

RURAL COMMUNITY STUDIES IN EUROPE

Trends, Selected and Annotated Bibliographies, Analyses

Edited by

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RURAL COMMUNITY STUDIES IN RUMANIA

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I. TRENDS AND METHODOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN VILLAGE MONOGRAPHS

For decades the monographic study of local village communities has been the pivotal focus of rural sociological research in Rumania. In the inter-war period in particular, this kind of monographic research was pursued more extensively in Rumania than in most other countries.

The survey of a century-old history of rural community research in Rumanian sociology enables us to identify some characteristics and peculiarities of Rumanian sociology as a science and especially of one of its main constituents, namely rural sociology. It will provide a division of monographic investigations by period together with a critical analysis of the methodological conclusions to be derived from both the successes and failures of this valuable research.

Different factors accounted for the growth in Rumania of such a prolonged, intense and productive interest in the sociological investigation of village communities.

In the first place, there is the fact that until very recently, up to the middle of the 20th century, Rumania was a country with a predominantly agrarian economy. The backwardness of Rumanian agriculture, the unique mixture of feudal and capitalist relations including small-scale subsistence and merchandising, the ruthless exploitation of the peasantry and their exceedingly poor cultural and sanitary conditions, all resulted in complex and acute social problems which have enhanced the interest in rural phenomena. There were periods in the past when administrative authorities themselves supported rural monographic activity for various reasons.

Moreover, there were additional fortunate circumstances in that several remarkable scientists devoted their efforts - for decades on end - to systematically developing the theory, methodology and techniques of sociological investigation of village communities and to carrying out community monographs.

* Parts I and II by Mihail Cernea. Part III by Mihail Cernea, Maria Larionescu, Ecaterina Springer and Henri H. Stahl.

These social and scientific circumstances also stimulated the energies of a large number of non-sociologists (school-masters, medical doctors, agronomists, priests, etc.) who themselves took to writing monographs of the villages where they lived and worked, following the models provided by specialists. Both the University and the Academy lent their support to the efforts of village intellectuals. As a result, rural monographic research eventually far out-distanced the activity of the central nucleus of professional sociologists, particularly in the inter-war period. Thus, the bibliography of works on various Rumanian village communities includes countless studies, booklets and volumes.

1. Stages in the history of monographic research

A basic methodological characteristic of the investigations of Rumanian rural sociology was the widespread use of the monographic technique and the writing of village monographs.

A monograph involves the study of the village in its entirety, by treating it as the social unit of investigation. As a rule, it was not a particular problem within the village but the whole community that was being investigated. It can be noted that this methodological preference imparted continuity to the rural sociological investigations conducted in Rumania and enabled experience to be gained for further refinement and application of the method.

The beginning of rural monographic investigations in Rumania dates back to the 1860s. Investigations have been carried on ever since, although with interruptions and variations in scope.

The ongoing preoccupation with the monograph as a research method and the successive waves of monographic investigations over the past century lead us to distinguish five qualitatively different stages in the history of Rumanian sociological monographs.

In order to determine the stages of monographic research on rural communities the following criteria are employed :

- a) the object of study of the monograph; b) selection of the investigation unit; c) the general theoretical framework of the research; d) methods and techniques used; e) type of scientific knowledge acquired.

Application of these criteria should emphasize not only differentiation among stages but also continuity within monographic research. Yet a major change in one or several of these characteristics (not necessarily in all at the same time) may denote a qualitative difference which indicates the transition to a different stage.

The five stages are:

- 1) rural monographs by administrative areas (counties), carried out by Ion Ionescu de la Brad (1860s to end of the 19th century);
- 2) village monographs within the research programme launched by A.V.Gidei (the first quarter of the 20th century);
- 3) the holistic-exhaustive monograph, monographic research carried out by the Sociological School according to the methodology outlined by Dimitrie Gusti (1925 to mid 1930s);
- 4) the diversification of the typology of monographs - new trends in the monographic investigations of the Sociological School (late 1930s until mid 1940s);

- 5) post-war monographic research within the theoretical framework of Marxist sociological thought.

This is an attempt to identify the types of investigations carried on successively, and the periods cannot be rigidly determined. This means that monographs typical of a given stage may continue to appear after another qualitatively new type has evolved.

Nevertheless, it should be remembered that during this long period of time, the village issues themselves changed repeatedly and new social problems necessitated modifications and diversification of investigative techniques.

2. Socio-economic monographs of administrative rural zones

If we regard the famous Descriptio Moldaviae (1715) by Dimitrie Cantemir (1673 - 1723) as the work of an enlightened precursor rather than a true sociological monograph, there is no doubt that in the history of rural monographs in Rumania this stage was represented by the monographs of Ion Ionescu de la Brad (1818 - 1891).

The object of the studies conducted by Ion Ionescu de la Brad, an agronomist and agrarian economist by training, was the condition of agriculture and of the rural population in certain territorial zones, exhaustively investigated in the field. The county was the unit of investigation, delineated by administrative rather than ethnographic or sociological criteria. The basic methods of study were direct observation, visits to the agricultural fields, and the collection of information from large land-owners, peasants and local authorities, according to a systematic and comprehensive research plan.

In the preface to the monograph on Putna district he writes "Walking from one village to another and speaking to producers of every rank, I have scrupulously taken down their remarks and experiences... In describing and assessing the present state of production I brought in nothing not imparted to me by the former, nothing not witnessed nor judged by ourselves".

In the space of four years, Ion Ionescu de la Brad published three impressive zonal monographs of the counties of Dorohoi (1866), Mehedinti (1868) and Putna (1869).

Within the conception of this and successive investigations by this scholar there already appears a methodological idea that was to be developed later by the Sociological School headed by D.Gusti: namely, that monographs drawn up by local units for every district should ultimately be directed toward a nation-wide synthesis ("The Science of Nation" as Gusti would call it, through bringing together village monographs). Ion Ionescu de la Brad proposed to write 31 volumes - like the book on Dorohoi district - thus dealing with all the agriculture in free Rumania.

The avowed goals of his monographic investigations were knowledge and practical action: as he put it, ascertaining the present state would provide the starting point for necessary improvements in Rumanian agriculture.

What characterised the content of the first stage of Rumanian monographic studies was the predominant investigation of the rural socio-economic situation (with special emphasis on the economic aspect). This characteristic distinguishes the history of monographs in Rumania from that in Poland and in other counties, where, as Wierzbicki puts it, "the first page in the history of community studies was written by ethnographers".³⁾

The economic and socio-economic perspective, much more than the strictly ethnographic one, undoubtedly favoured coverage of the village community in its entirety and the identification of its essential structures. Ion Ionescu did not use the word "sociology", but precisely because his investigations were aimed at the fundamental rural realities, economic and social, and went beyond the narrow, ethnographic approach, he may be looked upon as a true forerunner of Rumanian sociology.

The significance of these monographs is greater in that they appeared immediately after a profound transformation in Rumanian agricultural relations - the 1864 land law, which provided for the allotment of land to "sokemen" (clacasi). Despite the author's failure to state all of his findings concerning the execution of this law, he provides ample information to illustrate the "agricultural contracts" system essential to an understanding of the Rumanian village, the exploitation of the peasants by the large landowner or leaseholders, and the deep social conflicts suffered by Rumanian "rural society".

However, these monographs succeeded in providing a predominantly descriptive image and did not set forth a sociological theory of the village. Their documentary value is inestimable, as is the significance of the scientific demonstration they presented over a century ago, concerning the virtues of systematic description and knowledge of the rural world through the integral approach to territorial and socio-economic units.

The trend initiated by Ion Ionescu was for a time not followed⁴⁾ but about twenty years later, in 1889, a fourth vast county monograph was written by the economist S.P. Radianu. The methodological plan differed only slightly from that of Ion Ionescu, contributing no significant innovation to research. On the basis of highly critical assertions concerning the state of agriculture and of the peasant population, the author proposed, among other measures, to cast into question the whole institutional superstructure of agriculture, demanding a radical reorganisation of the very Ministry of Agriculture, which had originally assigned him the task of conducting the survey.

This concludes the first stage as zonal rural research and monographs, a kind of work which was resumed some 4-5 decades later but within a theoretically consistent sociological framework and with superior investigative techniques.

3. Monographs of village communities

The second stage in the rural monographic activity in Rumania began in 1903, related largely to the research programme elaborated by A. V. Gidei. Fundamental changes had occurred in some characteristic aspects of monographic research: object of study, unit of investigation, investigative techniques and the kind of knowledge acquired. Less substantial were the changes in the general theoretical framework of the monographs. The appearance of qualitatively new elements, steps forward in the development of the sociological approach, give specific content to the new stage.

The major methodological change is a shift from the large administrative area (county) to the village, that is to the monographic study properly speaking of a restricted rural community taken as an organic socio-cultural unit. Thus, there is a change in the selection of the unit of investigation, accompanied by a change in the techniques of observation appropriate to the study and, naturally, a change in the kind of sociological knowledge acquired.

Historically speaking, the new investigations were started at a time when socio-economic conflicts in village life were growing sharper and threatening to

explode. The rapid acceleration of capitalist development in early 20th century Rumania conflicted with the persistence of the semifeudal agricultural relations that aggravated the poverty of the peasant masses. Soon would occur the great peasant revolts of 1907, in which 11,000 peasants were killed during the reprisals. New investigations were undertaken in the villages because in 1903 the then Minister of the Interior, admitting its lack of accurate knowledge of village realities, initiated and supported the preparation of village social monographs. As D.Gusti later pointed out, this initiative entailed the beginning of a monographic movement⁵⁾. The pre-eminent figure of this stage was Alexandru V. Gidei, author of a programme of village monographic research which was to bear methodologically on the investigations of that period.

A few years before the publication of this "Programme" in 1903, a number of village monographs were written on the Sibiu district. Among these, worth mentioning are Monografia comunei Orlat (The Monograph of the village of Orlat), 1895, by schoolmaster Romul Simu, and the monographs of the village of Gurariu and Rehau by priest I. Muntean and vicar N. Carpinisan respectively.

A.V. Gidei's was the first systematic program conceived and published with the acknowledged purpose of providing a methodological guide to monographs of Rumanian villages.

The very structure of his monographic programme illustrates the new research paradigm: communal history, physical and territorial description, the population and its structure, population movements (natural and migratory), the economic situation: landholding relations and their evolution, economic relations between social categories, disintegration of communal ownership, types of agricultural crops, industrial activities, means of communication, households and household budgets, administration and justice, and social, cultural and ethical conditions (school, religion, health, social service, politics and national consciousness).

The subject of Gidei's monograph was the village Bragadiru-Bulgar, Sabaru county. The work was mainly concerned with the economic structure of the rural community, the structure of agricultural property, and social relations among the various categories of village inhabitants.

It is remarkable that one year after the first edition, a second edition of the monograph of Bragadiru commune came out accompanied by Programul monografiei unei comune rurale (The programme of the monograph of a rural commune).

With regard to research, Gidei suggested that special emphasis should be placed on the investigation of social and economic relationships, namely on "the budget of a peasant family, since it mirrors ... the entire mechanism of peasant economic life" and "on the land-holding contract issue" which was the essence of relations among social categories in the village. It was this latter suggestion that focused the study on social processes of major significance: the disintegration of common ownership, exploitation, social structure of the village, social conflicts.

A.V. Gidei was the first to investigate the local community, each house in turn, and thus make "an economic and social survey of the whole commune". He interviewed each of the 318 families in the three hamlets making up the commune, and he recommended very interesting methods for the conversational techniques to allay suspicion in people and learn the truth. It is also worth noting his joint use of field data and archival sources of information as well as the principle of information checking.⁶⁾

On the basis of this programme, another communal monograph was prepared by S.B. Radianu⁷⁾ in 1904. Other authors such as S. Tutescu, D. Galian, I. Malaescu,

produced less extensive monographs, published in the same year, but failed to make full use of the new methodology. However the programme continued to influence research conducted in later years. Nevertheless, some other village monographs appeared which were written over the same period but were independent (I. Antovici, 1905).

Quantitatively, a complete bibliography of this stage would include some 30 monographs. To these one could add the village monographs that came out between 1894 and 1900 but which, from a scientific, rather than a strictly chronological point of view, fall within the second stage rather than within the first.

A village monograph whose qualities merit special attention is the one published in 1915 on Rasinari community by Victor Pacala. In comparison with the other monographs of the period, its author is not only concerned with the socio-economic analysis of the village, but also devotes over one third of his book to folklore, various feasts and traditions. This is the first time that a marked anthropologic and ethnographic approach, that was to gain strength in the coming years, appears alongside economic and social concerns in a monograph of Rumanian rural communities. The monographs by other authors: Tirgu-Frumos (N.Daranga, 1916)⁹⁾ and Dragoslavele (C.Radulescu Codin, 1923)¹⁰⁾ communities (the latter with historical emphasis) and others, were also remarkable.

Still, in this stage, there is one more phenomenon which helps to account for the expansion of the monographic movement in the years to come. Consistent with the tradition of village intellectuals' interest in monographs, Cluj University set up in the summer of 1919 and 1920 two-month courses and seminars for school-masters and priests. As geographer George Valsan said later, "With that brief training several succeeded in making excellent monographs. Such an outstanding series of published monographs can serve as models for those who are unable to come into contact with the University"¹¹⁾. And in 1924 professor George N. Leon - an economist by profession - called the students of the same university to "travel throughout the district, studying the social life of the Rumanian people", with the help of "social monographs as a method of research, for knowledge of monographic techniques will prompt each of you to investigate the essential needs of the people"¹²⁾. In pursuit of this he recommended the monographic technique of Le Play.

It should however be noted, that the village monographs were not the only phenomenon in the over-all picture of the sociological activities being carried out in Rumania. At the same time social theories of a general character concerning the peasantry and the "agrarian question" were elaborated (and refuted in extensive public debates), treating problems specific to Rumania. Two such theories were developed under the names of "Poporanism" and "Semana-torism"¹³⁾.

A major scientific event was the publication in 1910 of the work Neoiobagia (Neoserfdom) by Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea¹⁴⁾, the founder of Marxist sociology in Rumania. An original theoretical work, it was the first Marxist sociological analysis on a macrosocial level of the situation of the peasantry in the context of global society. It considerably influenced the subsequent evolution of Rumanian sociological thinking.

Through the village sociological monographs and the monographic research programme, the research on Rumanian rural communities took an important step towards establishing Rumanian sociology as a scientific discipline. This progress was to crystallise decisively in the next stage.

4. Systematic sociology and monographic research

The First World War temporarily put a stop to monographic activities. After the war a new trend appeared in rural monographic research, related to the founding and the operation of the Bucharest Sociological School.

The range of social problems in Rumania's countryside was considerably different after the war. The land reform of 1921, long promised to the peasant-soldiers out in the trenches fell short of solving the problems raised by agricultural development and modernisation. Peasant homesteads were hopelessly in debt, the fragmentation of small properties proceeded at a rapid rate and illiteracy and cultural backwardness, the consequences of poverty, acted as an additional brake upon the modernisation of agricultural technology. Spiralling prices for industrial (but not for agricultural) products aggravated the exploitation of the peasantry, impeding the spread of modern machinery in agriculture. The poor health of the village population, malnourished and infected with social diseases affected the very biological condition of the peasantry. Thus, conditions in the villages raised severe nation-wide problems and were of necessity included among the priority research problems of the social scientists.

In this context, the major characteristic of the transition to a new stage of rural community monographic research is the change in the general theoretical outlook concerning the structure of village studies which was henceforth "rooted in" a systematic sociological conception. Rural research had formerly been prompted by a general appetite for knowledge; it was now conducted in the name of sociological science. A definite sociological system worked out by Dimitrie Gusti claimed and discharged a theoretical and methodological function. If the investigation unit remained essentially the same - i.e. the village - fundamental differences appeared, in comparison with the previous stage, in terms of the object of research and its conceptualisation and in the investigative methods used and the kind of knowledge acquired.

However, in my opinion the activity inaugurated by the Bucharest Sociological School seems to lack a homogeneous character. Not all the village research can be put under the single umbrella of Gusti's original scheme. It would be inaccurate to treat the 1925-1945 period as undifferentiated, as some analysts have done. On the contrary, at any one moment there were a number of tendencies, both parallel and divergent, in the process of maturation, and various approaches and methodologies were being used at the same time. This makes me divide monographic activities, usually subsumed in toto under the label of the "School", into at least two distinct stages which become my 3rd and 4th stages, respectively. Naturally, these share many elements of similarity, continuity and interpenetration. But there are also differences sufficient to demarcate a scientific level that is superior and, in my view, distinct. In this 3rd stage, I shall consider the first period of the monographic activity of the "School" - from 1925 to the mid 1930's - in order to pinpoint more precisely the transition to the next period.

4.1. Quantitative expansion

The first field campaigns, started in 1925, were largely of a didactic character and pursued primarily an educational aim: to place the students of the Sociological Seminar at the University of Bucharest in direct contact with rural realities and to help them implement what they had been taught concerning the use of research methods. Every year the number of participants in fieldwork increased, outnumbering by far the number in student seminars. Thus came into being what was known as the "Bucharest Sociological School" (frequently referred to as the "Monographic School" as well). The name did not stand for a particular institution, but for a "school" in the academic sense of the word, a sociological

movement which experienced throughout its life a variety of institutional forms: chairs, research institutes, foundations, legal provisions enforcing students' involvement in field investigations, various schools and courses, exhibitions, museums, etc.

Thus, within the "Bucharest Sociological School" village monographing steadily expanded. It developed both extensively, through the inclusion of many settlements, and intensively by penetrating more deeply into rural life. The factual material describing and recording from village life is enormous; it is to this day a goldmine of information for fruitful research.

The bibliography compiled by Lucia Apolzan (1945) includes 626 settlements (villages and towns) investigated throughout the 1925-1945 period by research teams which were sponsored in one way or another by the Sociological School. Of this number, the results of research in 534 settlements appeared, in full or in part, in various publications. The overwhelming majority of the settlements were rural.

The number of rural communities investigated in Rumania during that period was actually higher than the Apolzan's figure since this does not include the monographs produced by amateur investigators, many of whom used the models and guidelines of the Sociological School.

4.2. The theory and the paradigm of the research

Dimitrie Gusti has constructed a sociological system to explicate social reality, from which a paradigm to investigate this reality was derived. His interpretation of society was, from a philosophical viewpoint, a rudimentary form of idealism, somewhat naive and voluntaristic in emphasis¹⁵⁾.

According to this voluntaristic, eclectic system, the essence and basic motive force of society is "social will". Will is palpably externalized in four categories of "manifestations":

- 1) economic manifestations;
- 2) spiritual manifestations (1 and 2 being "constitutive categories");
- 3) ethical-political manifestations;
- 4) legal manifestations ("regulative categories").

As a whole, these manifestations occur within four constant "frames" that govern them:

- 1) the cosmological frame;
- 2) the biological frame;
- 3) the psychic frame;
- 4) the historical frame.

The first two are "asocial frames", the others, "social frames"¹⁶⁾.

"Frames" and "manifestations" co-exist in parallel fashion, according to Gusti, i.e. none of the eight categories can be looked upon as cause or effect of any other category. They are not arranged hierarchically, nor can they be reduced one to another; hence, "the law of sociological parallelism". The polemical thrust of the theory of parallelism among frames and manifestations was aimed at refuting the Marxist sociological conception concerning the determinative role of relations of economic production vis-a-vis phenomena of superstructure. However, Gusti's understanding of Marxism was highly distorted and the "theory of sociological parallelism" proved fatal, as will be seen, for interpreting the empirical data collected.

"The social units" (such as the village, town or nation) are, according to Gusti, the concrete expression of the unity between frames and manifestations at the corresponding group level. The concept of the "social unit" was an essential one in the monographic paradigm and theory since it had a threefold significance: it indicated the real social unit (the respective social collectivity as an object of field investigation, taken as a whole); it indicated the social unit as an object of sociological reflection and theorising; it indicated the social unit as the proper locus of action to be undertaken on the basis of research.

It follows from the above that investigation of the village as a social unit amounts in practice to investigation of each of the four frames and four manifestations. Thus, as was rather rare in the history of sociological doctrines, Gusti's system provided not only an ontological theoretical interpretation of society but a comparatively operational scheme for empirical investigation as well, which could be used as guide, a formula for research programming, and a "working tool".

No matter how arbitrary, eclectic and weak it may appear to us, this scheme¹⁸⁾ was for many sociologists a paradigm of expirical research. It was according to this pattern that field investigations and the processing, arrangement and editing of factual material were conducted. Despite its disadvantages, it thus had an unexpected effect which we now appreciate: by providing roughly the same scheme for many monographic studies, it facilitates their comparison and operational use today.

4.3. The sociological monograph as a tool of investigation

Gusti viewed sociological monographing as the best way of applying this paradigm. His preference was justified, on the one hand, by the fact that the monograph could serve as an antidote - a solution to the chronic absence in sociology of detailed observations of reality and thereby free sociology from having to resort to second-hand sources "or borrow the facts from historians and ethnographers, and the figures from statisticians"¹⁹⁾.

On the other hand, Gusti argued in favour of this monographic scheme on the grounds that it promoted knowledge of social collectivities in their unity and entirety and in all their component aspects. Gusti hoped that the use of sociological monographs would eliminate the drawbacks of the impressionistic method, the sterility of the speculative method and the empirism of the descriptive method²⁰⁾.

In asserting the scientific validity of the monograph as a tool of investigation, Gusti came, in my opinion, to exaggerate and overestimate its cognitive value, even maintaining that the sole mode of existence of sociology as a science is the monographic mode: "sociology shall be either monographic or not at all". "The monographic method", he wrote in 1934 "is the only method which sociology can appropriate"; "village monographs succeed in penetrating and exhausting the reality under study, thus becoming the only path to integral and undistorted research of social life ... Monographic sociology²¹⁾ is the only means of establishing sociology as a science of social reality..." This stand eventually resulted in extreme onesideness in the methodology of community research.

It is nevertheless true that the sustained use of the monographic method for investigative purposes favored explanation of the potential of that method to an extent unparalleled abroad. Rumanian sociology in the 1930s provided one of the most farreaching scientific debates in European sociology - by means of studies, special volumes, articles, and fieldwork - concerning the possibilities of the monographic method in sociology, its theoretical justification, its scientific and extra-scientific functions, and its relationship with other methods.

The experience derived by the Sociological School from the monographic research of village communities was first summed up in that very period in two major works (apart from the sequence of studies written by D. Gusti himself): the work Teoria monografiei sociologice (Theory of the sociological monograph) by T. Herseni (1934) and Tehnica monografiei sociologice (Sociological monograph technique) by Henri H. Stahl (1934).

T. Herseni resumed and elaborated the theses of his mentor, rightly refuting "library sociology" but ending in the same gross exaggeration of the monographic method. The author went so far as to universalise the monograph as an investigative approach²²⁾ with little concern for statistics or typology. This reduction of sociology as a science to a single method was to have a restricting influence on the development of Rumanian sociology.

The most reputed specialist in community research techniques of the Bucharest Sociological School became Henri H. Stahl, author of several remarkable books on investigative methods in the village. He was concerned with the details of field-work methods, unstructured interviewing and participant observation, and also with the combined use of these techniques. The work Tehnica monografiei sociologice (Sociological monographic technique) is the first systematic codification of the experience and rules of fieldwork at the community level, seen as a special type of research requiring specific techniques to suit the socio-cultural particularities of the village. In analysing the techniques, he suggests, the author has to take into consideration the reverberations which the act of investigation inevitably produces in the communities studied. In 1934 such works were very scarce in international sociological literature.

The wide proliferation in Rumania of village monographs produced by both sociologists and amateur researchers is largely due to the early codification of technical rules and methods derived from field-work experience. This codification was produced in text-book form and placed at the disposal of a wide range of potential investigators²³⁾.

It is also noteworthy that the example set by sociology was equally fruitful in other social sciences, extending the monographic trend beyond the boundaries of sociology. Thus, in 1935 (outside the Sociological School) a guide to historical monographs of villages was published by N.A. Constantinescu (1935)²⁴⁾ and a few years later a short manual appeared, written by Ion Blagila²⁵⁾ (1942), on the technique of writing monographs.

In fact, the very codification of monographic experience and its dissemination in a systematic form continued by means of the publication of ever more detailed guidelines; these were collected in 1940 in an impressive volume with standard research designs organised by problems.

4.4. The interdisciplinary team

One of the major innovations in the study of rural communities was the setting up of research teams that consisted of specialists in various fields. Towards the close of the twenties and in the next decade, it was a new trend in the practice of fieldwork and was peculiar to research on rural communities in Rumania. Henri Mendras pointed out the differences in approach that existed in this respect between rural sociology in Rumania and the USA²⁶⁾.

According to the scheme of frames and manifestations, it was thought necessary to have other specialists in the social sciences (human geography, social biology, history, economics, law, etc.) working jointly within an overall sociological framework and pursuing their particular studies in each community. Sub-teams were

even formed for each of the eight frames and manifestations (sometimes even several sub-teams of the same profile were set up, according to the number of participants in the investigation). Research on rural communities was, thus carried out as a co-operation between sociology and other social sciences

4.5. Chronology of field investigations

Gusti had already developed the guidelines of his theoretical system when, in 1925, he undertook his first field trip to the village of Goicea Mare, taking along a student team. The full operationalisation of his system was forged only "under the fire" of field confrontation, during the first village investigations. From 1925 on, other research campaigns with interdisciplinary teams took place annually;

- 1926 - Rusetu village (Braila county); 17 participants;
- 1927 - Nerej village (Putna county); 41 participants;
- 1928 - Fundul Moldovei village (Cimpulung county); 60 participants;
- 1929 - Dragus village (Fagaras county); 89 participants;
- 1931 - Cornova village; 55 participants;
- 1932 - Dragus village (Fagaras county) - collective investigation with several follow up visits by individuals;
- 1935 - Clopotiva village (student team)
- 1935 - Sant village (Nasaud county); 46 participants;
- 1936 - Sant village (continuation); 50 participants;
- 1938 - surveys in 60 villages with student teams;
- 1938 - Nerej village (Putna county) - collective investigation with several follow up visits by individuals;
- 1939 - Tara Oltului (Fagaras);
- 1945 - Hodac village (Mures county); 10 participants.

Concomitantly, in various parts of the country, teams of local researchers organised roughly according to Gusti's model of interdisciplinary teams, but making some changes in the research paradigm, completed in turn several wide ranging monographic studies. The Banat- Crisana Social Institute sponsored the following research:

- 1934 - Belint village (Timis-Torontal county)
- 1935 - Sirbova village (Timis-Torontal county)
- 1936 - Pojejena de Jos (Caras county)
- 1938 - Ohaba-Bistra village (Severin county)
- 1939 - the 18 villages in the Almaj Valley (Caras county)

Collective "monographic campaigns" were also being organised in villages in the counties of Cluj and Turda in 1934 and 1939.

These were the major and most representative sociological researches that were conducted in rural communities by multidisciplinary teams. At the same time, a great many other villages entered into the sphere of investigations conducted in rather isolated fashion, by people who had sociological training or by other specialists who had taken inspiration from the methods or activities of the school. These, too, resulted in many valuable studies, producing a wealth of documentary material.

To these should be added the research carried on by student teams under the guidance of specialists and technicians. In 1934-1938 student squads for "knowledge and action" were regularly sent to villages; 114 villages were covered, some of them being the objects of successive annual campaigns. Over 1600 students

and almost 1000 specialists (professionals of various qualifications) joined the teams. In addition to publications of considerable scope, these investigations resulted in scores of articles and studies contributed to various scholarly journals of the time.

Another important category of investigations of the rural community during that period was produced by amateur investigators, some of them rural intellectuals: schoolmasters, priests, medical doctors.

Throughout these successive investigations, the research techniques were naturally being improved and more clearly defined; the original schemes were revised, new monographic formulas were evolved and the typology of investigations and their results grew more diversified.

4.6. Major monographs and amateur researches works

By specifying not only the systematic level of the unit of investigation but also the comprehensiveness with which its range of problems is covered, a classification of the works can be arrived at.

Nearly all the monographs use, as their unit for investigation, single villages taken as isolates. Of the works done by "professionals" I shall first refer to the three volume monograph of the village of Nerej published under the supervision of Henri H. Stahl (1939); this is the most impressive of all the village monographs published in Rumania. Unusually vast in scope, the work aimed at covering every aspect of village life, the most original section being an analysis of patriarchal socio-economic structures of the village and of their process of disintegration. It is particularly noteworthy that from this village investigation, started in 1927, an original research trend was to emerge. Stahl's work exemplified the trend which he labelled "social history", although "historical sociology" would be no less suitable; it consists of reconstructions of the early forms of the Rumanian communal village (sat devalmas) before capitalism penetrated agricultural life and caused the desintegration of this type of traditional community.

Another monograph which follows Gusti's theoretical paradigm very closely is the study of Clopotiva (I. Conea ed., 1940) the first of its 2 volumes being devoted to the four "frames" and the second to "manifestations".

Among the most outstanding monographs I should mention the one on the village of Dragus (1929 and 1932) which follows Gusti's classical scheme. Investigations at Dragus resulted in eight books or pamphlets on various aspects of the village life and almost twenty studies published in scientific journals before and after the war.

There are other investigations which were conceived of as wholes but produced only fragmentary studies that were never integrated into a unified work. Numerous such partial publications are available for the villages of Sant, Runcu, Fundul Modovei, Lesu and others.

At the same time, village monographing was undergoing a parallel expansion through the spontaneous and enthusiastic activity of many village schoolmasters, priests, medical doctors. The authors were motivated by cultural, ethical and sometimes political concerns. People wanted to contribute knowledge of the village they lived in, often their native place, to inscribe village history that would otherwise go unrecorded and to put into writing significant events, sometimes even involving their own activities.

Many openly professed their desire to make known the economic conditions of their

fellow men in protest against the poverty and backwardness of the rural population, which they thereby hoped to improve. A goal shared by many of these non-professional investigators was the recording of folklore and of oral literature, which were on the verge of dying out.

The works were not necessarily intended for print. In fact, only a small number were published. A great number were left in manuscript form in the archives of schools or churches or were lost altogether. The present-day investigator may, however, still discover such manuscripts with the valuable data they provide for comparative purposes.

The authors utilised methods which were, as might be expected, quite elementary: direct observation of facts and interviews with knowledgeable informants, especially elderly people. We occasionally find a census of village households, which helps the author in statistical aggregations. The researchers made a remarkable contribution toward uncovering historical documents (contracts, maps, property deeds, etc.), found only through zealous work, which provided valuable evidence concerning past and present socio-economic organisation. These amateur researchers still held to the idea that they could and should become collaborators of scientists - historians, geographers, and sociologists - because they gathered by their own efforts detailed information and data accessible only to village residents. This belief promoted an unusual degree of care in their work.

Analysing the patterns along which these monographs are constructed indicates that despite the appearance of startling variety, the works manifest similarities in design and subject matter.

In the absence of a common plan, this unity apparent within the monographic diversity is explained by two facts: a) many researchers followed initial models or imitated work done according to these models; b) the social unit described was in all cases the same - the village - and evidenced roughly similar social problems. The patterns that appear resulted from the programme advanced by Gidei in 1903, from some historical monographs, or from the guidelines set forth in various forms by Gust's Sociological School, albeit simplified and adapted.

If monographs through the 1910s and 1920s draw inspiration particularly from Gidei's programme, from 1930 until after the war their exemplars were the models of Gusti, Stahl, Herseni. Most of the monographs contain information about the following things: the geographic setting and the history of the village; soils and climate; demography; occupations of the inhabitants; agricultural practices, data relating to family, housing, food, and the peasants' condition of health; village education; customs, traditions, religion, ceremonies, and folk song and literature.

Although these materials were not used to draw theoretical conclusions, the vast storehouse of data which they contain makes them of inestimable sociological value, particularly for our understanding of village life.

The thematic similarities found in these monographs sometimes provide a propitious situation for secondary analysis of the data.

The number of monographs published between 1930 and 1945²⁸⁾ is, according to a still incomplete bibliography, more than 100. They are of varying quality; however, there is a gradual but noticeable improvement in their average level as compared with the first decades of the century, especially under the influence of sociological and anthropological research patterns. One of the monographs published in 1937, by the schoolmaster P.T. Vitanesco, was even granted the Rumanian Academy award, as an encouragement to other potential authors of monographs²⁹⁾.

4.7. Shortcomings of holistic monographs

Despite the wealth of monographic investigations of rural communities and the improvement in research techniques, and despite the expansion of the monographic movement and the major progress in acquiring knowledge of village life, the drawbacks of the monographic method as conceived by Gusti became apparent before long in the very process of research.

The theoretical paradigm of research entailed an immense descriptive effort and unending collection of data. But the overload of "facts", uninformed by sociological selection of what was significant proved ultimately to be a barrier to understanding and obscured the very reality they sought to clarify. The attempt at a comprehensive monograph - one that deals exhaustively with all the aspects of society from the cosmic frame to spiritual, economic or folklore manifestations - was ultimately thwarted by the accumulation of a mountain of unmanageable facts.

Although the scheme used was a comparatively efficient (if tedious) instrument for "analysis" - i.e., for breaking down social phenomena into their constituent parts, to be treated in succession (a quality for which it was at first enthusiastically embraced by Gusti's students), the same scheme was hopeless for purposes of synthesis. Gusti's paradigm provided no solution to the problem of re-assembling into a coherent synthesis the social reality that has been dissected in the process of analysis.

For this reason the outcome was often not so much sociology, as a very detailed description of the village, of some particular aspects and phenomena (rituals, dances, customs, trades, agricultural practices, events, etc., etc.) which were in the end not integrated theoretically. Sociography engulfed sociology.

These methodological limitations and failures became obvious to even the most prominent sociologists, who had been Gusti's collaborators. H.H. Stahl, in a later essay criticising his own publication on Nerej and showing "why they do not fully satisfy us", emphasised that the monograph did not adequately do the job of "elaborating sociological syntheses", because "two separate endeavours became confused: scientific sociology and simple description of social facts"³⁰. The building of sociological assertions from vast reserves of data in conformity with the "architectonics of a structure of (sociological) thought" was pursued to an adequate extent. "Once the demonstration in the monograph on the village Nerej is begun" wrote Stahl, "it is constantly hindered by large blocks of raw material that contribute nothing to the elucidation of the problem. If you are to read the book profitably, some indication should be given to which pages to skip over so as to follow the thread of the argument and not drown in the data"³¹.

Another blatant shortcoming of this stage in monographic history is that it resorted rarely, if ever, to statistics. It was consistent with the emphasis placed upon isolated facts and the preference for individualised description rather than for recurrent patterns, that the advantages of statistical methods should be underestimated. Nor did they deliberately aim at constructing typologies and for this reason the monographs of that stage are largely ethnographic rather than sociological in character, despite their claim to be the latter.

The theoretical conception revealed its own shortcomings by its inability to distinguish between fundamental social facts and those of a derivative nature. For this reason such essential social phenomena as class differentiation and intra-village conflicts were not taken into account by the research design.

Moreover, despite the amplified scope of investigations, people became increasingly aware that Gusti's much desired outcome, the "Sociology of Nation", would never

be realised by accumulating hundreds of isolated village studies. Gusti had, for a time, cherished the idea of monographing all the villages in the country and had even calculated how many teams and years of work this would require; his students had at first embraced this illusion. But the experience of the first decade of work discouraged this grandiose goal and indicated the need for a more realistic approach. The accumulation of thousands of village monographs constructed on the same basic pattern could neither exhaust the possibilities for research nor generate of itself a macro-sociological theory of the whole nation.

Thus, by the achievements and limitations of its output, the third period of monographic research set the stage for new trends and for necessary changes in approach. The actual development of these new trends and procedures signal the transition to the next period.

5. Typological diversification of rural community research

Considering the genesis of the next stage in the latter half of the 1930s, if we take up the criteria listed earlier significant changes are evident. The unit of investigation is changed, to include not only villages but regions or representative village samples. Concerning the theoretical stance adopted, a Marxist interpretative approach appears in a number of studies undertaken by young sociologists, as the influence of Gusti's theoretical system declined. The methods of investigation that came to be utilised by some prominent figures of the School show evidence of radical revision and substantial improvements which are conducive to a more consistently theoretical approach to sociological understanding.

The major innovations consist of diversification in research paradigm and the emergence of new types of monographs with new cognitive possibilities: brief (partial) village monographs; monographs centred on a single key-problem; zonal or regional monographs; comparative research of a sample of rural communities; studies using statistics and exhibiting an interest in village typologies.

The new approaches did not automatically obviate the trends of the previous stage. These were retained in some works throughout the emergence of new tendencies, often as much through the delayed publication of earlier research as through the perpetuation of the old scheme in some later investigations. However, a new tone was already apparent: within the original School, positions began to ramify and the diversity became increasingly obvious.

5.1. A new model: The problem oriented monograph

By arranging monographs along a continuum from comprehensive to problem oriented (i.e., devoted to a single social phenomenon), as Zbigniew Wierzbicki has suggested³² we see that most of the monographs written in the first three stages cluster at the comprehensive end of this continuum (For example, the country monographs of the first stage, the village monographs of Gidei's programme, or the monographs on Nerej and Clopotiva and the ones produced by non-professional monographers in the third stage).

This unique pattern is broken for the first time by two monographs that appeared in 1938 and 1939 - Ancheta monografica in comuna Belint (The Monographic Survey of the village of Belint) and Monografia comunei Sirbova (The Monograph of the village of Sirbova). Investigations were conducted in 1934-1935 by two teams of the Banat Branch of the Institute headed by D. Gusti - The Banat-Crisana Social Institute, under the direction of C. Grofsorean, I. Nemoianu, E. Botis and others. The authors considered Gusti's general paradigm too tedious and difficult to achieve. They began with the "frames" and "manifestations" but explicitly stated that they were applying it with certain modifications.

In fact, the modification was a fundamental one: the authors did not use Gusti's scheme to provide a comprehensive picture of the village. Description of the cosmological, biological and historical "frames" or of the economic, spiritual, etc. "manifestations" was no longer the ultimate goal or principal substance of research. Instead, the "frames" and "manifestations" were given a different role in the strategy of investigation, namely to provide the general background of conditions in the local collectivity, with a view toward more adequate treatment of a single problem: the decreasing birth-rate in the villages under study.

The villages selected for study in the Banat region were representative in this aspect.

Thus, the whole research was focussed on the basic processes and causal mechanism of the declining birth-rate. The methodological consequence was that the scheme of "frames" and "manifestations" was simply put to the service of the focal problem, every "manifestation" or "frame" was described not as a research-goal per se, but only to the extent to which it could add significant data to the central question of depopulation. Thus, for instance, even the folklore of the commune (spiritual "manifestation") was put to a specific use: the researchers did not take down the entire corpus of folklore but only the erotic folklore, which was then studied and recorded, i.e. that part of the villagers' folk creation dealing specifically with sexual relations, love, marriage and procreation, thus providing pertinent information about the people's values relevant to the central subject of research. Another significant change in emphasis resulting thereof was a considerably higher proportion of studies of social medicine; the number of medical doctors in the interdisciplinary team was particularly large. Epidemics, malnutrition and infant mortality and its social roots were among the processes studied, and special tests were conducted on the whole adult population of the village to assess the spread of venereal diseases that directly affected the birth-rate. The narrow demographic perspective was largely expanded into a sociological one. Studies converged from various angles towards the sociological analysis of the family, of crucial importance to the problem at hand.

Undoubtedly these monographs also contained an overload of "factual" material without sociological significance. They still contained a welter of collateral empirical data which was only occasionally germane to the social process being analysed. But, on the whole, the new monographic formula was conducive to a comparatively higher degree of sociological integration of the data. The monographs on Belint and Sirbova were two successful case-studies in that the study of a widespread regional phenomenon was undertaken by sampling a single locale and performing a detailed dissection - economic, cultural, sanitary, social, etc. - of the process.

It may be said that those monographs validated the scientific value of the type of monograph that concentrated on a crucial problem of the rural community, treated in the context of other social phenomena of that community.

Almost the same monographic pattern was used by the teams of the Banat - Crisana Social Institute in their subsequent investigations in the commune of Pojejena de Jos, which were mainly centred on the effects of industrialisation and peasants' urbanisation³³⁾, as well as in the commune of Ohaba Bistra. This research resulted in several studies that were, however, not gathered into one single work.

A remarkable example of the same kind of research is the sociological monograph devoted to the commune of Berivoiesti, following many years of investigation by V. Caramalea (1946).

The precedent set by this monographic formula of problem oriented research is one

of the most durable models which emerged from the methodological experience of that stage.

5.2. The micromonograph or "summary monograph"

Still in that period - the latter half of the 1930s - one of the younger members of the Sociological School, Anton Golopentia was arguing in favour of a new formula called the "village summary monograph".

The summary monograph was an even more compressed form of the problem-oriented monograph. It required faster and more accurate techniques, including statistics, while aiming in general at fewer dimensions than the holistic monograph. Its object was the study of a significant process in the subject village³⁴). It did away with the comprehensive characterisation of the village context as a whole. Thus it could be carried out more rapidly and used as an efficient source of information to administrative bodies.

Nevertheless, beyond the "technical" aspect of operationalising research methods - highly important in itself - there is, to my mind, a deeper theoretical implication. By the "summary monograph" Anton Golopentia reduced to a parenthesis the whole of Gusti's theoretical paradigm of "frames" and "manifestations" and slowly yet firmly detached the research from it. What he performed was a step forward not by improvements in Gusti's scheme, but by its practical abandonment, however unspectacularly. In the atmosphere of the time, direct opposition to the head of the sociological school and open challenge to his system was difficult, if not impossible. On the contrary, in various writings A. Golopentia continued to express his adherence to the master's system and presented his innovations as if they were initiated by Gusti. In fact, however, by his own formula and the many micro-monographs he supervised, he had actually discarded his professor's rigid theoretical scheme.

Thus, the way was clear for further problem-oriented research of rural communities.

5.3. Comparative community research

The innovation of the "summary monograph" was related to another which complemented it substantially and enhanced the significance stresses above: this second innovation consisted of an attempt to promote comparative study of village communities by the concomitant summary monographing of villages selected from various parts of the country.

To this purpose, in 1938 Anton Golopentia and his collaborator Dr. D. C. Georgescu, using student research teams, launched a vast sociological survey in 60 villages that was to result in one of the most outstanding works of the time. The initiators of the enquiry also expanded the range of traditional methods used by the School, promoting statistical investigation and analysis. The whole research and processing effort, wrote Golopentia "is intended to be a comparative picture of villages from various parts of the country. This represents a step beyond the descriptive monograph on the social unit, achieved through that method's natural complement: comparative research, necessarily in large part statistical ..."³⁵

The comparison of summary monographed villages, in its turn, aimed on the one hand at syntheses concerning a single social process and, on the other, at village typologies - a new project in the development of Rumanian rural research. The goal of comparing and typologising the villages monographed in various regions had never before been realised.

It is worth noting that there is some evidence that Gusti at first opposed these innovations, accepting them only with difficulty. "Before this survey was undertaken D. Gusti, as well as some of his students, quite violently opposed the new initiative in some stormy meetings at the Rumanian Social Institute; the very term "survey", though "sociological", seemed to him offensive to the idea of "monographs" and to the scientific prestige of the School. But Golopentia did not give in; eventually he tried to persuade his opponents that he was merely following an earlier initiative of the professor himself ... Finally, Gusti consented to this "summary" survey..."³⁶

The outcome of the sociological research confirmed the superiority of that innovative approach. In the final research report, the summary monographs (16 in all), each focussing on one important process or structure, played a pivotal role; they supported and gave substance to the skeleton of the overall statistical analysis published in the first two volumes.

However, certain methodological exigencies failed to be met by the final version of the work. The sixty teams including 850 student investigators were not equally skilled in field work and not all the materials were submitted or were acceptable for processing since some had not been collected very rigorously. Another methodological shortcoming is that correlation of the findings from various domains of rural life was not adequately pursued. Insufficient attention was paid to correlations among various kinds of activities, as well as to comparisons of the differences observed among villages which evidenced common patterns of activity. Golopentia himself pointed out the drawbacks inherent in one of the methods of recording and interpreting data, namely, the fact that each chapter was written by a different author³⁷. This system has unfortunately continued into the present day with much the same detrimental effect.

5.4. Development of the Marxist approach in monographic research

Methodological diversification in monographic research was in later years augmented by the development of Marxist trends. The near absolute domination of Gusti's theoretical system for field investigations was being challenged. However, it is interesting to note that it was not the methodological innovators who contributed a new sociological theory. Within the monographic movement there appeared a Marxist sociological trend whose representatives were several young thinkers - members of the Communist Party (then in the underground). The stance these young sociologists took towards research manifested itself in the process of fieldwork and in the interpretation of data.

The Marxist trend in Rumanian social sciences was several decades old and had yielded remarkable works of sociological theory, at the level of macrosocial analysis. After the works of Dobrogeanu Gherea, Marxist contribution include works by Lucretiu Patrascanu, Serban Voinea, Lothar Radaceanu and others. But what was new in the stage under discussion was that for the first time sociologists were contributing to fieldwork in rural sociology. A promising contribution in this area was made by Miron Constantinescu, in addition to other young Marxists such as Mircea Tiriung, Roman Moldovan and Alexandru T. Stoianovici. In preparing summary monographs these young sociologists aimed primarily at revealing the socio-economic contradictions and conflicts in the village. It is illustrative that the studies fashioned by this sociological conception exemplified by their very orientation to basic processes of social structure the difference in their approach to sociography. This is the case in the studies on social stratification and differentiation in the villages of Bogati (the largest in Dimbovita district) and Sepreus³⁸ or the study on economic activities and relations in Suseni³⁹.

In fact, the political stand taken by Gusti, as well as his very theoretical

framework, did not allow for an accurate interpretation of monographic data much less for recommendations for practical social action to be taken on the basis of research findings. An illustration is that despite ample evidence on the severe economic exploitation of the peasant masses, on the catastrophic disintegration of small landholding and its low productivity, and on impoverishment and starvation, the only suggestion advanced by Gusti was some enlightened but feeble cultural therapy, not a radical transformation of the structure. Gusti failed to see or "understand" the results of his own research, in sociological terms: i.e. that the economic condition of the village could not be changed through "cultural action". Although he proclaimed a slogan of militancy, Gusti - bred in the political circles of the country's monarchy - ascribed to a reformism that was only moderate. We can identify here one cause of his inability to give a convincing theoretical interpretation of the social problems which the comprehensive monographing of villages evinced. Hence the depressing contrast between the vast amount of rural sociological research in Rumania in the 1930s - perhaps the most far-reaching in Europe - and the paucity of practical conclusions that the Sociological School distilled from this research.

In contrast, the Marxist conception in sociological fieldwork directed itself toward the most sensitive aspects of rural life: the relationships among the classes and social strata in the village and their impoverishment and exploitation. These conditions indicated unambiguously the need for radical changes, although in the climate of the day it was risky to expose such views. It thus became apparent, (at the time, however, only to a limited extent) that the cognitive strategy of monographic research and the technical tools of investigation took a different turn when they were applied under the influence of Marxist theory.

5.5. Transition to the zonal sociological monograph

Another methodological experiment of consequence undertaken in 1939, almost immediately after the "summary monographing" formula, was the zonal or regional monograph. It added a new element to the typology of sociological monographs.

The basic difference between the new monographic model and the previous one was the change in the unit selected for investigation: instead of an isolated village, the monograph covered a whole zone, delimited according to certain criteria.

The methodological lesson of the earlier monographic "campaigns" also resulted in another painful lesson: the earlier monographs portrayed rural communities in an atomistic, isolated mode which was utterly out of keeping with the actual state of affairs. Villages are not isolated but are organically integrated into a social environment. The investigator of villages as social isolates remains, after much hard work, uncertain and unable to say which of his findings is peculiar to the individual village he has studied and which are more generic findings, true for other villages, within a wider area.

This weakness may of course be regarded as a limitation of the monographic method in general. But the question still remains: is there no methodologically correct answer through which the monograph as a method can overcome this limitation?

Criticism of the study of isolated units was heard not only inside Gusti's group but outside it as well. It was with undisguised scepticism that the geographer George Valsan questioned the traditional mode in relation to the connection between geography and sociology⁴⁰.

In the construction of zonal monographs, several major trends are apparent, characterised according to their criteria for delimiting the region and according to the range of problems approached.

One of the solutions for delimiting the study area was to adopt administrative boundaries, as was done in the monograph on the county of Dimbovnic (plasa Dimbovnic) conducted under the supervision of Mihai Pop and Anton Golopentia (1942). Another solution favored more substantive criteria of definition: selection of a unitary and comparatively homogenous area in keeping with natural (anthropogeographical), social and cultural (ethnographic) criteria. This solution was used in studying the 16-village regions of the Almaj Valley (Valea Almajului) researched by a team of the Banat - Crisana Social Institute and in the regional investigation of the Land of the Olt (Tara Oltului) - a clear-cut geographical historical and ethnographic zone consisting of 69 villages. The research was started in the summer of 1939 under the supervision of Traian Herseni by a mixed team of almost 100 researchers including sociologists and other scientists.

The research on the county of Dimbovnic successfully used the formula of the micromonograph, supplying concise and incisive analyses of some major processes in one village. As an example, I note the complementary nature of analyses of some social mobility processes in the area, such as Miron Constantinescu's study of the process of "impoverishment" among the peasants in one commune, in reply to Nicolae Dunare's study on the process of "enrichment" within the same collectivity.

Starting from almost the opposite research scheme, the zonal monograph of Tara Oltului proposed to proceed from the thorough knowledge provided by previous intensive research in one village in that area (Dragus) which was considered the pilot village. Using this body of information, the goal was to examine the spread of phenomena identified in the village throughout the zone, and to sort out those common features which were general. Investigators started from the idea that the "zone" was not merely a collection of villages scattered over a geographical area, but a unit of social life, of production and exchange, organised around one or several centre(s) with specific cultural, ethnographic and folklore products, and with its own power to influence the villages and human collectivities⁴¹⁾.

Unfortunately, this promising plan was never realised, since the World War interrupted it. We are equally unable to appreciate the value of the experiment with the zonal monographic model used in Valea Almajului; about 10 or twelve fragmentary studies⁴²⁾ resulted, from this, and they were not gathered into a single volume or synthesised in any way.

Another type of zonal monograph of the same period is centred on one problem though at the level of an entire zone. An example is Lucia Apolzan's study of the household industry of the peasants of the Apuseni Mountains⁴³⁾. However, the subject led to a monograph more ethnographic than sociological in character, thereby rendering more obvious the implicit ethnographic character of many works of Gusti's School. The methodological debate on the efforts of this stage emphasized the advantage of the method of building regional monographs through a "dialogue" of a sort between the "pilot village" and the "zone". Either one should begin with the thorough study of a village community that could "speak for" the zone in question (as was the case with Dragus for Tara Oltului, or of the village of Runcu for the Northern Gorj area), or one should follow the reverse strategy of starting from the extensive exploration of the zone and moving toward a detailed study of a particular village, determined as representative.

Although the pilot village technique is more economical, it should be viewed with some methodological reservation which consists in emphasizing the dynamic unity of all the defining components of the zone, understood as a territorial economic and social-cultural entity wider than the local community, but more restricted than the whole society. This definition implies the methodological obligation of accentuating the factors that make the coherence, interdependence, and intercommunication and for differentiation internal to the zone, as well as on the connections and discontinuities between the zone and the total society.

5.6. The problem-centred monograph

This is the monograph devoted to a given problem, devised in accordance with the logical requirements of that problem and independent of the territorial localisation or dispersion of the sources of empirical data. Such an example is Xenia Costu-Foru's monograph on the rural family, completed in 1935 but published in 1945, using the data and experiences of numerous monographic investigations in different villages. Of similar type is the outline of a sociology of pastoralism by T.Herseni (1941)⁴⁴⁾.

The significance of this kind of work lies in its suggesting a possible elaboration of sociological syntheses from the School's previous monographic research.

In embryonic form, i.e. as a number of studies synthetic in nature but not expanded at great length, other works appeared during these years that strived toward more general understanding and that could provide the point of departure for true sociological synthesis. Examples of this include D.C. Georgescu's study of alimentation among the rural populace⁴⁵⁾ or Anton Golopentia's work on the cultural and economic conditions of the rural population⁴⁶⁾.

It was, however, only in the post-war period that the most comprehensive and valuable synthesis of historical sociology would emerge from the monographic research of rural communities.

5.7. Prerequisites for a new stage

The wide and varied range of monographic models thus attests to both the quantitative expansion and the qualitative improvement of research methods during this stage of community studies. At the same time it should be remembered - if only to emphasize the complex contradictions of the sociological trade - that along with the new formulae the outdated formula of the exhaustive monograph was still being used. In fact it is significant that after new methodologies have been successfully tried, there continues to appear under Gusti's authority a vast work intended as a "guide to sociological monographs" (1940) constructed according to the model of "frames" and "manifestations".

The monographic sociological school as a whole had attained a diversity that hardly permitted a uniform label. As a matter of fact, in the years preceding the war, some representatives of the School had not only arrived at scientifically different points of view, but had also taken opposite political stands, some even siding with the fascist extreme right. These circumstances contributed to the School's final crisis against the background of the establishment of Antonescu's fascist dictatorship and the beginning of the World War⁴⁷⁾.

The amplitude of both the research and its results put Rumanian monographic research on the international map. Its experiences were followed, commented upon, analysed, and often recommended or adopted in France, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Poland, Belgium, Hungary and other countries including the U.S.A., where rural sociology was then undergoing considerable expansion. There were even prospects of penetrating still further into the international circuits of intellectual exchange on the occasion of the International Congress of Sociology that was to take place in Bucharest in 1939. The theme set for the Congress was "Town and Village", but the outbreak of the World War prevented the Congress from being convened.

6. Rural community research in the era of the cooperative farm

The post-war period is for Rumanian society and sociology a period of

thorough-going social revolution, the period of a new political, economic, and cultural social order. Between August 1944 and the close of the year 1947 occurred the first stage of these political changes and in 1948 the socialist revolutionary process was started. The impact of these structural changes on the social sciences was fundamental.

6.1. The end of Gusti's Sociological School

During the early post-war years the outcome of monographic investigations on villages conducted in previous years continued to be published - about 20-22 studies on villages or rural areas in 1945 (the majority of which were written by professionals and 4 or 5 by non-professionals), about 10 studies in 1946, and somewhat fewer in 1947. Very few new investigations were undertaken in those early years of economic rehabilitation (examples are the village of Runcu studied under the supervision of Henri H. Stahl and the village of Hodac under the supervision of A. Golopentia).

A sharp clash of theories and ideas in social science was also characteristic of these years. Both in sociology and in economic and political sciences, history, philosophy, etc., the representatives of Marxist theory made a critical attack against non-Marxist social conceptions, particularly those of the extreme right. The leaders of the Bucharest Sociological School showed an interest in bringing themselves closer to the new regime. Gusti attempted a reorganisation of the Social Science Institute of which he was director, and sought to use his position as President of the Rumanian Academy in order to gain support from the Government, the Departmental Commission for Economic Rehabilitation and Monetary Stabilization. Some financial support was granted to him, accompanied by recommendations in the form of an official letter to Gusti, stating that "Rumanian sociology, formerly onesidedly a rural sociology, must become primarily a sociology of the industrial centres and of the working class"⁴⁸.

Nevertheless works along these new research lines were not produced. The previous line of investigations could not be changed in so short a span of time and within the old institutional framework. Gusti had been a close collaborator of the last two kings, Carol II and Mihai, and the removal of the royal dynasty in 1947 and proclamation of the Republic also meant practically speaking the political ending of Gusti's School as an institution.

However, the conclusion of the activity of the Sociological School as an institutionalised group was not tantamount to the complete cessation of the monographic research of rural communities. Its scientific contribution lasted both as a treasure of information on the traditional Rumanian village and as a varied methodological experience. But carrying on the research activity under the new circumstances called for theoretical and methodological changes as well as for changes in the organisational pattern of the investigations.

6.2. The new theoretical and social framework of the monographic approach

If today, from the vantage point of the 1970s, one looks back in retrospect at the time which has elapsed since 1948 in order to sum up what has been accomplished in the domain of rural community studies - as a branch of the more broadly evolving discipline of Rumanian sociology - a number of new characteristics appear.

During this period the Marxist sociological outlook has come to be predominant as the theoretical basis for research. In this theoretical perspective, the village is no longer conceived as an isolated, relatively closed "rural society", unconnected to society as a whole, but on the contrary as a component of the latter, subject to its influence.

Gone from the sociological analyses on "rural communities" were the theoretical paradigm of "frames" and "manifestations". According to Marxist sociological theory, community research is aimed primarily at obtaining knowledge of economic structures and the specific way they act as determinants on the remaining socio-cultural components and are in turn themselves acted upon. To these changes in the theoretical framework are related certain essential methodological changes.

Another characteristic feature of this 25-year period is the change in the proportion of studies on rural communities. In postwar Rumanian sociology as compared to the inter-war period, the proportion of these studies diminished. This is accounted for, on the one hand, by the considerable increase in the importance of field investigations in other branches - the sociology of industrial work, urban sociology, etc. - reflecting major processes that came to the fore during that historical interval. On the other hand, a diversification of the methods used in village investigation resulted in different kinds of studies, the monograph ceasing to be the unique or prevalent mode⁴⁹.

It is therefore obvious that the social subject range of rural communities was radically altered after the collectivisation of agrarian relations, providing the rural sociologist with an altogether different range of subjects.

In the sociological research of local communities during the unstable revolutionary period there were, however, marked discrepancies and discontinuities. From 1948 until 1966, sociology was not taught in universities as an autonomous subject. Recognition of sociology as a legitimate discipline was denied in the dogmatic climate characteristic of this period of the "personality cult". This resulted in a drastic reduction of sociological fieldwork. At times it was carried out under the egis of other sciences or under practical action programmes in economic sciences, ethnography and anthropology, territorial planning activities, etc. That is why the bibliography of the period from 1948 to 1966 contains very few significant research on rural communities. Towards the mid-1960s, the results of some sociological investigations began to be published, but their number was quite small. It goes without saying that progress in the methods of rural research was thus virtually halted precisely at a time when accurate sociological knowledge of the transformations in rural life was needed more than ever.

In fact, rural research was resumed and again interdicted: between 1954-1956 investigations were initiated by the Central Board of Statistics in some 20 villages, while in 1956-1958 they were carried out by the Economic Research Institute of the Academy⁵⁰. Particularly in the latter case they were extended to rural-industrial areas⁵¹, but the same political prohibition killed their publication, so that potentially valuable data were left in manuscript.

Of equal interest is the sad experience of the years 1958-1966. During this time, a number of anthropological monographs on rural collectivities appeared with emphasis only on physical anthropology; although included in the scheme of investigation and in the presentation of findings there were also special chapters based on sociological analysis (S. Milcu, H. Dumitrescu eds, 1958, 1966; Cercetari Anthropologice in Tinutul Padurenilor, Satu Batrina. Monografic, 1961)⁵². In other, less extensive village studies, from this period, the sociological approach is subordinated to a prevailing ethnographic interest with emphasis on cultural life (B. Zderciuc, 1963)⁵³, or an interest in economic geography.

Nevertheless it was during those years that there began to appear a veritable avalanche of village journalistic monographs depicting the changing socio-economic content of the Rumanian village: studies on the new agricultural units (cooperatives, State agricultural farms) established in the village during this period.

In the late 1960s renewed interest in sociological research on village communities produced several monographs illustrative of the new stage of research.

6.3. The principal village monograph

Two characteristics of these new village monographs are the new theoretical framework for research and the use of modern investigative techniques never utilised in the earlier monographs. Moreover, even the subjects investigated differ considerably from the "classical" ones typical of the monographs of the two previous stages. This subject range illustrates the new focus on social change and on the novelties of the existence of rural communities in the context of a socialist society.

A review of three major monographs representative of the new stage may reveal the most significant methodological advances.

The first monograph - Doua sate. Structuri sociale si progres tehnic (Two villages. Social structures and technological progress) by M. Cernea, Gh. Chepes and others was published in 1970 and is devoted to research (in 1967/68) on two communities 15 and 17 years, respectively, after the founding of socialist agricultural cooperatives in these villages.

Characteristic of the monograph is a twofold comparative approach, synchronic and diachronic: comparison between the two villages and, in one of the two villages - Belint - comparison between the present and a past state some 35 years earlier. Particularly fruitful was the three-decade comparison produced by referring to the results of investigations from 1934. This experience illustrated the potential of the monographic technique for elucidating social change on a community level.

This research effort differed from previous work in that it aimed at explication rather than simple description and explicitly put forward hypotheses on the correlation between internal social processes in the community that it intended to test by investigation. The hypotheses concerned the relations of system characteristics of the community to technological progress and of information dissemination to acceptance of innovations.

The earlier valuable experience of multi-member interdisciplinary research, was augmented by the addition of a number of innovations, such as the use of a survey questionnaire on a statistically selected representative sample, statistical processing of data, rationality test investigation of motivation, and analyses of organisational efficiency. The research aims not only at recording and measuring "change", but also at revealing its precise mechanisms, its motive forces and dysfunctions. It is interesting to point out that in synthesising and preparing for publication the outcome of this research, one of the major methodological shortcomings of the pre-war monographs (e.g., the monograph of Nerej) was for the first time overcome through the delimitation of the sociological synthesis of research, published in the first section of Doua Sate, from the empirical "dossier" of the monograph, published separately in the second section of the book.

Another sociological monograph significant for the present discussion is the one on the village of Buciumi by O. Badina, D. Dumitriu, O. Neamtu et al. (1970). Carried out by an interdisciplinary team, this work is closer to the integrated, exhaustive monograph, covering a wide range of aspects including demographic population movements, health conditions, personality types, local institutions, school, family, cultural organisations (clubs), etc.

Another characteristic of the monographs of this period is visible in the case of

the village of Boldesti (T.Herseni ed., 1970), a situation typical of many social communities in recent decades in Rumania: the overwhelming impact of the country's industrialisation, which rapidly transforms especially those villages in the vicinity of new industrial centres. It thus provided the researchers with an opportunity for direct study of the complex effects - economic, political, technological, family and cultural-psychological - which industrial and political revolution had upon the village. The monograph contributes no innovation to the traditional research techniques. Nonetheless, the case material it provides for studies of industrialisation and urbanisation is highly significant for the transformation that many rural communities are currently undergoing.

In contrast to the above-mentioned villages where a socialist economic basis has been established, it is of interest to point out the study of a rural community in a mountainous area where the village economy has been left uncooperativised and is based on private family farming. The study, conducted in 1972 by Miron Constantinescu in the commune of Cornarava has revealed among other things the contradictions between the private economic base and the socialist institutional system of the village⁵⁴⁾.

On the whole, the experience of these various researches as viewed from a Marxist sociological standpoint has recognised the validity of the monographic technique as a means for investigating rural communities. The monographic approach has proved ⁵⁵⁾capable of incorporating a variety of up-to-date investigative techniques.

6.4. Zonal research: the ethnographic approach and the sociological approach

Considerably sharper than in the previous stages are the methodological and substantive differences between the sociological and ethnographic approach to research of socio-cultural zones. The present state, especially in the past 10-12 years, gives evidence of their divergent evolution, which may be taken as a symptom of the growing specialisation of sociology.

Substantively, there are three major groups of problems in zonal sociological research: a) agricultural "cooperativisation"; b) urbanisation of rural areas; c) backwardness or underdevelopment of rural areas.

In the first group the most interesting monograph concerns the first collectivised region in the country - Dobruja (Constanta Region). In that region the process of "cooperativisation" had been completed some four years prior to its completion on a national scale in 1962, thereby calling the attention of researchers to the processes that had taken place there. A vast monograph (S. Hartia, M. Dulea, 1960) describes the process. Although the work is intended as an economic study, it has some sociological relevance.

In the following years zonal sociological investigations concentrated less on the genesis of co-operative formations than on their actual operation, after the completion of the socialist revolution in agriculture (S. Davicu, 1972)⁵⁶⁾. On-going investigations are quite numerous.

The second class of problem, on urbanisation, gave rise to a series of sociological and interdisciplinary investigation, on various zones in different stages of urbanisation (T. Bogdan, M. Cernea ... eds, 1970, M. Constantinescu, H.H. Stahl, eds, 1970). Although the research is not specifically devoted to village communities, the zones investigated contain at the centre an urban settlement toward which gravitate a group of rural or suburban settlements in the process of being urbanised. The most representative monograph in this series, on the Slatina-Olt zone, includes research on the rural "hinterland" of the major urban centre⁵⁷⁾.

The third group of rural sociological investigations pursued the study of underdevelopment in one of the rural zones that had been the object of earlier sociological investigation - the Vrancea mountain zone.⁵⁸⁾ Recent investigations set out not only to explain the backwardness of this area in the context of the high rate of industrial agricultural development of neighbouring areas, but also to derive some practical conclusions with a view to facilitating development in the area. Emphasis upon the sociological conceptual framework of the zonal studies contributes to distinguish them more precisely through their methodology and their object of study (major processes for the area under investigation) from the ethnographic studies of that stage - equally concerned with rural communities but using a different approach⁵⁹⁾.

Among the ethnological monographs, particularly relevant are those on Valea Jiului (Jiu Valley) and on Tara Birsei (Birsă Land) by N. Dunare published in 1972. Delimitation of the zones involved specific ethnological criteria (different from territorial administrative organisation), the object of field investigation being socio-ethnographic units, long established historically within a favorable geographical setting. The ethnological monograph on the area of Valea Jiului refers to folk art, analysing the social structural interdependence of cultural phenomena in a community. The monograph on Tara Birsei "takes into account the complex character of social reality and the interdependence of the cultural phenomena that develop within it, monographic ethnological research enabling many-sided confrontation with the results of related sciences, and with similar realities in other ethnographic zones in the territory of Rumania...", (Introduction, p. 12).

6.5. The village in a new perspective: the monograph of the agricultural cooperative

When it seemed that practically all possible forms and types of monographs on village communities had been essayed, transformations inside the village have apparently led, as if spontaneously, to a new monographic form for recording village life: in answer to a number of needs, studies began to appear which viewed the village from the angle of the agricultural cooperative. In these works, monographing the agricultural production cooperative of the village was substituted for holistic research of the community. there is a transfer of interest from "village" to "agricultural cooperative". Thus, the cooperative organisation of the community becomes the object of investigation.

The "village" and "the cooperative farm" are different social entities (and concepts), but in the conditions of an almost fully cooperativised agriculture, as in Rumania, they are interchanged. The recent history of the "cooperativisation" of Rumanian villages indicated that village and cooperative are not necessarily coterminous - whether it be the case that only part of the community had joined the agricultural cooperative, or that in the same village two or three cooperatives co-existed. Later, by successive amalgamations, the cooperatives grew larger to include the whole village or even several villages of the same commune. In every-day language, the concept of "village" was gradually being replaced by a concept evolving from the new attribute of the rural community, i.e. the "cooperative village". Nevertheless from a strictly sociological viewpoint, the "village" is a human community whereas the "cooperative" is a kind of organisation of economic enterprise.

The bibliography of this period includes scores of studies, booklets, etc. on various producer cooperatives⁶⁰⁾. An analysis of these works points to striking similarities in their organisation: a brief history of the village, the history of the gradual and contradictory process of integration of the village population

into the agricultural cooperative, the organisation of work in the Agricultural Producer Cooperative, the introduction of up-to-date technology, the economic achievements of the cooperative and the effects of "cooperativisation" on the peasants' material and cultural standard of living. There are of course many variations in this pattern, but already this illustrates the social processes dealt with. Similar works were devoted to other economic agricultural units - State agricultural farms, machine - and tractor stations, etc.

As far as their scientific standards are concerned, the value of these works varies considerably. Their goals were also diverse. Some set out to provide a scientific analysis by qualified researchers (mainly economists). Others were intended only for propaganda purposes, attempting to highlight the achievements of some existing agricultural cooperatives so as to persuade the then non-cooperativised peasants to join. There are some very similar to well-informed sociographic feature reports. Highly significant is the rising number of these works - more than 40 - by 1961, precisely the year when the process of agricultural "cooperativisation" was intensified. They provide, for the most part, impressionistic data concerning a critical period in the evolution of rural communities, on economic structural transformation, political actions and psychological shifts - all indispensable to sociological understanding of both the process of social change and the present socio-institutional structures of the "cooperativised" village.

In my opinion, this type of monograph has up to now far from revealed its potential as a tool for sociological knowledge. Most works to date have failed to observe a rigorous methodology, usually confining themselves to noting the most striking data that characterise the processes in question. They lack a new system of sociological indicators suitable to the structure of the Agricultural Producer Cooperatives and "Cooperativised" village. Working out a system of sociological indicators remains a task for the present and near future. The application of sophisticated sociological techniques in researching the Agricultural Producer Cooperative and the use of a well-constructed sociological approach, with particular emphasis on economic sociology, should be conducive to a full understanding of the village within its new social organisational framework. By its pressure for incorporating the whole village, the agricultural cooperative now imposes organisational patterns upon the entire community, upon social interaction at the village level, and upon human relations, from which comes the impetus to investigate and unravel the present characteristics of the community.

6.6. Alternatives to the monograph

Essential for understanding the evolution of research on rural communities is the mention of one additional element, the present change of the "ratio of forces" between the monograph and other sociological modalities. If in previous stages the monographic formula was almost the sole sociological modality used in village studies, it no longer has this monopoly. Rural sociology has diversified considerably, ceasing to be synonymous with monographic sociology; alternative research designs constantly increase in number.

It would nevertheless be short sighted not to note that these new approaches and sociological knowledge of rural society on the whole grew from and were nourished by the fertile soil of the tradition of monographic research in Rumanian sociology. A major sociological and historical synthesis - the three-volume work of Henri H. Stahl on the Rumanian common ownership villages (1965 and 1969, translated into French) - the most impressive of all that rural sociology in Rumania has produced, was developed from village monographic research. The work was conceived as a reconstitution of the historical dimension of the processes which the researcher had uncovered and as a theoretical synthesis on the origin and development of the social structure in this traditional form of village life.

Other sociological studies currently being pursued are concerned with such processes as social stratification of the village, urbanisation of rural patterns, mass culture in the village, penetration of mass-media, rural-urban migration, rural youth, changes in the peasant family structure, peasants' involvement in the administration of agricultural cooperatives, power and authority in the community, operation of the agricultural cooperative as an organisation, the time budget of peasants, and so on. The programmes of investigation aim at selecting representative samples simultaneously from several collectivities, at undertaking large-scale surveys, at ample statistical processing, etc.

Research thus continues to cut new paths into areas previously unknown as well as to expand steadily the scope of sociological knowledge of village communities.

II. ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF VILLAGE STUDIES1. Rural community and regional monograph

- 1866 IONESCU DE LA BRAD, Ion, Agricultura romana din judetul Dorohoi (Rumanian agriculture in the county of Dorohoi), Bucharest, Imprimeria statului, 539 p.
- 1868 IONESCU DE LA BRAD, Ion, Agricultura romana din judetul Mehedinti (Rumanian agriculture in the county of Mehedinti) Bucharest, Imprimeria statului, 722 p.
- 1869 IONESCU DE LA BRAD, Ion, Agricultura romana din judetul Putna (Rumanian agriculture in the county of Putna), Bucharest, Imprimeria statului.

Methodologically these monographs are constructed along four lines: 1) statistical study; 2) agricultural study; 3) industrial study; 4) commercial study.

The first section is noteworthy for its categorical affirmation of the significance of statistics in studying social facts; it includes the analysis and characterisation of the territory of the district, the population, the landed capital and income, and the communal and state income. Particularly in the second monograph (Mehedinti), this section is considerably expanded and re-arranged to include legal statistics (the study of trials and criminality), statistics on the clergy and public instruction, military statistics, and a thoroughgoing analysis of property relations.

The second section, on agriculture, comprises the central body of the works and includes a comprehensive picture of all the agricultural land in the district, showing "which are the cultivators, landowners or leaseholders, freeholders or peasants, who by their work ensure agricultural progress".

The last two sections are devoted to handicrafts and early industrial activity in these rural areas, and to commercial exchanges as well.

- 1889 RADIANU, S.P., Judetul Bacau, studiu agricol si economic (Bacau county, agricultural and economic study), Bucharest, Tipografia "Romanul", 657 p.

The method used was mainly direct observation, augmented by "borrowing observations of others". Again the monograph was predominantly economic in character, with a major concern for social issues and social relations. S.P. Radianu records the ruthless exploitation of the peasants through the "agricultural contracts" system and the extensive parcelling out and fragmentation of small peasant property.

- 1905 ANTONOVICI, Ioan, Istoria comunei Bogdana din plasa Simila, judetul Tutova (History of the village of Bogdana Simila District, Tutova county). Bucharest.

The study, which is predominantly historical in character, is accompanied by a remarkable collection of documents discovered by the author. The author, a theologian, historian and geographer by training, was a member of a society established by Le Play.

- 1905 GIDEI, A.V., Programul monografiei unei comune rurale si monografia comunei rurale Bragadiru-Bulgar. (Programme of a village monograph and monograph of the rural community Bragadiru-Bulgar), Bucharest, Institutul de arte grafice si editura "Minerva", 216 p.

This is the first systematic programme, conceived and published in order to serve as a model for the elaboration of village monographs. A first version of the programme was published in 1903, and in 1905 this version (24 pages) was supplemented by a detailed monograph, carried out in conformity with the programme, which offers a concrete model of processing.

The chapters of the research programme are: 1) History of the community; 2) Physical description; 3) Size of territory; 4) Population; 5) Fluctuation of the population (both natural fluctuation as well as immigration and emigration); 6) The economic situation (ownership relations, economic relations between the social categories, types of cultivation, habitations, household budgets, etc.); 7) Administration and justice; 8) Moral, cultural and social situation (school, religion, hygiene, public assistance, politics, national awareness).

The monograph provides a thorough description of the agricultural occupations and of the dwellings and budgets of some peasant families chosen from upper, middle and lower social strata. Apart from pertinent observations on the administrative and legal system in the village, on the school, customs and people's values, the work is notably lacking in the folklore descriptions that are so prevalent in sociological monographs written a couple of decades later during the inter-war period.

- 1915 PACALA, Victor, Monografia comunei Rasinari (Monograph of the village of Rasinari), Sibiu, 526 p.

This monograph has an ethnological character and presents a lot of economic data (forestry industry, trade, means of communication, financial situation, housing, family and local institutions).

1936-1945 The monograph of the village of Dragus. Fagaras. See:

- 1936 NEGREA, Adrian Gh., "Procesul de emigrare a dragusenilor in America" (Emigration of Dragus inhabitants to America) in Arhiva pentru stiinta si Reforma Sociala, 10, 1-4, pp. 94-130.

- 1936 STAHL, H. Henri, "Vecinatatile din Dragus" (The Neighbourhoods of Dragus) in Sociologia Romaneasca, I, 1, pp.18-31.

- 1941 BARBAT, Alexandru, Studiul economic al satului Dragus-Fagaras (Economic study of the village of Dragus-Fagaras), Bucharest, Institutul de Stiinte Sociale al Romaniei, 193 p.

- 1941 CRISTESCU-GOLOPENTIA, Stefania, Gospodaria in credintele si ruturile magice ale taranilor din Dragus (The household in magic beliefs and rituals of peasants in Dragus), Bucharest, Institutul de Stiinte Sociale al Romaniei, 116 p.

- 1944 HERSENI, Traian, Unitati sociale (Social Units), Bucharest, Institutul de Stiinte Sociale al Romaniei, 119 p.

- 1944 IONICA, Ion, Reprezentarea cerului (The representation of the sky) Bucharest, Institutul de Stiinte Sociale al Romaniei, 83 p.
- 1945 DIMA, Al., Impodobirea portilor si interioarelor caselor. Opinii despre frumos (Decoration of porches and house interiors. Opinions on beauty), Bucharest, Institutul de Stiinte Sociale al Romaniei, 43 p.
- 1945 MATES, Stefan, Trecutul Tarii Oltului (The past of Olt county), Bucharest, Institutul de Stiinte Sociale al Romaniei, 190 p.
- 1945 RAINER, Fr., Tipul antropologic (The anthropological type), Bucharest, Institutul de Stiinte Sociale al Romaniei, 33 p.
- 1972 STAHL, H. Henri, "Satul Dragus, dupa 40 de ani" (Dragus village after 40 years), in Viitorul Social, 1, 2, pp. 517-528.

The monograph of the village of Dragus (district of Brasov), constitutes one of the most important researches organised by the Bucharest Sociological School following the initial paradigm of Professor D. Gusti.

The results of the field investigations carried out in 1929 and 1932 were not published in a consolidated work but many studies presented in reviews of the Rumanian Institute of Social Sciences or separately in brochures make it possible to obtain a quite complete picture of the situation of the village in the inter-war period. The village of Dragus was restudied briefly in 1971 by Professor Henri H. Stahl. The studies carried out over an interval of 40 years make it possible, to a certain extent, to identify the transformations that occurred in the social and economic life of the village and the causes of these changes. The studies of 1929, 1932 and 1971 took into consideration: - the historical development of the village: the specific characteristics of organisation of this village dependent on the Austrian empire as border village having military tasks, inter-influences between the Rumanian, German and Hungarian ethnic groups, the transformation of the village under the influence of capitalist and socialist production relations.

- The demographical evolution: the relative overpopulation of the village, emigration to North America in the period before the second world war, daily commuting to nearby industrial centres in the present period.

- The economic situation: the transformation of the system of agricultural cultivation and its implication on the social life of the village, the social conflicts caused by the penetration of relations of capitalist production into the village agriculture and the formation of conflicting economic interest groups, the changes caused by the collectivisation of agriculture.

- The social structure of the village: the social roles, the importance of kinship and neighbour relations in the social stratification of the village, the dissolution of traditional forms of social organisation under the effect of industrialisation and agricultural collectivisation.

- The spiritual life of the village, religious life, the traditional folklore and aspects of its disappearance.

- 1937 VITANESCU, T. Paul, Monografia comunei Balanesti, judetul Olt (Monograph of the village of Balanesti, Olt District), Craiova, Tipografia fabricii de stampile "Victoria", 244 p.

Written by a teacher, this study faithfully observes a simplified pattern of "frames" and "manifestations", unquestionably demonstrating the influence that the paradigm borrowed from sociology exercised on the work of non-professional researchers. This work gives information originating from direct observation and includes an analysis of local statistical data. The structure of agricultural properties is described after the 1921 agrarian reform as well as the social classes and the peasant revolts. Indications are given concerning the habitation, alimentation and hygiene of the villagers. A whole chapter is devoted to religious manifestations and cultural behaviours. Agricultural production, credit in local industry and commerce, budgets of peasant families are also dealt with.

- 1938 GROFSOREAN, C., NEMOIANU, I. (eds.), Ancheta monografica in comuna Belint (The monographical survey in the village of Belint), Timisoara, Institutul Social Banat-Crisana, 406 p.

Monographical research on a village of the region of Banat focussed on the problem of the rural depopulation in this region. The research reports analyse the implications of economic, social, sanitary and cultural conditions on nationality and infant mortality of a village. The depopulation is correlated with the state of health of the population, frequency of venereal diseases, general morbidity and domestic hygiene, the type of agricultural cultivation, inheritance system, consequences of agrarian reforms, religious life, etc.

- 1939 GROFSOREANU, C., BOTIS, E. (eds.), Monografia comunei Sarbova (Monography of the village of Sarbova), Timisoara, Institutul Social Banat-Crisana, 392 p.

(See Selected Analytical Summaries.)

- 1939 STAHL, H. Henri (ed.), Nerej, un village d'une region archaïque, 3 volumes, Vol.I - Les cadres cosmologique, biologique et psychique (406 p.); Vol.II - Les manifestations spirituelles (322 p.); Vol.3 - Les manifestations économiques, juridiques et administratives. Unites, proces et tendances sociales (402 p.) Bucharest, Institutul de Stiinte Sociale al Romaniei.

(See Selected Analytical Summaries.)

- 1940 CONEA, Ion (ed.), Clopotiva, un sat din Hateg (Clopotiva, a village in Hateg), Bucharest, Institutul de Stiinte Sociale al Romaniei, 2 vols. 573 p.

(See Selected Analytical Summaries.)

- 1941-1942 GOLOPENTIA, Anton and GEORGESCU, D.C. (eds.), 60 sate romanesti cercetate de echipele regale studentesti in vara 1938 (Sixty Rumanian villages investigated by the Royal Student Teams in the summer of 1938). vol.I, Populatia (Population), Bucharest, Institutul de Stiinte Sociale al Romaniei, 1941, 143 p.; vol.II, Situatia economica (The economic condition), Bucharest, Institutul de Stiinte Sociale al Romaniei, 1941, 264 p.; vol. IV Si V, Contributii la tipologia satelor romanesti. Sate cu ocupatii anexe, (On the typology of Rumanian villages), Bucharest, Institutul de Stiinte Sociale al Romaniei, 1942, 218 p.

Volume III, which was devoted to cultural processes, was not published.

Some 1850 students have been involved in this field work during the summer holidays. The total population of the 60 villages investigated amounted to 125,000 inhabitants.

Despite the large number of villages, almost every synthesizing chapter of the final version is based on material collected only from several villages: 37 villages for the structure of the population, 21 villages for the life statistics, 22 villages for land fragmentation, 34 villages for economic conditions, and 16 villages summary monographs.

They are valuable studies of synthesis and comparison concerning the economic conditions of peasant households and their budgets (P. Stanculescu and C. Stefanescu), the post-war evolution of small landholding (I. Measnicov) the conditions and movement of the population (I. Chibulcuteanu, A. Georgescu) and so on.

In any case the book provides a more comprehensive understanding of rural life in the whole country than any of the previous rural monographs.

1942 GOLOPENTIA, Anton, POP, Mihail (eds.) "Dimbovnicul, o plasa din sudul judetului Arges" (Dimbovnica - a rural area in southern Arges county). Sociological monograph, in Sociologia Romaneasca, IV, 1942, Nos. 7-12, 413-493.

The work is conceived as a zonal monograph, aimed at giving information about several neighbouring villages forming an administrative unit (the district). In addition to the authors, local professional people took part in the field work (agronomists, doctors, health officials, teachers), amounting all in all to 21 persons.

Several successive surveys were made during stays of one or two weeks in the most important villages of the district of Dimbovnica. The data collected deal with 17 of the 35 villages of the district. Detailed studies deal with: the economic life of the community of Suseni (R. Moldovan); the process of impoverishment in Oarja (M. Constantinescu); the problem of water in Oarja (N.M. Dunare); the occupation of shepherd in Dimbovnica (Gh. Reteganul).

1946 CARAMELEA, V. Vasile, Satul Berivoesti, I. Obstea mosnenilor (Barivoesti Village, I. The Freeholders' Association), Cimpulung Muscel, 128 p. The second volume of the monograph (the author's doctoral thesis) was not published.

The problem is of particular sociological interest - the development of the socio-economic organisation of the village association obstea de mosneni, dissolution of prior forms of communal ownership, and the origin of new forms as they passed through the genealogical system to contemporary structures.

1970 BADINA, O., DUMITRIU, D. NEAMTU, O., Buciumi - un sat din Tara de Sub Munte (Buciumi - a village at the foot of the mountain). Socio-economic research conducted by Oct. Neamtu, Bucharest, Editura Academiei R.S.R., 410 p.

(See Selected Analytical Summaries.)

1970 CERNEA, M., CONSTANTINESCU, V., GHEORGHE, E., ENE, H., LARIONESCU, M., Doua sate. Structuri sociale si progres tehnic (Two villages. Social structures and technological progress), Bucharest, Editura Politica, 1970, 294 p.

(See Selected Analytical Summaries.)

1970 CONSTANTINESCU, Miron and STAHL, H. Henri, (eds.), Procesul de urbanizare in Romania - zona Slatina-Olt (The urbanisation process in Rumania - the Slatina-Olt Zone). Bucharest, Editura Academiei, 398 p.

- 1970 BOGDAN, T., CERNEA M., CONSTANTINESCU M., CRISTEA P., Procesul de urbanizare in Romania - zona Brasov (The urbanisation process in Rumania - Brasov zone), Bucharest, Editura Politica, 430 p.

These two studies stress the impact of the industrialisation of two medium sized towns on the surrounding region. The authors show resultant changes in the economic and social structure: effects of industry on the development of agriculture, progressive urbanisation of villages, social and geographical mobility of workers.

Methods: processing of commune and regional statistical data, surveys by questionnaire, interviews, direct observation.

- 1970 HERSENI, T., Industrializare si urbanizare. Cercetari de psihosociologie concreta la Boldesti (Industrialisation and urbanisation. Psychosociological research at Boldesti), Bucharest, Editura Academiei R.S.R., 258 p.

The discovery of an oil deposit and the establishment of oil fields have changed the whole life of this rural community. Begun prior to the socialist revolution, the process acquired new dimensions after 1948 under the new social order.

The authors study the attitudes and behaviour of inhabitants in view of these changes. After a description of the traditional social life in Boldesti, the work presents changes in the school and educational system, religious beliefs and their deterioration, modifications affecting the criteria of choosing partners in marriage.

The monograph relies mainly upon participant observation and interviews and avoids questionnaire surveys.

- 1972 DUNARE, Nicolae (ed.), Tara Birsei (The Birs Land), Bucharest Editura Academiei, 475 p.

The monograph is mainly concerned with characterising the population in the area, with traditional modern agricultural and industrial occupations and trades of the rural population, with the acculturation processes among populations of different nationalities in the area, and with the effects of industrialisation and trend toward urbanising rural life and culture. The forthcoming volumes 2 and 3 enlarge upon the results of research concerning peasant households and settlements, folk art, customs, intra-family relations.

- 1972 POGHIRC, Pompiliu, Satul din Colinele Tutovei (The village of Tutova Hills), Bucharest, Editura Stiintifica, 238 p.

Monograph of human geography which contributes to the clarification of some problems regarding the origin and development of rural habitation in southern Moldavia between the Siret river and the town of Birlad. The work contains a typology of villages derived from a study of the relationships between the rural communities and the environment. The strictly statistical data are limited. By the use of archive data, study of geography and direct observation, the author outlines several trends for future development through territorial planning.

2. Rural history, economy and society

- 1958-1969 STAHL, H. Henri, Contributii la studiul satelor devalmase romanesti (Contributions to the study of Rumanian common ownership villages), Bucharest, Editura Academiei, vol.I, 1958; vol.II, 1959; vol.III, 1965; see also STAHL H. Henri Les anciennes communes villageoises rou-

maines - asservissement et penetration capitaliste. Bucharest, Editions de l'Academie, Paris, Editions du C.N.R.S., 254 p.

This is a detailed historical-synthetical and sociological work devoted to the traditional village with a system of common labour, to the historical and socio-economic transformations and the identification of successive forms of social and institutional organisation.

In putting the traditional Rumanian village into the international context, the author deals with the question of "second serfdom" and puts forward several original hypotheses on the origin of Rumanian feudal villages. The internal life of two kinds of village communities, "non-genealogical" and "genealogical", is analysed. Within this framework the author describes the "free communities of archaic and developed types". The ensuing chapters deal with village communities and peasantry liable to forced labour in the 18th and 19th centuries, the first forms of tributary exploitation of village communities and the disintegration of traditional patrimonial relations as a result of the penetration of capitalism.

1960 HARTIA, S. DULEA, M., Constanta, prima regiune colectivizata (Constanta, the first collectivised region), Bucharest, Editura politica, 539 p.

Conceived as a detailed monograph of the process of collectivisation of the region of Constanta, the first collectivised region in the country, this work is different from the traditional monographs. The research methods used do not have a systematical sociological character, this work being, strictly speaking, an economic analysis dealing also with social aspects. The social process of collectivisation is studied at the level of a whole region and in particular in villages. The introduction presents the history of the socio-economic development of this region from ancient to modern times, stressing the most important social events in the years before collectivisation and, in particular, the agrarian relations existing before and after the second world war.

The collectivisation is examined both from the angle of the technical-scientific--material basis and economic indicators of agricultural production cooperatives and from that of political and institutional factors. Chapters contain detailed information on the living conditions of cooperative members, on health, education and culture.

1966 PARPALA, O., Extensivitatea si unilateralitatea agriculturii Romaniei burghezo-mosieresti in perioada dintre cele doua razboaie mondiale (The extensiveness of Rumanian agriculture in the inter-war period), Bucharest, Editura Academiei R.S.R., 220 p.

This is an analysis of the social and economic conditions of the development of agriculture between the two wars. Using a great deal of national and regional statistical information, stressing indices of technical and economic underdevelopment, the author develops the thesis of the extensive and unilateral character of agricultural production during this period.

An important place is given to the study of means of production (tools, fertilisers, etc.) and to that of the labour force.

The work also includes chapters on the living standards of the peasantry, the agricultural overpopulation and commercial relations with foreign countries.

1972 FULEA, Maria, COBIANU, Maria, Organizarea muncii in cooperativele agricole de productie (Organisation of work in agricultural production cooperatives), Bucharest, Editura Academiei R.S.R., 370 p.

This is a work dealing with economic sociology. The organisation of work was studied in six agricultural cooperatives. Statistical economic data regarding the development of production units studied have been used as well as an opinion survey by questionnaire making possible an analysis of cooperative members' opinions on the organisation of work and on social relations in the cooperative.

1973 VALCEANU, Grigore, CONSTANTIN R., BUCUR M., Agricultura cooperatista si cresterea economica. (Cooperative agriculture and economic development. Macroeconomic research), Bucharest, Editura Academiei R.S.R., 248 p.

The main problems dealt with are: the role of Rumanian cooperative agriculture in economic development, the work force in agricultural cooperatives, relationships between the State and the agricultural cooperatives.

3. Works of a general character. Bibliographies

1934 HERSENI, Traian, Teoria monografiei sociologice. Cu un studiu introductiv: "Sociologia monografica, stiinta a realitatii sociale", de Prof. D. Gusti (The theory of sociological monographs. With an introductory study: "Monographical sociology, science of the social reality", by Prof. D. Gusti), Bucharest, Editura Institutului Social Roman, 166 p.

T. Herseni, asserting the superiority of the monograph and resuming Gusti's theoretical schemes of "frames" and "manifestations", emphasizes the advantages of direct observation of facts and relations "in the smallest possible segments of social reality".

In our opinion, this study greatly exaggerates the role and usefulness of the monograph as a method, to the detriment of other research procedures.

1934 STAHL, H. Henri, Tehnica monografiei sociologice (Sociological monographic technique), Bucharest, Institutul Social Roman, 184 p. and

1937 STAHL, H. Henri, Monografia unui sat. Cum se alcatuieste spre folosul Caminului Cultural (A village monograph. How to prepare it for the use of the House of Culture), Bucharest, Cartea Caminului Cultural, 276 p.

The two books deal with methodology and method of monographical sociological investigation, written by the most representative specialist in field research of the Bucharest Sociological School.

They present the experience of many investigations carried out personally by the author, as well as by other members of the School. Particular interest lies in the recommendations dealing with the technique of interviewing and direct observation, and by the suggestions concerning the adaptation of general techniques to the specific character of peasant psychology. The works are addressed to professional sociologists as well as to others who, despite the fact that sociology is not their speciality, want to assimilate the elementary procedures by which a correct monograph of a rural unit can be obtained.

1940 GUSTI, Dimitrie and HERSENI, Traian (eds.), Indrumari pentru monografiile sociologice (Guidelines for sociological monographs), Bucharest, Institutul de Stiinte Sociale al Romaniei, 500 p.

Explains, in an educational manner, plans and rules according to which monographical investigation should be prepared, organised in the field and carried out.

1945 APOLZAN, Lucia, Sate, orase si regiuni cercetate de Institutul Social Roman, 1925-1945 (Villages, towns and regions investigated by the Rumanian Institute, 1925-1945), Bucharest, Institutul Social Roman, 151 p.

This is a bibliographical inventory of works (books, synthetical notes, articles) and localities in which research was carried out in the period between 1925-1945 under the auspices of the Sociological School. Monographs of villages published at the same time by authors outside the School are not noted.

However

- a) not every settlement that was investigated produced a monograph
- b) for 92 settlements the files compiled by student teams remained unedited.

There is an alphabetical index of authors and an index of localities.

1945 COSTA-FORU ANDREESCU, Xenia, Cercetarea monografica a familiei. Contributie metodologica (Monographical Research of the Family, Methodological Contribution), Bucharest, Institutul Social Roman, 323 p.

Theoretical analysis of the economic, social and educational functions of the family, relations between the family and the other micro-groups, between the family and the global social system. Presents techniques of sociological research in the field with special mention of the techniques of monographical research of the rural family. The work is illustrated by examples of field research undertaken by the Bucharest School of Rural Sociology.

1966 BADINA, Ovidiu, Cercetarea sociologica concreta. Traditii romanesti. (Concrete sociological research. Rumanian traditions), Bucharest, Editura Politica, 189 p.

This is a history of empirical sociological research in Rumania. A great deal of attention is given to the presentation and evaluation of monographical research and its contribution to sociological methodology, examined by the author from a Marxist point of view. The work contains many bibliographical references.

1971 CARAIOAN, Pompiliu, (ed.) "Scoala sociologica de la Bucuresti" (The Bucharest sociological school) Sociologia Militans, 3rd and 4th volumes, Bucharest, Editura Stiintifica, 218 p.

These two volumes are made up of a series of articles recently written by some of the members of the old "Bucharest Sociological School". They contain a retrospective critical analysis of the experience of monographical research on rural communities, their theory and methodology. The main contributions in Volume 3 are: Traian Herseni: "Sociologia cogitans"; H.H.Stahl: "Invatamintele metodice si tehnice" (Methodological and technical lessons).

1971 CONSTANTINESCU, Miron, Cercetari Sociologice 1938-1971 (Sociological research), Bucharest, Editura Academiei, 389 p.

This is a collection of articles and studies including short monographs of rural communities. The work contains Marxist analyses of monographical research carried out between the two world wars, as well as several theoretical contributions on contemporary Rumanian sociology.

1974 CERNEA, Mihail, Sociologia Cooperativei Agricole (The Sociology of the Cooperative Farm), Bucharest, Editura Academiei, 298 p.

This is a comprehensive sociological analysis of the history, structure and

functions of agricultural cooperatives in Rumania. Using the theory of formal organisations as his conceptual framework, the author analyses the changes undergone by the peasant households during collectivisation, the peasants' economic and organisational behavior within cooperative farms, the changing rural family system, attitudes, and values.

1974-1975 STAHL, H. Henri, Teoria si practica investigatiilor sociale (Theory and practice of social research), 2 vols., Bucharest, Editura Stiintifica si Enciclopedica, 582 p.

Theoretical and methodological work on social science research. The first volume is addressed to beginners in social sciences. It describes the elementary methods and techniques of sociological research. The second volume presents the theory and techniques of zonal multidisciplinary research: the need to establish a historical theory of sociology, the problem of historical laws, sociology and organisation of zonal research. The book is at the same time a critical interpretation of the experiences of the Bucharest Sociological School in the field of sociological research and particularly a self-analysis of the experience of Professor H.H. Stahl during a period of 50 years.

III. SELECTED ANALYTICAL SUMMARIES

GROFSOREANU, C., BOTIS, E. et al, Monografia comunei Sarbova (Monograph of the village Sarbova), Timisoara, Institutul Social Banat-Crisana, 1939, 392 p.

In 1939 the Banat-Crisana Social Institute organised a multi-disciplinary survey in the village of Sarbova, situated in the Banat region, south-eastern Rumania.

The research was to a certain degree inspired by the conceptions of D. Gusti, but at the same time it is quite far from the model of village monographs of the Bucharest Sociological School. Conversely to the model, which recommended the integral study of the village as "social unit", the authors of the monograph decided at the very beginning to orient the research towards an understanding of a certain social process: the depopulation of Sarbova village. This type of research represents a definite methodological and theoretical progress in comparison to most of the studies of that time.

It should be noted that, contrary to research undertaken by the Bucharest Sociological School, this survey was carried out solely by a group of "professionals" and not with students. The research also reduced the importance usually given to ethnographical and folklore aspects and gave much greater importance to the social aspects. The authors also preferred to identify objective data, precise and measurable, and at the same time limited the consideration of subjective phenomena. Finally, they forewent the descriptive presentation of facts in favour of an analysis aimed at finding explanations. From the theoretical point of view, it is to be noted that the study is not reduced to a juxtaposition of exhaustive analyses of distinct and heterogenous parts of the reality but that it integrates and unifies a series of conclusive data. The depopulation of the villages of Banat took on such proportions before world war II that it was considered to be a "social and national calamity". This depopulation was largely the result of the fall in the birth rate (by the voluntary limitation of births) and the growth of infant mortality.

The village of Sarbova - similar to the village of Belint which was studied by the Banat Crisana Social Institute in 1934 - was representative of the whole Banat region and thus gave researchers the opportunity for a thoroughgoing analysis of depopulation.

Under conditions of extensive and not very profitable agriculture, the intentional limitation of births represented for the peasant family a means of preventing the disintegration of small properties. Because of the lack of hygiene the mortality rate was high, in particular infant mortality.

Statistical and demographic data have an important place in the study but are completed by information obtained by interviews and surveys by questionnaire.

Proposals and suggestions addressed to decision-making bodies - both local and national - are oriented towards establishing a programme for raising the birth rate and reducing infant mortality.

1. The village is situated in a specific pastoral region and is not very hilly. The climate is temperate, the average annual temperature being 15.5°C, annual atmospheric precipitation varying between 600-650 mm.

The soil (podzol and chernozem) is partly arable.

Beside steppe vegetation, in the west part of the village, is a rich forest of 879 ha. where oaks predominate.

Like most Banat villages, Sarbova extends along a river: the Timisana, a tributary of the Timis. Ways of communication and transport were, at that time, few and in a bad state of repair. The nearest railway station was more than 6 km away.

2. The part dealing with demography is well documented.

In 1933 the village had a population of 791 inhabitants, 167 of whom were children under the age of 10.

The natality was very much below the average in Rumania (which was 32.4% in 1933) and of the rest of the region (18.6%). In effect, from 25.7% in 1900-1910, it went down to 12.9% in 1930-33, the natural growth of + 4.7% in 1900 went down to a deficit of -0.1% in 1933. Infant mortality amounted to 34.3% (17.4% for Rumania, 16.6% for Banat).

Mortality was, however, less (1933: 18%) than that of the whole country (1933: 18.7%; 1934: 20.7%) and of the region. On an average the longevity of the inhabitants, quite high for that period, (46 years) considerably exceeded that of Rumania as a whole (36.7 years).

The number of children per couple was limited, generally, to one child. Marriage took place at a very early age (4.5% of the women married between the ages of 14-16 years) and the marriages were often preceded by prenuptial concubinage. In general, two nuclear families lived together on each farm: the parents of one member of the young family and the young family itself.

3. The surface of arable land of the commune was 951 ha.

The population carried out extensive agriculture, due to the lack of knowledge but above all to the rudimentary state of agricultural equipment. This was not only insufficient but also obsolete. In 1939 wooden tools predominated. The small cultivators had few tools and were obliged, in exchange for borrowed tools, to work for the more wealthy farmers. The main cultivations were wheat and maize, other plants playing only a secondary role; market gardening was less common and among textile plants only cotton was grown.

Cattle raising played an important part but few products were marketed.

4. The public services and administration are dealt with in brief.

There was an elementary school in the village, independent from the Church. The teaching is severely criticised by the authors who consider that it was not adapted to the needs of the village and did not offer useful knowledge to the peasant - neither theoretical nor practical - but only some general information, soon forgotten after leaving school. The authors make proposals for the organisation of a school that would help to raise the cultural level of the peasants.

6. The family is largely studied from the sociological, juridical and economic point of view. The main function dealt with by the authors is the economic.

Authority in the family was in the hands of the owner of the farm, man or woman. Generally it was the oldest. Ownership of land was the main source of prestige and influence of the head of the family who laid claim to the right to be listened to and obeyed by the other members of the family.

Marriage was the occasion for a real transaction between the parents of the future couple. The predominant criteria of the choice of partner were those of wealth.

The transmission of property took place in conformity with the traditional laws of Banat: there was one sole heir. This person took possession of the heritage only after the death of the head of the family whose old age he had to ensure.

7. One of the most interesting studies of this monograph deals with alimentation and practices linked to it. Alimentation seemed to be characterised by the specific character of peasant ownership (tendency to produce on his own farm everything necessary for family consumption and then sell what remained) but also depended on the social strata to which the family belonged.

The bodily hygiene of the adults and the way of raising the children, are described in detail. The authors often point out faults and deficiencies in respect to the requirements of the time.

The orthodox religion still had a strong impact, but religiousness showed a quite marked decline: poorly frequented churches, no respect for moral prescriptions: a large number of the coupled lived in concubinage, no respect for prescriptions concerning the various religious festivals.

8. The customary law was effective: succession practices, marriage offers by match-makers. The authors also note a remarkable knowledge of this law among the village population. In the political sphere the inhabitants of Sarbova were passive and did not belong to any of the various political parties of the time. As for moral values, the authors note with regret a decline in adherence to moral and religious values, to the family, in favour of giving the most importance to economic values.

9. Not dealt with.

10. The authors of the monograph classified the 172 existing households - (in terms of the size of land owned) - into four categories which represent the social stratification of the village:

- 1) 9.3% of the households possessed no arable land - and formed the agricultural proletariat;
- 2) 29.7% of the households owned up to 5 arpents (2.8 ha) and 25.7% between 5 and 10 arpents (2.8 - 5.7 ha)
- 3) 27.9% owned between 10 and 20 arpents (5.7 - 11.5 ha).
- 4) 7.4% possessed between 20 and 40 arpents (11.5 - 23 ha). The existence of a large number of households owning little or no land (39%) caused the authors to conclude that a large part of the village population did not have sufficient resources to ensure an acceptable living standard. The authors distinguished between family cultivations and capitalist cultivations which rented land and levied feudal type tithes.
(Ecaterina Springer)

STAHL H. Henri (ed.), Nerej, un village d'une region archaïque (Nerej, a village of an archaic region), Institut de Recherches Sociales de Roumanie, Bucharest, 1939, 3 volumes, 1179 p.

From 1927 onwards the village of Nerej was the subject of a series of studies carried out by the Sociological, Ethical and Political Seminar of Bucharest University, directed by Prof. D. Gusti. In 1939 a final survey was made, the aim of which was to submit to the participants at the International Sociological Congress which was to have been held in Rumania, a document concerning the problem of monographical studies such as those carried out by the Rumanian school.

This "sociological monograph" of Nerej is thus of triple interest:

a) to verify the validity of the analysis scheme recommended by Prof. D. Gusti, including four "frameworks" (cosmological, biological, historical and psychological), four "manifestations" (economic, juridical, spiritual, administrative-political), units, processes and social trends.

The work was carried out by an interdisciplinary team, the collected material being published in separate chapters, in the order of the scheme mentioned above, which led to a collection of multidisciplinary studies without, however, leading to a sufficient interdisciplinary synthesis.

This major deficiency was pointed out by the person responsible for the study, Prof. H.H. Stahl, in a critical report in which he proposed that from then on information collected by teams be published as annexes to a ⁶¹⁾synthesis centred around the problem considered as essential for the studied village.

b) As far as the village of Nerej is concerned, this problem was that of the processes of disintegration of an archaic village community, member of a federation of 14 similar villages, having a three scale federal organisational system (village, confederation of villages in one valley and confederation of valleys), a unique social phenomenon in Europe, the dissolution of which, however, began towards the middle of the last century and left behind many traces.

The monograph of Nerej, includes an "introduction" and a social historical study in which the theory of "village communities" is put forward.

In fact it is this part of the work that provides its main interest, the following chapters being only documents that could serve to establish details of the actual life of this village, considered as an autonomous social totality.

c) In the third place this monograph is an example of the way in which the Rumanian school carried out its studies with interdisciplinary teams, using all possible techniques: examination of archives, statistics, direct and participant observation, public opinion surveys, etc.

As for the chapter order of these volumes the scheme established by Prof. D. Gusti is followed:

1. Volume 1 includes: a study of the physical geography of the region of Vrancea and the village of Nerej. The former is an intra-Carpathian basin, situated at the curvature of the East Carpathians, dominated to the West by high mountains and to the East by hills, the whole forming an isolated geographical unit, without easy access to the rest of the country. This, from the point of view of human geography, explains the fact that it was possible here for very ancient forms of social life to be maintained. Vrancea enjoying a system of exceptional autonomy from state bodies, it being considered as a kind of peasant "republic".

The village of Nerej is situated in the central basin, on the Zabala river, with Spulber and Paltin as "swarming villages". These are all "polinuclear" villages, the houses of which are dispersed in "hamlets" on the hill terraces or lined up along the banks of the river, without any other access road except the river itself.

Their whole economy is based on the forests and pastures with very little cultivation land. Formerly the basis of life was pastoral and it is relatively recently that the exploitation of the forest, in terms of commerce, changed the aspect of the territory because of heavy deforestation which threatened the local ecology.

2. The local population, only consisting of a limited number of 2,131 villagers, was analysed from the demographical point of view over a time interval of 1866-1937, from all classical points of view: structure by age and sex, natality, mortality, natural balance of population and that caused by migration, all from the comparative viewpoint with regard to averages of the region and of the whole country, without arriving at any other conclusion than that concerning the whole rural population of this time in our country.

3-4. The third volume contains a study of economic manifestations, that is of economic categories existing in the village, of agricultural techniques used by the meagre agriculture allowed by the soil and local climate, means of cultivation by cattle grazing (today in complete disuse) and above all by the exploitation of the forests carried out in an anarchic way without regulation and control.

The level and quality of local life can be seen through a series of studies of family budgets, both of peasants and of the few village artisans.

5. A second section of the first volume contains a study of the village population, both from the point of view of its anthropology and its demography. No link could, however, be established between the somatic character of these villagers and their forms of social organisation. On the contrary, the analysis of distribution of the population by families makes it possible to prove that the theories that explain the birth of these "primitive" forms of organisation, on the basis of a family of origin descending from a more or less legendary eponymous ancestor (clan form or that of the "Rumanian family" type) could not be upheld in Vrancea. The 131 families of Nerej do not belong to one single link and no local tradition claims a legendary descentance from one or several ancestors who created the village. Nerej, like all other villages in Vrancea, distinguishes itself from other archaic villages of Rumania just because of the complete absence of any "genealogical" character. This was interpreted as a more archaic form than that of villages of other regions, the "genealogy" only coming in after the phase when the original absolute undividedness gave place to a division into individual cultivations on the basis of private ownership.

The third volume also contains an analysis of the life of these "founding families", showing them to be of a marked community character which makes it possible to establish an ancient type, which the peasant families of other villages of the country only showed at a more modernised stage.

A summary synthesis of social processes which led to the dissolution of these forms of archaic life, under the impact of capitalism and the gradual incorporation into the global life of the state, is made in the conclusion.

6. The study of alimentation and hygiene of the houses bore witness to a rather mediocre living standard which was sometimes even alarming.

7. The second volume is entirely devoted to the analysis of "spiritual manifestations". It deals not only with schools and religious life, but above all with local folklore, concerning the peoples' conceptions about the problems of life and death, life after death, man's knowledge of astronomy, geology, geography, hydrography, meteorology, botany, popular mathematics and knowledge of time by means of the calendar.

The architecture and popular art, which are quite rich in this village, also form one of the chapters of this volume. However, what dominates is the study of popular literature and above all the analysis of large collective ceremonies taking place with the participation of the whole community on the occasion of important rites, passage from nothing to life by birth, passage from youth to

maturity by marriage, and the final passage, death, a very rich series of rites and ceremonies of a surprisingly primitive character.

8. The quite rich study of juridical regulations, both legal as well as customary, provided information on the concomitance of civil law and customs, also included are the laws completely upsetting village life, facilitating the origin of private property and thus putting an end to community life. It also gave rise to a whole number of court proceedings in both civil and penal law, above all by the application of a badly conceived Sylvan code making possible abusive exploitation by forestry companies which devastated whole regions of Vrancea.

As to the administrative forms regulating village life, very few laws of the country were applied, the mayor and the local council being in fact subject to injunctions of the village assembly which continued to exist. The customary ancient local laws, not existing on paper, still continued to survive through measures and customs, despite the laws of the State.

9. Not dealt with.

10. Not dealt with.

11. The first volume also contains quite an ample social history of the village, which was defined as a social unit consisting of a group of families commonly owning the village territory and whose total activity subject to an assembly of all inhabitants, having the right to intervene even in the private life of the families.

The characteristic trait of this social life consists in the fact that, even at the time of the study, the village was part of a second degree assembly, that of villages along the same river, and even to a third degree one made up of all villages of Vrancea. In addition, thanks to written documents it has been possible to analyse the way in which, in the middle of the last century, this global confederation of the whole of Vrancea shared up the mountains which had been undivided up to then, establishing a division by village territory.

Finally, the same volume contains a brief psychological analysis of this archaic village, leading to the theory of a structural mechanism based on diffused traditions, specific to every group of community villagers, illiterate, whose system of statutes and roles leads us to see the problem of "primitive mentality" in quite another way.

(Henri H. Stahl)

CONEA Ion (ed.), Clopotiva, un sat din Hateg (Clopotiva, a village in Hateg), Bucharest, Institutul de Stiinte Sociale al Romaniei, 1940, 2 volumes, 573 p.

The monograph of the village of Clopotiva was made under the direction of Professor Ion Conea by an interdisciplinary team of students and specialists of different branches of science: economists, geographers, ethnographers, linguists.

Apart from the educational aims, the research was also directed towards obtaining a scientific knowledge of the social unit considered and promoting certain social reforms in order to improve the living conditions of the community.

Following the orientation indicated by D. Gusti for monographical works, this study offers readers a multitude of data concerning the ecology, demography, traditional economic system, way of life, morals and local cultural traditions. This data is not, however, analysed by means of any theoretical filter for the researchers did not try to generalise on the basis of their observations.

The methodology used was also subordinated to the descriptive and impressionistic orientations of the study: free discussions (not directed), direct and participant observation, study of archive documents, statistics. The methodological attitude of the authors is well reflected in the tenet expressed by the scientist responsible for the research, Ion Conea, in the preface: "We have collected the material from the mouths of people, the names of mountains and rivers, from under the dust of documents. We have observed at wakes, during work in the fields, during walks guided by villagers, during a stop in a sheepfold ... in short: we have accumulated and noted down whenever the occasion was offered to us, asking the people and observing objects of today as well as of yesterday". (p.XVIII).

Some informants proved to have much information for the sociologists, for instance Sinziana Simonesc "the living chronicle of the village to whom the book owes more than half of all the informative material on which it is based" (p. 41).

The historical analysis is developed extensively; when possible the authors always used history to explain the present.

Archives and statistics are largely used above all in the analyses of ecology, demography, agricultural economy and trade, education and habitation.

The ethnographical approach is very clear when the authors study the morals, leisure, religious beliefs, local festivals and local language.

1. Having the form of a triangle with the summit directed towards the south-west (towards the mountain) and the base towards the north-east, Clopotiva is a village with a complicated structure. Being situated on "an alluvial plain at the foot of a mountain" the soil of Clopotiva is poor for agriculture and rich in gravel and stone; it is meagre land, farinaceous, does not retain the water and is sandy. The hostility of nature, however, has been rectified by the intervention of man, who has dug rudimentary irrigation canals and fertilised the earth with manure.

Three zones are distinguished in the monograph, representing three economic domains:

- the village and the plain at the foot of the mountain
- the part of the mountain inhabited permanently
- the zone of mountain pastureland and sheepfolds about 12-30 km away from the village.

The village is situated on the Great River (Riul Mare), from the cascades of which it took its name, in the mountains of Retezat. The villagers use the waterway as a means of transport (log rafts).

The village is situated 17 km away from the main regional centre of supply and marketing: the town of Hateg. It is linked to Hateg by a road and by railway.

2. At the time of the research Clopotiva had about 1,235 inhabitants and 275 households.

The population had tended to decrease during the last century (in 1900 there were 1,684 inhabitants and in 1935 1,250).

In the long run the birth rate does not compensate for the mortality rate: there is a deficit.

3. Most of the inhabitants of Clopotiva descend from serfs liberated in 1848, the land they cultivate then became their property. At that time the community ownership of forests and pasture lands was also established comoserorat. The study gives interesting details regarding the right to use the collective heritage.

The structure of the property is studied by the authors on the basis of a sample of 250 households (the selection method not being specified). In 1935 the situation was as follows:

Structure of cultivations

0 - 5	hectares	-	56	households
5 - 10	"	-	67	"
10 - 15	"	-	54	"
15 - 20	"	-	39	"
20 - 25	"	-	13	"
25 - 30	"	-	8	"
30 - 35	"	-	10	"
35 - 40	"	-	1	"
40 - 45	"	-	1	"
55	"	-	1	"

The study of the division of arable land shows that 15 households do not possess any, that 79 own at the most 1 ha, while 93 households own up to 2 ha. The remainder of the arable land belongs to 63 families.

If account is taken of the fact that 2 ha of arable land in Clopotiva can scarcely feed a family of 6 persons, it follows that at least 150 village families are obliged to obtain part of the cereals necessary for food from outside their own cultivation.

At the time the study was made agricultural property was in an advanced stage of dispersion, even if the method of property transmission and the reduced number of children did not promote this process. The arable land of the 250 households studied was divided into 939 plots, divided up over a radius of 3-4 km around the village. Each household had on an average 4 plots, but the majority of households (177) owned less than this. A strong minority (73), however, owned more (5-8). This dispersion represented an obstacle for the modernisation of agriculture.

The village agricultural system was of the pastoral-cereal type. A large part of the land was used as pasturage but an important obstacle lay in the relatively big distance (sometimes 10 km) that separated the village from the mountain pasture lands to which access was very difficult. The main cultivation was maize (about half the arable land), then followed rye, wheat, barley, oats, food plants such as beans, potatoes, gourds, textile plants such as hemp. Machinery was rarely used; in the spring of 1935 the villagers started to use sowing machines for the maize and ploughs for harrowing and ridging.

Cattle raising remained the major activity of the peasants and their main marketing means. The data concerning cattle raising is detailed and precise. Statistics are given for the herds since the year 1904.

Above all the peasants sold the cattle and a few animal products. Autarky remained the characteristic of this village, marketing was only sporadic and not systematic.

4. There is some forestry exploitation in the vicinity, and the inhabitants of Clopotiva work on these. Many work on transporting logs on the waterways. The technique of cutting and transport of wood is described in the work.

Hunting and fishing are little practised despite the richness of local fauna. Restrictions connected with community property promoted this disinterest.

There were 7 mills: including mills to grind the gourd seeds, to roast them, to press them, mills to thrash the homespun, to wash the woollen blankets ("pricoite").

5. Not dealt with.

6. The study of domestic groups is subordinated to the consideration of economic problems and of the village social life. The houses, which generally had two rooms, were built of wood, bricks and branches and were roofed with tiles. A few of them had thatched roofs.

The custom was that all members of the family (up to 7-8 persons) slept in the same room during winter while in summer the family slept outside, beside the house on beaten earth.

The furniture was simple: one or two uncomfortable beds, a table, 1 or 2 benches, a coat stand, and a small cupboard for the dishes.

Usually one of the rooms served as a store room for food where there was the flour bin, the cheese keg and dried pork and bacon.

7. The peasants' alimentation was quite simple, above all consisting of milk consumed as such, cheese, bacon, maize porridge mamaliga, home made bread, potatoes, beans, and to a lesser degree pork (above all during the winter), mutton and eggs.

The sanitary conditions of the peasants were bad as was the hygiene of the houses; one of the permanent sources of epidemics was the lack of a hygienic system of drinking water.

The sociologists established the budgets of three medium peasant families; they showed that the households have difficulty in covering the costs of family subsistence.

One chapter deals with the peasants' clothing, how it is made and used on the occasion of the various festivals and anniversaries. A great deal of attention is also given to the morals, beliefs and superstitions which marked the different stages of life: birth, baptism, marriage, death and burial.

8. The monograph refers to the laws that regulated the social life of the village. A study is made of the principles that govern the administration of the collective patrimony as well as agricultural contracts. The study of moral and aesthetic values is subordinated to the analysis of work and of holidays.

9. The work includes a chapter on the local language: the morphology and vocabulary are studied as well as external influences (from neighbouring areas).

10. 50% of the inhabitants over school age could read and write, while 50% were illiterate. It is interesting to note that the number of literate women was higher than that of the men, in fact, the boys often went earlier and more frequently to the mountain with the cattle.

A paragraph is dedicated to the study of religious beliefs and festivals. One of the most spectacular of these is a kind of mountain fair called nedeie; the origin of these fairs had a religious character which gradually disappeared and they remained original occasions to meet the inhabitants of other villages. Incidentally, the French geographer, Robert Ficheux, also studied these customs in the West Carpathians for about ten years.

11. Not dealt with.

(Maria Larionescu)

BADINA Ovidiu, DUMITRIU Dumitru, NEAMTU Octavian (eds.), Buciumi, un sat din Tara de sub Munte (Buciumi, a village at the foot of a mountain), Bucharest, Editura Academiei, 1970, 410 p.

The monograph of the village of Buciumi presents the results of research by interdisciplinary teams made up of economists, sociologists, agricultural experts, doctors and veterinary surgeons, geographers, ethnographers, psychologists, statisticians, historians and members of the Union of Communist Youth.

Based on the analysis of the de facto situation, the monograph is in the main directed towards social welfare in aiming at the carrying out of a modernisation programme and development plan for the village. In the final chapter of the book the authors recommend economic actions to improve production and the incomes of the villagers and they make proposals concerning the urbanisation of the village.

An extensive chapter deals with the historical development of the village, demographic development, social conflicts of village institutions and the development of rural architecture and cultural life. This historical chapter serves as a framework for the study of problems concerning the population (distribution by sex and age group, mortality, births, marriages, social hygiene).

The authors carried out the survey by means of a questionnaire distributed to 513 people (34% of the adult population of the village). The questionnaire contained more than 300 questions and was used as a conversation guide. Similarly the authors used statistical sources of information: state civil registers, archives of the people's council, of the school, House of Culture and of the agricultural cooperative.

1. Situated at the foot of the Mezes mountains, the village of Buciumi is irrigated by the waterways of the Buciumi valley. Buciumi is hilly with abrupt slopes. The soil is dark: brown forest soil, as well as soil eroded to a certain degree (podzolization).

Buciumi is an agglomerated type village. It is linked with the outside world by railway and bus.

2. In 1968 the village of Buciumi had 2,227 inhabitants, 1,116 of whom (50.1%) were men and 1,111 (49.9%) women. The survey was made on a sample of 244 men and 269 women (34% of the total village population) over the age of 16 years: there was a preponderance of people in the 31-50 years age group. The majority of respondents were married, the average number of children calculated for each inhabitant over 40 being 2.5 and 2.2 for people under 40.

The natural population movement is studied over the period 1921-1968. Data in the tables show that births, mortality and marriages (per 1,000 inhabitants) was higher at the beginning than at the end of the period.

The mobility of the population of Buciumi village has been analysed on the basis

of a survey of 439 households, that is 70% of the total households of the village. A typology of migration has been established:

- The "commuters" - those who work (or worked) in another locality and return home at least once a week (20 men and 3 women)
- those who have left temporarily - who work (or worked) provisionally in other localities but have the intention of returning to their village after a short period (75 men, 12 women)
- those who have definitely left (70 men and 60 women)
- those who have left to study (39 boys and 19 girls).

A series of graphs and tables presents the distribution of migrants by sex, type of family, age group. The areas to which the villagers move are in general urban areas where they are employed in industry and construction.

3. The economic pivot of the village is the agricultural production cooperative which extends beyond the framework of the village and includes neighbouring villages.

Agricultural land (4,770 ha that is 71% of the total area of the village), is situated on the slopes at some distance from each other which sometimes hinders the use of machines.

Of the 1,937 ha of non-agricultural land, 137 are made up of woods (7% of the total surface), 1% by waterways and roads, the remainder consisting of stony land, easily flooded, etc. The agricultural terrain consists of 54% of arable land, 20% natural pasturage, 15% natural meadows and the remainder covers orchards and vineyards.

The cooperative members are in the main inhabitants of Buciumi and neighbouring villages. In 1968 the cooperative had 2,228 active members (that is 47% of the number of family members), women representing 54% of the total.

The statistical analyses show the progress of profitability of agricultural activities.

The organisation of production and work in the cooperative, the technical progress and occupational training, complete the image of economic activities in the village of Buciumi.

4. Non-agricultural activities are not dealt with as such, but are covered in the study of horizontal and vertical mobility. An opinion survey regarding the choices of young people regarding their future occupation shows a difference in attitude according to the sexes. The women are more attached to agriculture (choice of 76% of the girls in the sample and of 21% of the boys). Commercial and artisanal activities are described (the library, the "buffet", the bakery, the joinery, cobbler, dressmakers, etc.)

5. The work presents the composition, by generation, of the 530 families of the village (1-4 generations). Kinship relationships are not studied as such but come up in relation with the study of the occupational orientation of the young people.

6. In Buciumi there are 2-3 children per couple on average. The family is studied essentially from the point of view of its economic functions.

Houses built of wood and clay, with thatched roofs, have given way to brick habitations, with tiled roofs; the furniture is above all of an urban type.

For the study of the peasants' living standard the authors have undertaken a

micro-survey of 50 persons chosen at random, and have made case studies on the time budgets, incomes and expenditures of two families.

7. Local social life is dealt with under several aspects:

- life of the cooperative: discussion of daily problems, cooperative members' opinions on the administration of the collective funds;

- cultural life and leisure, the influence of mass media.

Popular arts are also dealt with in terms of clothing and traditional crafts.

8,9,10 are not dealt with.

11. The influence of the global system and relations of the village with external decision making centres appear in the programme of development and modernisation of the village.

(Maria Larionescu)

CERNEA Mihail, CHEPES Gheorghe, CONSTANTINESCU Virgil, ENE Haralambie, GHEORGHE Elena, LARIONESCU Maria, Doua sate. Structuri sociale si progres tehnic (Two villages. Social structures and technical progress), Bucharest, Editura Politica, 1970, 294 p.

The investigation was carried out between 1966-1968 by a team of sociologists from the Department of Sociology of the Bucharest Institute of Philosophy. In order to achieve the goals aimed at by this interdisciplinary research, the sociologists invited other research workers (e.g. economists, agronomists, geographers, hydrologists, architects, doctors and medical aids) to join the field research.

Taking into account the multidisciplinary character of the study a wide range of investigation techniques were utilised: unstructured and directed interviews by means of questionnaires, direct observations, statistical and historical documents, maps, photographs, etc. Since in both villages the population was rather numerous, the survey covered a random sample of family heads, fully or partly employed in agriculture. A sample of 118 individuals of Belint village (25% of the overall number of family heads) and 81 individuals of Comana village (40% of the overall number of family heads) were interviewed by means of questionnaire.

In addition to this sample, two other special samples were selected and surveyed within the framework of the housing research project and of the public health research project.

In the selection of the two villages several criteria had to be observed: both are lowland settlements with a marked agricultural profile; Belint (Timis county) belonged to a zone with traditional land tilling techniques, Comana (Constanta county) was located in a zone where modern technologies were used in the cultivation of land. These villages were intended to be as representative as possible of the surrounding agricultural zone in respect to the population, socio-professional composition, soil fertility, types of soil culture, yield per hectare and distance from industrial and urban centres.

Another reason for selecting the village of Belint was the availability of a monograph of that village which the Banat-Crisana Social Institute had worked out thirty years ago and which could be used as reference material. ⁶²⁾

In undertaking this investigation the authors were guided by several theoretical and methodological objectives:

a) in the first place the study had to assess sociologically the changes that have been taking place in the Rumanian village during its transition from the small peasant farm to the socialist cooperative system. Thus they followed the trends, scope and rate of the changes that occurred in the pattern of agricultural property, in technology of agricultural work, in the transformation of the peasants' everyday life, in their material and cultural standards of living and the progress recorded in their health condition and changes in their mentality;

b) another objective was Rumania's participation in the international cross research project on Diffusion of Innovation in Agriculture sponsored by the UNESCO European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences. That is the reason for the team having taken up the methods of investigation and observed the requirements of the above-mentioned project;

c) a third objective of the authors was to make good use of some surveys of rural sociology conducted in the years preceding World War II for comparative purposes in measuring the changes which the village community has been undergoing.

1. Located in the Timis valley, 15 km do of Lugoj, Belint village covers the flat plain of the Timis-Bega interfluvial area. Unlike Belint, which is subject to western and south-western influences in many of its physiographical components, the village of Comana is situated at the other end of the country in the Negru Voda Plateau of Southern Dobruja. Both are lowland villages centring around a main axis - the highway. Belint is directly connected with the railway which favours transportation; Comana lies 6 km away from it. In both villages there are regular bus services to town.

Belint lies on podzol, partly alluvial, soil. The Comana soil is made up of different chernozems.

The climate of Belint is temperate, transitional to the plain, whereas at Comana the climate is excessively continental.

Belint village has a good hydrographic network, at Comana the subsoil water lies at great depths.

Arable land at Belint covers some 2,389 ha, at Comana 2,538 ha.

In conclusion one may say that the pedoclimatical conditions of the two villages are to a certain extent complementary: at Comana there is more land per capita while at Belint the climate is milder and the water resources are more readily exploited.

2. In 1961 the population record was 1,984 persons at Belint and 878 at Comana. In 1966 Belint numbered 2,004 persons and Comana 800.

As regards the sex ratio it was found that women formed the majority at Belint whereas at Comana both sexes were equally represented. The proportion of young population is rather low at Belint (only 13.9% of its inhabitants are up to 15 years old); at Comana it is higher (27.5%).

In both villages the birth rate is on the decrease, a tendency particularly obvious at Belint. A comparison is made with birth records of Belint from the years 1931 and 1934.

The death rate has decreased by half as against the prewar period.

The rate of population growth at Belint was 0.5% in 1966. At Comana the growth rate was 2.3 per thousand.

Migration is quite strong: in the past five years (1961-1966) seven families had left Belint and 34 families moved out of Comana. As regards immigration, in that same period 37 families came to Comana and 28 to Belint.

3. The investigation covered the transitional period from small agricultural property to big agricultural producers' cooperatives in the two villages.

The interest of the study focussed on the producers' cooperative of both villages. In the system of cooperative land-owning the function of private plots (owned by the cooperative farm but allotted for the personal use of peasant families) is very different from that of the small peasant household, which makes them difficult to compare. Privately used plots are - as a rule - small (in the samples 86.4% of Belint inhabitants and 95% of those of Comana used plots of land of 3,000 m at the most.) On the other hand, all decisions affecting agricultural production: on the cooperative organisation of work, investment, etc. have ceased to be the concern of an individual, being incumbent upon a group with a specific structure - the agricultural producers' cooperative.

The socio-economic development of the two communes mirrors on a small scale the social processes characteristic of the entire Rumanian agriculture: at Comana the cooperative farm was founded in 1949 and its evolution is given in the following table:

	1950	1953	1956	1959	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
Number of families registered in the cooperative as of Jan. 1	21	216	236	274	284	269	269	299	286

The agricultural cooperative farm of Belint⁶³⁾ was set up in 1953, i.e. four years later than at Comana. In the first years of its existence it comprised a small number of families, but by the end of 1959 most of the village people had joined it, as shown in the following table:

	1953	1956	1959	1962	1964	1965	1966
Number of families registered in the cooperative as of Jan. 1	19	20	26	373	389	587	587

As can be seen, as early as 1964 the large majority of families had joined the cooperative, with the exception of a group of families consisting mostly of old peasants who preferred to remain on their small plot of land. At Comana all the families have been cooperative members since 1963, subsequent increases resulting from the settling down of new families (some of the families who had moved to town did not withdraw formally from the cooperative).

Distribution of mechanical equipment for agricultural work, of chemical fertilisers, pesticides and fungicides, selected seeds and industrial fodders is subject to state control. They are supplied to agricultural cooperatives either by contract concluded with a state-owned Machine and Tractor Station (M.T.S. - major mechanical equipment) or are sold within the limit of availability (chemical fertilisers, industrial fodders, etc.) The statistical reports presented in this work reveal the inroads made by new technologies into agriculture in the years 1950-1967.

The cropping pattern in the cooperative farms is described. The main cultures at Belint are: wheat, maize, sun flowers, fodder plants, etc.

The evolution in the pattern of these cultures in the two villages points to the changes brought about in the two villages which turned from conglomerates of small enterprises, only partly supplying farm products, into big product-supplying agricultural units.

As regards the labour force in the two agricultural cooperatives the picture is the following: at Belint there is a surplus of labour (1.9 ha at Belint vs. 5.2 ha at Comana per working inhabitant). Consequently part of the population of Belint village (6%) is involved in non-agricultural jobs (industry, services). In Comana the percentage of commuters is somewhat lower (1.7).

The comprehensive analysis of the economic activity of the two agricultural cooperatives relied on several synthetic economic indicators: the value of common property and assets per 100 ha, annual cash income per 100 ha agricultural land, evolution of the overall work-day value, work attendance of cooperative members. The differences in the economic results of the two agricultural producers' cooperatives investigated result - as pointed out in the study - not only from objective differences in soil ratio per capita, but also from differences in the competence and administrative style of the managers of these cooperatives, fluctuations in the composition of the board of administration, work atmosphere, etc.

4. Not dealt with.

5. Kinship is not dealt with as such; but occasionally it is referred to in connection with various aspects concerning work involvement of the family members, sharing of the same dwelling and health conditions of parents and children.

6. Family groups are approached as reference groups for adoption of "innovations" such as electricity, mass media items and modern household facilities (refrigerators, washing machines, gas stoves, etc.) The functions of the peasant family groups are briefly analysed in connection with the production patterns. A thorough treatment of the Belint family is undertaken in respect to public health conditions in the years 1934 and 1967. Moreover, a special health survey of children aged 0 to 3 conducted in Belint village in 1967 is published in the volume.

7. As previously shown, the monograph largely dwells on problems of hygiene and public health. Some aspects are but briefly tackled (social village life, contacts with the outer world, town going), while stress is laid on the new substance of the villagers' spiritual life. A brief review of the cultural events that take place in the two villages reveals a marked decrease in traditional cultural interests (folklore, handicraft). As the interest in traditional cultural phenomena decreased, modern mass media gained ground and through them the peasants' cultural tastes and preferences have been changed.

8. Not dealt with.

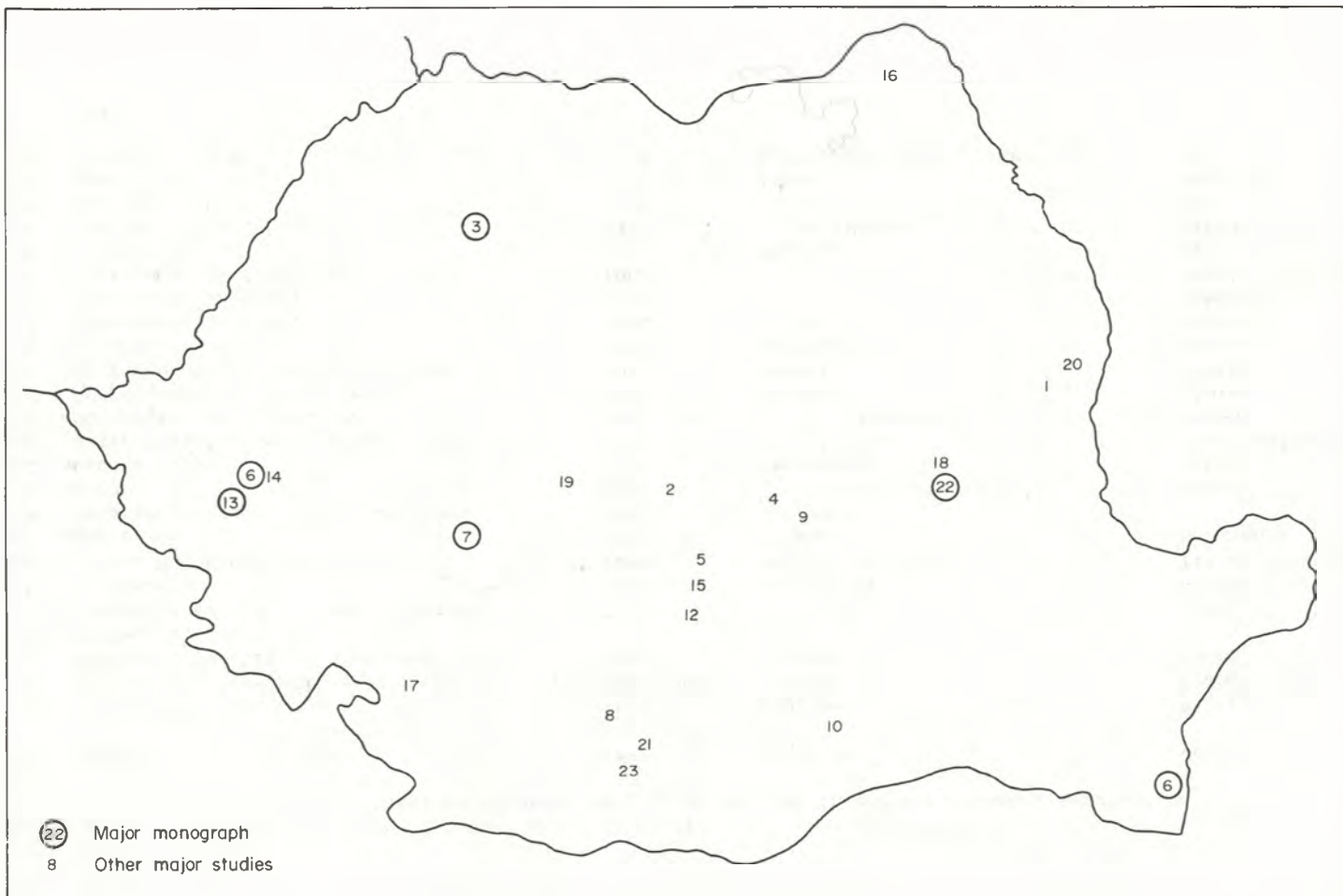
9. Mass media are dealt with in terms of the diffusion of information on plant and animal breeding in the two cooperatives covering sources of information (original experience, personal contacts, lectures on plant growing and animal breeding, mass media) and preferences stated (averaging two for each respondent). The individual initiative of cooperative members was also a point of study. The percentage of respondents who (according to their own statement) had the initiative to use new machines and new methods of work was higher at Comana (24.5% and 13.6%) compared to Belint (5.1% and 4.2%).

The authors studied the role of opinion leaders in promoting behavioural patterns and of the correlation of some rationalistic and behavioural patterns, etc. Some of the hypotheses proved correct, some did not. It was shown, among other things, that in conditions of cooperative organisation of the rural community it is not information flow and the activities of individuals that are decisive in effecting rapid dissemination of technological innovation; it is rather the functions of the socio-economic structure and institutionalised actions that are critical - a conclusion that invalidates some of the theories in contemporary rural sociology.

Cultural-educational activities in the two villages centre around the village school, the village club ("house of culture") and the village cinema. Among leisure groups, a historical presentation is made of the choirs in the two villages.

10. It is shown that cooperativisation of agriculture has favoured the formation of a new homogenous class - the cooperative peasantry.

11. Under the conditions of a socialist cooperative agriculture, the global social system plays a major part in controlling agricultural activity, decision-making, the exercise of power and the development prospects of Rumanian villages.
(Maria Larionescu)



Map 5. Located rural community studies in Rumania

Table 10. Location of selected village

No	Author(s)	Year
1	Antonovici, I.	1905
2	Barbat, Al., Dima, Al. et al.	1936-1945
3	Badina, O. Dumitriu D. Neamtu, O. (eds)	1970
4	Bogdan, T., Cernea M., Constantinescu, M., Cristea, P. (eds)	1970
5	Caramelea, V.	1946
6	Cernea M., Chepes, Gh. et al.	1970
7	Conea, I.	1940
8	Constantinescu, M. Stahl, H.H. (eds)	1970
9	Dunare, N.	1972
10	Gidei, A.V.	1905
11	Golopentia, A., Georgescu, D.C. (eds)	1938
12	Golopentia, A. Pop, M. (eds)	1942
13	Grofsoreanu, C., Botis (eds)	1938
14	Grofsoreanu, C., Nemoianu, I. (eds)	1938
15	Herseni, T. (ed)	1970
16	Ionescu de la Brad, I.	1866
17	Ionescu de la Brad, I.	1868
18	Ionescu de la Brad, I.	1969
19	Pacala, V.	1915
20	Poghirc, P.	1972
21	Radianu, S.P.	1904
22	Stahl, H.H. (ed)	1939
23	Vitanescu, P.T.	1937

studies in Rumania: summary information

Location	County
Bogdana	Birlad
Dragus	Brasov
Buciumi	Salaj
-	Brasov
Berevoesti	Arges
Belint; Comana	Timis; Constanta
Clopotiva	Constanta
Slatina	
- (Tara Birsei)	Brasov
Bragadiru	Ilfov
60 villages	(National sample)
- (Dimbovnica)	Arges
Sarbova	Timis
Belint	Timis
Boldesti	Arges
-	Dorohoi
-	Mehedinti
-	Putna (Vrancea)
Rasinari	Sibiu
- (Tutova)	Birlad
Valeni	Olt
Nerej	Vrancea
Balanesti	Olt

Table 11. Content of major rural community monographs (Rumania)

	Grofsoreanu, C. Botis, E. 1939	Stahl, H.H. 1939	Conea, I. 1940	Badina, O. Dumitriu, O. Neamtu, O. 1970	Cernea, M. et al. 1970	
Population size	791	2,131	1,235	2,227	(a) 2,004	(b) 800
Economic organisation	x	x	x	x		x
Demographic evolution	x	x	x	x		x
Family and kinship	x	x	-	-		-
Social structure	-	x	x	-		x
Folklore and popular art	(x)	x	-	(x)		-
Juridical regulation, customs	x	x	-	-		-
Religion	(x)	x	(x)	-		-
Way of life	x	x	(x)	x		x
Historical evolution	-	x	x	-		-
	Hygienic conditions	Archaic village				
	Alimentation	community				
	Depopulation of village	Anthropological types				

Rumania

x item included (x) item included but not treated in detail - item not included

Notes

- ¹For more information see Mihail CERNEA, "Bibliografia monografiilor rurale in Romania" (Bibliography of rural monographs in Rumania) in Revista de Filosofie, Bucharest, 1973.
- ²Ion IONESCU DE LA BRAD, Monografia judetului Putna (Monographs on Putna district), Bucharest, Imprimeria Statutului, 1869, preface, p. 7.
- ³Zbigniew T. WIERZBICKI, Monographs on the Rural Community in Poland, Centre Europeen de Coordination de Recherche et Documentation en Sciences Sociales, Working paper, September 1972, p. 1 (my emphasis - M.C.).
- ⁴Miron CONSTANTINESCU, Ovidiu BADINA, Erno GALL, Sociological Thinking in Rumania, Bucharest, Editura Meridiane, 1974, p. 19.
We agree with this appraisal, although other monographs of the same years could have been added, as for instance those of Constantin P. Scheletti on Dobruja (in 1879) and of I.I. Nacian also on the same region. These monographs, however, lacked a systematic and factual basis.
- ⁵Dimitrie GUSTI, Sociologia militans, 2nd edition, vol.I, Bucharest, 1946, p.104.
The monographs are descriptive in character and lack an overall research plan.
- ⁶Gh. RETEGAN has analysed in more detail the value of that research programme in his "Programul de cercetare monografica al lui A.V. Gidei" (A.V. Gidei's Monographic Research Program) in Viata economica, No. 15, 1965.
- ⁷RADIANU, S.P., Monografia comunei Valeni, plasa Serbanesti judetul Olt (The monograph of the village of Valeni, Serbanesti District, Olt County), Bucharest, Imprimeria Statutului, 1904, 142 p.
- ⁸TUTESCU, Stan, Monografia comunei Catanele, judetul Dolj (The monograph of the village Catanele, Dolj county), Bucharest, 1904.

GALIAN, Dumitru, Monografia comunei Nanesti diu plasa Girlele-Biliesci, judetul Putna (The monograph of the village of Nanesti in the district of Girlele-Biliesci, Putna county), Bucharest, 1904.

MALAESCU, I., Monografia comunei rurale Balesti, plasa Slobozia, judetul Gorj (The monograph of the village of Balesti, Slobozia district, Gorj county), Tirgu Jiu, 1906, 86 p.

GHICA I. Ion, Monografiile comunelor rurale din judetul Vlasca (The monographs on the villages of Vlasca county), vol. I, Bucharest, 1904, 232 p.
- ⁹DARANGA Neculai, Monografia comunei Tirgu-Frumos (The monograph of the village of Tirgu-Frumos), Iasi, 1916, 101 p.
- ¹⁰RADULESCU CODIN, C., RAUTESCU, I., Dragoslavele. Trecutul, descrierea, regiunea Dragoslavele, orfelinatul (Dragoslavele. The past, description, Dragoslavele area, the orphanage), Cimpulung Muscel, 1923.
- ¹¹George VALSAN, Opere Alese (Selected Works), Bucharest, Editura Stiintifica, 1971, 621 p.
- ¹²George N. LEON, Monografiile sociale. Dupa metoda lui Le Play (Social Monographs. After Le Play's Method), Bucharest, 1925, p. 1.

- 13 Trend of ideas connected with populism, puts forward the superiority of the rural way of life and traditional values of the peasantry; defends the small agricultural cultivation, condemns the industrial and urban civilisation.
- 14 C. DOBROGEANU-GHEREA, Neoiobagia: Studiu economic sociologic al problemei noastre agrare (Neoserfdom: An economic and sociological study of our agrarian question), Bucharest, Editura "Viata Romanesca", 1910.
- 15 Some of the analysts of Gusti's philosophy contend that he is philosophically indebted to German neokantianism (Paul Barth, W. Wundt) and phenomenology; his sociological and methodological thinking, however, is closer to French's line, Le Play, Tourville, A. Costi, Bureau, J. Valdour, a.o.
- 16 Dimitrie GUSTI, "Temeiurile teoretice ale cercetarii monografice" (Theoretical Backgrounds of Monographic Research) (1936), in Sociologia militans, Bucharest, 1946, vol.I, pp. 113-117.
- 17 Dimitrie GUSTI, "Sociologia unitatilor sociale" (The Sociology of Social Units) (1935), in op.cit., pp. 131-136.
- 18 A more detailed treatment of Gusti's philosophical thinking falls beyond the scope of the present study; see particularly in this respect Pompiliu Caraioan, "Profesorul Dimitrie Gusti si Scoala Sociologica de la Bucuresti" (Professor Dimitrie Gusti and the Bucharest Sociological School) in Sociologia militans, IV, Bucharest, Editura Stiintifica, 1971, pp. 35-151.
- 19 Dimitrie GUSTI, "Sociologia monografica, stiinta a realitatii sociale" (Monographic Sociology - Science of Social Reality) (1971), in Opere (Works), vol.I, Bucharest, Editura Academiei, 1968, pp. 283-284.
- 20 Explaining why he considered the village monograph "as the most appropriate scientific means" and raising the question of the national particularities of sociological research, Gusti wrote: "Firstly, monographic investigations drive us closer to our own country. The national paths of sociology are thus rooted in the material. It is understood that a working method is not only applicable to a single kind of reality, such as the Rumanian national reality, but that the structure of science is also governed largely by the facts it deals with. Secondly, monographic investigations opened up a vast field of experience, which enabled us from the outset to make outstanding contributions in matters of working technique and method, and not just of material facts. The monograph as such is not a Rumanian discovery, but there are innumerable ways of undertaking monographs. The underlying outlook or sociological conception determines how they are to be ... We have attempted, from the very beginning, the sociological investigation of all aspects - and not only descriptively speaking, but also analytically, of a fundamental form of social life, which is for us the village. We thus came to provide a specifically Rumanian type of sociological monograph, with several advantages over the types known and used abroad." in: Dimitrie GUSTI, "Sociologie romaneasca" in Sociologie romaneasca, I, 1, 1936, pp. 5-6 (my emphasis - M.C.)
- 21 Dimitrie GUSTI, "Sociologia romaneasca, stiinta a realitatii sociale (Rumanian Sociology - Science of Social Reality) in Opere (Works) vol.I, Bucharest, Editura Academiei, 1968, pp. 31-312.
- 22 T. HERSENI wrote: "We have chosen to write village monographs first, since the village is the commonest social unit with us - but we are convinced that the monographic method is a universal means in our science, that should be applied to all social units. Science will thus emerge" (op.cit., p. 95).

- ²³ Highschool textbooks also explained Gusti's approaches and techniques, thus contributing to the training of potential authors of monographs.
- ²⁴ CONSTANTINESCU, N.A., Planul unor monografii de istorie locala pentru sate (A plan for writing historical village monographs), Bucharest, Asociatia romana de monografii istorice, 1935.
- ²⁵ BLAGILA, Ion, Tehnica monografiilor scolare (The technique of school monographs), Arad, 1942.
- ²⁶ H. MENDRAS writes: "The sociologist, as well as the ethnographer, should thus be conversant with the methods and techniques of the other social sciences, if not secure the support of a team of various specialists. In Rumania, Gusti understood this requirement perfectly well. He surrounded himself by a team of experts that enabled him complete a systematic study of Nerej village. Instead, American sociologists tended to confine themselves to one single discipline" (H. Mendras, *La sociologie du milieu rural*, in Traité de sociologie, vol.I, George Gurvitch (ed.) Paris, P.U.F., 1967, pp. 315-316).
- ²⁷ The operational formula used as a scheme for synthesising all the social sciences may, in Stahl's view, take the form of a matrix with the various social sciences arranged in columns and rows as seen below

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Human geography	1							
Social biology	2							
Social psychology	3							
Social history	4							
Political economy	5							
Cultural anthropology	6							
Juridical sciences	7							
Political sciences	8							

According to this scheme (in which the numbers are not ranks) it is suggested that the obligation of each social science is to study the interaction of its own object of study with the objects of study of every other discipline, thus ensuring comprehensive coverage of the whole community. The sciences themselves (and their respective researchers) should participate in research not cumulatively, but on the basis of reciprocal integration. This aim resulted in "sociologising" the other social sciences and was in some respects fruitful in practice, but eventually it proved to be very difficult to reduce the material supplied by other sciences to sociological terms and integrate it under the framework of sociology. In:

H.H. STAHL, "Invataminte metodice si tehnice" (Methodological and Technical Lessons) in "Sociologia militans" vol.III, "Scoala sociologica de la Bucuresti", Bucharest, Editura Stiintifica, 1971, p. 79.

- ²⁸ Even though chronologically the publication of some of these monographs was delayed until the early post-war years, typologically they belong in stage III.
- ²⁹ D. GUSTI, reviewing the work, wrote: "We recommend the monograph of schoolmaster Vitanescu to all village intellectuals as a model. Writing monographs of their villages, affectionately, patiently, methodically would be particularly rewarding for the villages investigated while also providing a reliable basis in developing the "Sociology of the Rumanian Nation".

- ³⁰ Henri H. STAHL, "Nerej, un sat dintr-o regiune arhaica" (Nerej, a Village in an Archaic Region) in Sociologia Romaneasca, IV, 1942, No. 7-12, p. 627.
- ³¹ Idem, pp. 626-627.
- ³² Zbigniew T. WIERZBICKI, op.cit.
- ³³ Emil BOTIS, "Urbanizarea taranului roman" (Urbanisation of the Rumanian Peasant) in Revista Institutului Social Banat-Crisana, IX, jan-april, 1941, pp. 105-112; C. GROFSOREAN, "Influenta industrialisarii asupra taranului roman" (Effects of Industrialisation on the Rumanian Peasant), in Revista Institutului Social Banat-Crisana, X, jan.-febr., 1942, pp. 130-146.
- ³⁴ Anton GOLOPENTIA, "Monografia sumara a satului" (The Village Summary Monograph) in Curierul Serviciului Social, V, No.4, 1939, p. 7.
- ³⁵ Anton GOLOPENTIA, "60 sate romanesti", in Sociologia romaneasca, IV, nr. 7-12, 1942, p. 629.
- ³⁶ Pompiliu CARAIOAN, op.cit., p. 141.
- ³⁷ See Anton GOLOPENTIA, p. 630.
- ³⁸ Miron CONSTANTINESCU, "Bogatii, un sat de negustori de fructe si emigranti la oras din Dimbovita" (Bogatii - a Village of Fruit Sellers and Emigrants to Town in Dimbovita), in 60 sate romanesti, vol.V, 1942, pp. 184-205; "Sepreus, un sat de agricultori din sesul Tisei" (Sepreus - a Village of Agriculturalists in the Tisza Plain), in 60 sate romanesti, vol.IV, 1942, pp. 1-15.
- ³⁹ Roman MOLDOVAN, "Viata economica a comunei Suseni" (The Economic Life of the village of Suseni), in Sociologia romaneasca, IV, Nos. 7-12, 1942, pp. 445-457.
- ⁴⁰ "A village monograph. I wonder if this spatial circumscription is justified by the results obtained. As a geographer, I must admit that the monographic investigation of a single commune is of limited interest. A monograph on a single locality gives the impression of an exhaustive work but suffers from the irreparable defect of being a collection of material unsustained by the interest of the problems opened up by comparison... Better to undertake the study not of one locality, but of a unitary region, either from a geographical point of view (a natural region) or from ethnic, social or economic standpoints. It is not necessary to study every commune as thoroughly as the first, since a good many of the characteristics are identical; only the differences, the variations in aspect should be considered. That is true research. These variations are related to geographical, ethnic, historical, social and economic causes, and in this way, little by little, the entire area is defined, and new problems, sometimes particularly interesting, crop up... By proceeding in this manner we not only uncover a multitude of problems, hidden when only one commune is being studied, but also learn the extent and distribution of phenomena, their mapping, the identification of their central points, the propagation or regression of phenomena, the isolated points and the areas of continuity, the cross-influences, a multitude of aspects that can never be considered in monographs of a single commune." In:
- George VALSAN, Opere alese (Selected Works), Bucharest, Editura Stiintifica, 1971, pp. 622-623.
- ⁴¹ Traian HERSENI, "Despre monografiile regionale" (Regional Monographs) in Sociologia militans, III, Editura Stiintifica, Bucharest, 1971, pp. 214-215.

⁴² See, among others, the studies by I. STINIGUTA, Gh. ATANASIU, Elena SECOSAN, M. BUCATURA, Nicolae URSU, a.o. in Revista Institutului Social Banat-Crisana, 27, 28-29, 31-32, 33-36, 37-38 of 1940; by Coriolan BARACU in the same journal in 1941, by Traian BIRAESCU in 1942, a.o.

⁴³ Lucia APOLZAN, Portul si industria casnica textila in Muntii Apuseni (Costumes and Household Industry in the Apuseni Mountains), Bucharest, (Institutul de Stiinte Sociale al Romaniei), 1944, 255 p.

⁴⁴ HERSENI, Traian, Probleme de sociologie pastorală (Problems of pastoral sociology), Bucharest, Institutul de stiinte Sociale al Romaniei, 1941, 219 p.

⁴⁵ D.C. GEORGESCU, "L'alimentation de la population rurale en Roumanie", in La vie rurale en Roumanie, Bucharest, 1939, pp. 205-238.

⁴⁶ Anton GOLOPENTIA, "Starea culturala si economica a populatiei din Romania" (The Cultural and Economic Condition of the Romanian Population), in Revista de igiena sociala, X, 1-6, 1940, pp. 212-263.

⁴⁷ For details see Miron CONSTANTINESCU, Ovidiu BADINA, Gall ERNO, Sociological Thinking in Rumania, Bucharest, Editura Meridiane, 1974.

⁴⁸ "Scrisoarea Comisiunii Ministeriale pentru redresarea economica si stabilizare monetara (Letter of the Governmental Commission for Economic Rehabilitation and Monetary Stabilization" (1947) in: Dimitrie Gusti, Opere, vol.V: Fragmente autobiografice. Autosociologia unei vietii (Works. Autobiographical fragments. The autosociology of a life). 1880-1955, Bucharest, Editura Academiei, 1971, p. 419.

⁴⁹ Village communities themselves underwent structural changes over the same span of time. In 1949 the process of socialist transformation of agrarian structures was begun through the establishment of cooperative units based on common ownership of the land and means of production by the peasants and on their cooperative labour. There was a massive and rapid introduction of modern technical equipment into agricultural production and village life. The transition from small-scale agricultural production to collective socialist production was achieved, especially in the early years, under the conditions of an intense struggle within the villages against the rural bourgeoisie, which was ultimately eliminated. The pauperisation and dissolution of small peasant households was also ended. Increasing agricultural mechanisation diminished the rural labour force, much of which was attracted into urban employment through industrialisation; thus a large number of "peasant-workers" were created. All these processes converged into the social re-stratification of rural communities. Village cooperativisation itself took place over nearly a decade and a half, gradually encompassing all regions of the country: begun in 1949, the process was effectively concluded in 1962 when about 3,200,000 peasant families - or some 94% of the total peasant households were included in agricultural production cooperatives. Concomitantly, there emerged in the village a completely new internal political organisation, with a new power system, with new institutions linking it to the political organisation of the encapsulating social system.

⁵⁰ See Costin MURGESCU, "Cercetarile monografice in Romania" (Monographic Research in Rumania, in Contemporanul, 9 August 1957; see also Costin MURGESCU, "Preocupari in cercetarea sociologica, cu privire speciala la sociologia rurala" (Concerns in sociological research, with special reference to rural sociology) in Viata economica, IV, No. 22 (146) 3 June 1966.

⁵¹ Among others, the following village groups were investigated:

Diosti with 5 villages, Budesti - 7 villages, Sin-Mihai - 3 villages, Madaras - 10 villages, Micasasa - 4 villages a.o.; the investigated Ticleni zone included the industrial centre and 3 villages, the Dorna zone - 4 villages, etc.

⁵² Stefan MILCU, Horia DUMITRESCU (eds.) Cercetari antropologice in Tara Hategului - Clopotiva (Anthropological Research in Tara Hategului - Clopotiva), Bucharest, Editura Academiei, 1958, 217 p.; Stefan MILCU, Horia DUMITRESCU (eds.), Cercetari antropologice in Tinutul Padurenilor - Satu Batrina. Monografie (Anthropological Research in Padureni Area - Batrina Village. Monograph), Bucharest, Editura Academiei, 1961, 340 p.; Stefan MILCU, Horia DUMITRESCU (eds.) Structura antropologica privata comparativ a satelor Nucsoara si Cimpul lui Neag (Comparative anthropological study of Nucsoara and Cimpul lui Neag - Villages), Bucharest, Editura Academiei, 1966, 370 p.

⁵³ B. ZDERCIUC, Tilisca - un sat din Marginimea Sibiului. Aspecte de cultura si arta populara (Tilisca - a village of Marginimea Sibiului. Aspects of folk art and culture), Bucharest, Publicatiile Muzeului Satului, 1963, 64 p.

⁵⁴ Miron CONSTANTINESCU, "Probleme economice si sociologice ale unei comune de munte" (Economic and Sociological Problems of a Mountain Commune), in Viitorul Social, I, 2, 1972, pp. 500-516.

⁵⁵ S. DAVICU, Dinamica satului romanesc contemporan (Dynamics of the Contemporary Rumanian Village), Iasi, Editura Junimea, 1972, 327 p.

See also Conceptul sociologic de zona. Cu aplicatii la zona Bahlui-Iasi (The Sociological Concept of Zone as applied to Bahlui-Iasi Zone), mimeographed, Iasi, 1971, 224 p.

⁵⁶ Nevertheless, it seems that the inadequacy of the holistic approach in rural monographs was made more obvious by the specialisation of sociological knowledge. The type of knowledge gained through monographs is global, holistic, pertaining to the overall community, a knowledge extensive rather than intensive, while the evolution of sociology now requires to an increasing extent a sharpened and incisive understanding of each social process, via techniques designed to reduce phenomena to their basic components. For this reason, if in community research an epistemological contradiction is discernible between the all-embracing approach and the exigencies of specialised research, the solution in the light of monographic experience is not, in our opinion, a unilateral option for one model at the expense of the other. On the contrary, the solution lies in complementing each with the virtues of the other, either through focussing the monograph on some specific social relations against the background of the entire community, or by simultaneous and complementary research along both lines toward a sociological synthesis that utilises the advantages of both perspectives.

⁵⁷ The authors clearly define the basic differences between their sociological approach and the earlier research of Professor Gusti's school: "To begin with, the investigations of that school were investigations in rural areas, semi-ethnographic in character, while we are concerned with the very opposite, the urbanisation process, with the town as centre of attention along with its periurban zone and its entire hinterland; the method used by Professor Gusti's school was that of sociological monographs whereas what the Department of Sociology of the University of Bucharest aims at is a study of the social processes. Social processes cannot, however, be studied in depth in a single place, in a single zone...(the concomitant study of several zones) provides the opportunity for the confrontation and comparison of data". In:

Miron CONSTANTINESCU, Procesul de urbanizare in Romania - zona Slatina-Olt, Bucharest, Editura Academiei, 1970, p. 12.

⁵⁸ See N.S. DUMITRU, "Ponderea si implicatiile factorului natural in optimizarea sistemului socio-economic al unei zone depresionare", in vol. Sociologia Militantilor, V, Sociologie geografica, Bucharest, Editura Stiintifica, 1972, pp. 115-200; See also "Cercetarea complexa a zonei montane Vrancea: realizari, perspective si optimizarea proceselor sociale" (The Complex Investigation of Vrancea Mountain Zone: Achievements, Prospects and Optimisation of Social Processes) in Viitorul social, I, 3, pp. 825-946.

⁵⁹ I do not include references to other categories of studies: factual monographs on economic geography - informational and propagandistic booklets illustrating the new economic changes in a given area. Nevertheless some of these can be useful sources of information.

⁶⁰ See for instance, "Gospodaria agricola" din Viile Dejului dupa un an de munca ("Gh. Doja" - an Agricultural Cooperative of Viile Dejului after One-Year's Work), Bucharest, Editura de Stat pentru Literatura Stiintifica si Didactica, 1951, 56 p.; I. CURTOV, Dezvoltarea multilaterală a G.A.C. Gabor Aron (Multilateral Development of Gabor Aron Agricultural Cooperative), Bucharest, Editura Agrosilvica de Stat, 1953, 65 p.; I. MARTIN, I. STAN, G.A.C. Victoria din Lenauheim ("Victoria" Agricultural Cooperative of Lenauheim), Bucharest, Editura Agrosilvica de Stat, 1956, 246 p.; I. PAVELESCU, Pe calea urcusului neintrerupt (The uninterrupted progress of the Agricultural Cooperative of Ceacu Commune, Calarasi), Bucharest, Editura Pentru Literatura Politica, 1958, 85 p.; S. HARTIA, Monografia G.A.V. Victoria, regiunea Constanta (The Monograph of the Victoria Agricultural Cooperative, Constanta region), Bucharest, Editura Stiintifica.

⁶¹ In the review "Sociologia Romaneasca", 1942, 4th year, Nr. 7-12.

⁶² Institutul Social Banat-Crisana, Ancheta Monografia in comuna Belint (C. Grofsooreanu, ed.), Timisoara, 1938, 412 p.

⁶³ It should be recalled that each family that joined the cooperative has at Belint on the average about 4.2 ha and at Comana 9.4 ha of arable land. To a certain extent, this difference accounts for the higher per family income in the latter village.