, Mexico.

1982-86

President:

Fernando H. Cardoso, Brazil

Vice-Presidents:

Jacques Dofny, Canada

Khatchik Momdjian, USSR

Joji Watanuki, Japan

Past-President:

Ulf Himmelstrand, Sweden

Members:

Erik Allardt, Finland

Margaret Archer, UK

Alessandro Cavalli, Italy

S. C. Dube, India

Wilfried Dumon, Belgium

Salvador Giner, Spain ('83-6)

A. M. Guillemard, France

Melvin L. Kohn, USA

Philip M. Mbithi, Kenya

Artur Meier, Germany (GDR)
Enzo Mingione, Italy
Else Øyen, Norway
Erwin Scheuch, Germany (FRG)
Alexander Szalai, Hungary ('82-3)

1986-90

President:

Margaret Archer, UK

Vice-Presidents:

Wilfried Dumon, Belgium
Artur Meier, Germany (GDR)
Else Øyen, Norway

Past-President:

Fernando H. Cardoso, Brazil

Members:

Simi A. Afonja, Nigeria
Paolo Ammassari, Italy ('86-7)
Daniel Bertaux, France
Felix R. Geyer, Netherlands ('87-90)
Salvador Giner, Spain
Elizabeth Jelin, Argentina
Deniz Kandiyoti, UK
Melvin L. Kohn, USA
T. K. Oommen, India
Gennadi V. Osipov, USSR
D. M. Pestonjee, India
Céline Saint-Pierre, Canada
Neil J. Smelser, USA
Otoyori Tahara, Japan

1990-94

President:

T. K. Oommen, India

Vice-Presidents:

Daniel Bertaux, France
Neil Smelser, USA
Vladimir Yadov, Russia

Past-President:

Margaret Archer, UK

Members:

Neuma Aguiar, Brazil
Rudolf Andorka, Hungary
Maria Carrilho, Portugal
Manuel Castells, Spain
Felix Geyer, Netherlands
Jürgen Hartmann, Sweden
Ivan Kuvacic, Croatia
Alberto Martinelli, Italy
Karl M. van Meter, France

Stella R. Quah, Singapore
Veronica Stolte-Heiskanen, Finland
György Szell, Germany
Henry Teune, USA

1994-98

President:

Immanuel Wallerstein, USA

Vice-Presidents:

Research Council

Stella R. Quah, Singapore

Programme:

Alberto Martinelli, Italy

Membership & Finance:

Jürgen Hartmann, Sweden

Publications:

James A. Beckford, UK

Past-President:

T. K. Oommen, India

Members:

Bernadette Bawin-Legros, Belgium
Roberto Briceño-Leon, Venezuela
Maria Carrilho, Portugal
Linda Christiansen-Ruffman, Canada
Juan Diez-Nicolas, Spain
Layi Erinosho, Nigeria
Vincenzo Ferrari, Italy
Jan Marie Fritz, USA
Jorge Gonzalez, Mexico
Christine Inglis, Australia
Jennifer Platt, UK
Arnaud Sales, Canada
Piotr Sztompka, Poland
Göran Therborn, Sweden
Peter Weingart, Germany
Shujiro Yazawa, Japan

9. EC membership (omitting Past Presidents and Executive Secretaries):

Regional percentages

The figures counted below are periods in office, not numbers of individuals; some terms were split due to death or resignation, and those have been counted proportionately.

Period:	1950	1953	1956	1959	1962	1966	1970	1974	1978	1982	1986	1990	1994	Total
Africa	9	9	9	-	-	-	7	13	6	6	6	0	5	5
Asia	18	27	18	9	9	18	13	13	18	12	18	12	10	16
E. Europe	9	-	9	9	18	18	20	20	24	9	6	18	5	13
W. Europe	46	46	46	64	55	46	33	40	24	56	47	53	48	45
Latin America	9	9	9	9	9	9	7	0	12	6	6	6	10	7
N. America	9	9	9	9	9	9	20	13	18	12	18	12	19	13
Oceania	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	*
N	11	11	11	11	11	11	15	15	17	17	17	17	21	187

In interpreting this table, it should be borne in mind that the constraints on *national* representation mean that regions with higher numbers of distinct nations have greater chance of representation.

10. EC terms of office (omitting Past Presidents and Executive Secretaries):

Countries represented

Countries which have had more than two members are listed, in order of the size of their total representation. (Note that in a few cases the figures would have differed if current residence, rather than known national origin, had been the basis of classification.) Ten other countries have had members serving for two terms, and six have had members who served less time.

	1950-70	1970-98		1950-70	1970-98
USA	6	13	Spain	-	5.75*
Britain	7	7	Belgium	2	3
Italy	3.5	8.25*	Brazil	2	3
India	4	7	Norway	2	3
France	5	6	Canada	-	4
Germany	5	6	Nigeria	-	4
Poland	4	6	Netherlands	2	1.75
Japan	4	5	Argentina	2	1
USSR/Russia	2	6	Denmark	3	-
Sweden	2	4	Hungary	-	2.25*

* Each fraction represents a term split proportionately between a member who died during his term, and his replacement.

11. Research Committee executive members: regional percentages

Each column refers to the period between the date at its head and that in the next one. An executive member is counted for a period if they served for more than one year within it.

Years	1959*	1962	1966	1970	1974	1978	1982	1986	1990	1994
Africa	0	0	2	3	1	5	3	3	2	4
Asia	3	4	4	6	6	8	6	10	10	10
E. Europe	9	17	18	24	19	17	16	13	13	8
W. Europe	62	52	48	43	43	38	40	39	40	39
Latin America	3	2	4	3	1	3	7	6	5	6
North America	24	25	23	21	30	27	28	27	26	28
Oceania	0	0	0	1	*	1	1	3	3	5
N	34	48	90	201	307	378	442	589	672	690

* At this stage, whole RCs had a maximum of 18 members, so they often did not have officers other than the Chairperson, or if they did it was a relatively informal arrangement not regularly reported in the records. This situation changed gradually. It should also be noted that executives have been of very different sizes, so that those RCs with larger ones contribute more to the pool than do those with smaller. The larger ones have often been those with a system of regional representatives as well as central positions such as Secretary

12. Editors of ISA publications

Current Sociology

1953-6	Jean Viet (France)
1957-62	Tom Bottomore (Britain)
1963-5	Roger Girod (Switzerland)
1966-72	Jean Meyriat (France)
1973-81	Margaret Archer (Britain)
1982-89	James Beckford (Britain)
1989-93	William Outhwaite (Britain)
1993-97	Robert Brym (Canada)
1997-	Susan McDaniel (Canada)

1953-6 and 1966-72 were periods when CS was edited from wider international organisations; in between, for some of the time it was part of the Executive Secretary's task, before being handed over to ISA members specially appointed to it.

International Sociology

1984-90	Martin Albrow (Britain)
1990-94	Richard Grathoff (Germany)
1994-98	Roberto Cipriani (Italy)
1998	[to be appointed]

Sage Studies in International Sociology

1976-80	Guido Martinotti (Italy)
1980-86	Céline Saint-Pierre (Canada)
1986-90	Wilfried Dumon (Belgium)
1990-94	Robert Brym (Canada)
1994-98	Neil Guppy (Canada)

Sources of data and acknowledgments

Full scholarly references are not given in this booklet, but only published sources directly cited, because they would take up too much space; information on them is, however, available from the author on request. Key sources are the ISA *Bulletin*, and archival materials such as those of Unesco and of the ISA itself. The ISA's archive is deposited at the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis in Amsterdam (IISG), and the Unesco archive is at its headquarters in Paris. The materials at IISG are invaluable, and its staff extremely helpful, but what they hold is neither complete in their coverage of what one might have expected to find there, nor consistent over time in what it provides. It was placed there when the Secretariat moved to Madrid, and so does not deal with the most recent period. The **Transactions** of the early World Congresses provide useful material, as in addition to general reports they give complete lists of participants as well as of papers given. Several RCs have kindly provided historical materials on their activities. Kurt Jonassohn, who worked on the history of ISA in the 1980s, generously passed on to me all his materials, including transcripts of interviews with many leading figures now dead. I too have carried out a small number of interviews, and have also learned some things by my own participation in the ISA's recent activities. Finally, Izabela Barlinska of the current Secretariat has been extremely helpful in providing copies of such material as minutes and administrative lists. For historical purposes, these have sometimes needed rearrangement; for instance, the numbers by which RCs are referred to have changed over time, so that the same substantive group may appear under a different number, or the same number be used for different groups, at different periods. (That is why the RC numbers are not used in the text.)

The tables given draw on ISA records, published in the *Bulletin* or otherwise available, especially when those give totals; however, it has sometimes been found that other sources, such as contemporary reports from the Secretariat, give further information, in which case the figures have been corrected to take that into account. (Occasionally, errors in the copying of lists, or of past arithmetic, have also been corrected.) On several topics, however, an internally consistent run of figures to cover the whole period is scarcely possible, since levels of completeness vary and the conventions used have changed over time. This is regrettable, but not

surprising, since the Secretariat has had frequent moves between countries with complete changes of personnel, some figures on World Congresses are provided by local organisers without long-term responsibility for the task and working under great pressure, and the data were not compiled for research purposes. Records of how such decisions were made are not available, so one cannot reorganise the data available on a consistent basis.

Particularly significant are regional classifications, where the categories used have changed over time, and it also seems probable that definitions have sometimes changed. (Within Unesco, that has sometimes been a topic of politicised debate.) For instance, some regional summaries treat 'Arab countries and Middle East' as a distinct category, while others do not. (Where this occurred in only a small part of a sequence, those not in Africa appear here under 'Asia'; that is certainly not wholly correct, but the numbers involved are small enough for whatever decision is made to have little effect on the broad picture.) 'Eastern Europe' is used, in accord with convention, as a historical/political rather than as a strictly geographical category.

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