

# Sociology in Continental Europe after WWII<sup>1</sup>

---

Matthias Duller & Christian Fleck

## Continental particularities

Sociology was invented in Europe. For several reasons, however, it did not bloom there for the first one-and-a-half centuries. The inventor of sociology, Auguste Comte, was an independent scholar with no affiliation to any institution. Likewise, other European founding fathers, such as Alexis Tocqueville, Herbert Spencer, Karl Marx, and Friedrich Engels, were not professors, nor were they paid for their scholarly service by the state.

Looking at the history of sociology in continental Europe, we do not come upon a striking role model of a “professional sociologist.” What is normally called the classical period ranges from pre-Comtean authors down to the generation after Comte (born 1798): Among the most prominent figures, from Ludwig Gumplowicz (1838), Vilfredo Pareto (1848), Tomáš Masaryk (1850), Maksim Kovalevsky (1851), Ferdinand Tönnies (1855), Georg Simmel (1858), Émile Durkheim (1858), Max Weber (1864), Marcel Mauss (1872), Roberto Michels (1876), Maurice Halbwachs (1877) to Florian Znaniecki (1882), only the Frenchmen and the exiled Pole occupied positions whose descriptions covered sociology and nothing other than sociology. All the others earned their living by practicing different professions or teaching other disciplines.

For a very long time sociology failed to appear as a distinct entity in Continental Europe’s academic world. Simply put, one could not study it (even in Durkheim’s France a specialized undergraduate programme, *licence de sociologie*, started not earlier than 1958, before that students got an multidisciplinary training in the *Facultés de Lettres* or specialized institutions as the Vth Section of the *École pratique des hautes études* or the *Collège des France*). The cause for this can be

---

<sup>1</sup> The authors want to express their thanks to all partners for sharing data and encouraging discussions in a project which got funds from the European Union under the 7<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme: “International Cooperation in the SSH: Comparative Socio-Historical Perspectives and Future Possibilities” (INTERCO-SSH), grant number 319 974.

found in the very organization of the universities as the habitat for science and scholarship. The traditional differentiation in four faculties offered sociology a chance to blossom either in the Philosophical or the Law Faculty (but not at the faculty of medicine or theology<sup>2</sup>).

The higher education system of Continental Europe was stagnant for a very long time for several reasons. For one, the social elite remained a closed shop. In the face of stable numbers of students, there were no strong incentives to expand the professoriate. In such a world of just reappointments, there is no space for new developments, never mind new disciplines. Furthermore, proponents of the new specialization called sociology did not propagate it as something which could be learned through specialized training but as kind of a worldview to which one switches via conversion or similar transformations of one's perspectives on the surrounding environment.

Another crucial factor for the non-appearance of sociology early after its invention in continental Europe was that most of its ardent supporters and practically all its opponents agreed that sociology was an "ism"—a worldview competing with other ideologies. "Sociologism," as an encompassing ideology, could more easily be dismissed than a new specialty claiming only a small piece of the cake of science. Pure sociologists had also to take into account the spread of a rival message: Marx's doctrine. Rivalry between Marxism and sociology was characteristic of the early years of sociology in continental Europe.

Of course, Europe wouldn't be Europe if there were no exceptions. Durkheim taught the first sociology course in France in 1895 but sociologists had to sail under broader topics as social or moral science. Smaller countries, such as the Netherlands, Finland, and Hungary also promoted sociology early in the history of their academic systems. Before joining the London School of Economics faculty in 1904, Edvard Westermarck (born 1862) was a docent of sociology from 1890 onwards at the University of Helsinki, where his fame became large enough that the Finnish sociological association was named after him. Sebald R. Steinmetz (born also in

---

<sup>2</sup> We are aware that in particular parts of Europe a Christian sociology which was closely linked to the Theological Faculty existed but we will not cover it as part of the sociology we are discussing here.

1862) got his habilitation in sociology as early as 1900 in Leiden and then became a leading figure in Netherland's academia, establishing sociography as a distinct approach. In the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Hungarian intellectuals led by Oszkár Jászi (b. 1875) founded a Society for Social Sciences and the journal *Huszadik Század* (Twentieth Century) and formed discussion groups in which Karl Polanyi (b. 1886), and Karl Mannheim (b. 1893) participated.

### **Sociology in Western Europe after WWII**

We now turn to the development of sociology in continental Europe after World War II. To simplify the presentation, we will cover mainly three features of institutionalization: the founding of a professional sociological association; the creation of a journal as a forum for exchanging new scholarly insights and ideas; and the opportunities to earn a higher degree (doctorate) in sociology. We will also make use of the nation state as the territory where these developments happened (see table 1).

Whereas in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, two languages, German and French, dominated the Continent in equal parts, after the defeat of the Third Reich German lost its role as a communicative tool for foreigners. Institutional arrangements (for instance: chaired professorships, personal assistants, and the requirement of a second dissertation) which had "isomorphed" from the Humboldtian universities to other places in Europe became discredited, and study trips to Germany were frowned upon. At the same time, the rise of the United States of America to the status of the leader of the Western World was accompanied by its exhibiting a heavy influence in cultural and scientific affairs (the process now referred to as "Americanization"). Many students and young scholars from the continent were given opportunities to study and work in the United States through scholarships from the U.S. government or through fellowships provided by philanthropic foundations. America also sent over teaching staff and material subsidies for the reconstruction of the war-torn western part of Europe. The American market for book and journal publications had not been affected by the

war economy, so most European scholars had to catch up by inspecting what their American colleagues had accomplished during the war.

The process of recovery in Europe after the war was shaped both by the erection of the Iron Curtain and different traditions of national culture. Not surprisingly, France tried to regain its role as a leading force in academia but lost more of its influence every decade after the war (the creation of an international organization for French speaking sociologists, Association internationale des sociologues de langue française, in 1958, was primarily the result of the failure to establish French as an internationally used language). This slip in prestige was camouflaged for a while due to the appeal of existentialism. Both a cultural attitude—black turtleneck as a membership card, Edith Piaf and Jean Paul Sartre as role models—and a philosophy as a *weltanschauung* influenced the mood and behavior of a generation traumatized by the war. During the same period, but not closely related, was the ascent of communist parties (CPs) and their appeal for intellectuals. Not only in France and Italy, where the respective CPs were mass parties, but also in countries where communist parties did not play any significant role, Soviet communism was seen by many middle class students and young graduates from universities as a force one should join to overcome both fascism and capitalism.

Both existentialism and communism ruined the soil for sociology in Europe between 1945 and the early 1960s. Existentialism offered an easily imitable conspicuous individualism and communism provided a worldview without a single grain of skepticism. Sociology could offer nothing comparable.

French sociology suffered also through the loss of highly influential members: Maurice Halbwachs (b. 1877) died in the Buchenwald concentration camp near the end of the war and Marcel Mauss (b. 1872) died in 1950 after years of deterioration. The French intellectual scenery had always been characterized by rivalries between circles around a leading figure. The third generation of Durkheimians, however, was not able to provide a leading figure. Only Raymond Aron (1905-83) would have been a candidate to occupy the center in French sociology, but he

could not dominate the heavily politicized academia because of his explicit anti-communism, expressed tellingly in his *The Opium of the Intellectuals* (French 1955, English translation 1957). The Durkheimian journal *Année Sociologique* became reissued in 1949, and Georges Gurvitch (1894-1965) established *Cahiers Internationaux de sociologie* after his return from exile in New York in 1946. These were short-lived, however. *Revue Française de Sociologie* (started in 1960) and Pierre Bourdieu's *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* whose first issues came out in 1975 had greater success and are still published today. A professional organization of sociologists in France: a Société française de sociologie failed in 1971. Several tries later the Association française de sociologie was finally founded in 2004 (see Heilbron 2015).

Sociology was more discredited in Italy than in any other country because of the alleged collaboration of some prominent figures with the Fascists and the institutionalization process was very bumpy. Pareto died in the early years of fascism (in 1923), but the admiration some fascist social scientists expressed towards him and his work, together with fierce criticism by other social scientists, discredited him. Michels, who died in 1936, had supported Mussolini more openly and longer than Pareto and was awarded with a professorship at Perugia. Corrado Gini (1884-1965) resigned as president of the Central Institute of Statistics under Mussolini. The resignation was for reasons of personal embitterment, however, and he remained an adherent of far right politics. When he re-established the Institut International de Sociologie in 1949 it was seen—correctly—by anti-fascists and liberals from all corners of Europe as the meeting place for former Nazis and their friends (see Weyer 1986). A first journal, *Rivista di Sociologia*, was founded in 1894 (and ended after several interruptions in 1940), and a second one, *Rivista Italiana di Sociologia* started in 1897 but stopped publication in 1921. *Quaderni di Sociologia*, begun in 1951, and *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, established in 1960, became the two most respected Italian journals. While a professional sociological association was established around 1910 in Italy, it was abandoned in the 1930s and did not reestablish itself until 1983. It was not until 1984 that Italy had a doctoral program in sociology.

Compared to France and Italy, the development of the discipline in Germany seems quite smooth. In what later became the Federal Republic of Germany, the Allied Occupation Forces threw out discredited former Nazi party adherents and persuaded several exiled scholars to return to their native country to help execute the re-education of the German people. Sociologists fit perfectly into the expectations of the Allies, and some prominent figures in the discipline accepted the invitation to return. For example, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno came back to Frankfurt, Helmuth Plessner to Göttingen, René König to Cologne, and Siegfried Landshut to Hamburg. The younger generation benefitted both from these teachers and from easily available scholarships to spend a year or more at one of the leading American universities. After their return to Germany, they took over newly established professorships either at traditional or newly founded universities. Two journals began publishing shortly after the end of WWII. The *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie* (later *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*), which had a predecessor appearing between 1921 and 1934, restarted in 1948. The *Soziale Welt* issued its first volume in 1949. Sociology's fate in Eastern Germany under Soviet tutelage followed a different path. Most scholars who initially returned there eventually escaped to the Western zone or later the Federal Republic because of pressure from the Communist party and the totalitarian state.

The third succession state of the Third Reich, Austria, did not show any inclination towards sociology. The two-party-government divided the state, and schools and universities were handed over to the conservative People's Party which was strongly influenced by the Catholic Church. Sociology became a study option only in the 1960s. A sociological association was established in 1950 but was largely inactive until the 1970s. The first issue of the *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie* was published in 1976.

Sociology in Switzerland followed a similar path as that of the discipline in Austria but Swiss sociologists started their careers abroad and the discipline began to be established only in the late 1960s. Meanwhile, the nations of Northern Europe—Denmark, Finland, Iceland,

Norway and Sweden—demonstrated some similarities. These similarities became epitomized in 1955 when the Nordic Sociological Association, an umbrella organization for the five Scandinavian countries, started publishing *Acta Sociologica* in English. In addition to this collaborative endeavor, each country's sociological association has its own journal, published in its native language. Departments of sociology were established in the first half of the 1950s in all five nations. Whereas, before World War II, Scandinavian universities stood under the cultural influence of Germany, after 1945 they changed their orientation towards the U.S. by encouraging students to apply for fellowships abroad and inviting U.S. professors to teach as visiting professors. Alva and Gunnar Myrdal were the most prolific exponents of this cosmopolitan orientation and found followers in neighboring countries.

Sociology in Europe's south caught up relatively late, due to the authoritarian regimes in Portugal and Spain and a slower pace of modernization in Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus. Culturally and with regard to the composition of its population, Israel could be seen as belonging to Europe, at least in its early years. The founding figure of sociology in Israel, Martin Buber, personifies this connection but his students looked much more towards the US than to continental Europe.

As the above indicates, during the first two decades after the end of WWII sociology did not flourish in any of the European countries and the exchanges among the nations' sociologists were relatively insignificant. The International Sociological Association, however, founded in 1950 through a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) initiative was under the influence of European exponents of the discipline. Six of its first seven World Congresses were held in Europe.

For sociology, the cultural changes of the Sixties were a double edged gift. Due to the political upheavals and the critical attitudes towards tradition and authorities, sociology became in vogue and was seen both by the activists and more detached observers as the most authoritative interpreter of present affairs. The expansion of the university systems in nearly all Western

European countries increased academic positions for sociologists at a much higher rate than any time before or since. Concurrently, the dominant paradigm of the Fifties—structural functionalism—and the established routines of doing empirical research collapsed under the attack of anti-positivists. The revival of Marxism triggered by the New Left and student movements spread also into the discourses of academic sociologists as illustrated by the re-emergence of the ideas of Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937); no sociologist of the 1950s would have heard of him.

The political turn affected practically all departments of sociology one way or the other. In Denmark, the government went so far as to close all sociology departments because of their countercultural appeal. Some years later they reopened them with new personnel (see Kropp 2015).

### **Sociology in Eastern Europe under Communist Rule**

In Eastern Europe, the development of sociology was strongly dependent on the changing nature of the political regimes. Although some region-wide similarities existed during the Communist period, such as the institutional dualism between research oriented academies of science and the teaching oriented universities and the prevalence of Marxism-Leninism as a paradigmatic theoretical framework (Keen and Mucha 2004), the differences among countries and over time are significant (Brunnbauer et al. 2011: 5). The post-World War II era in Eastern Europe can be roughly divided into four phases: (1) the phase between the end of World War II and the takeover of power by the communist parties (ca. 1944-1948) in which sociologists claimed a participative role in societal reconstruction of their war-torn countries; (2) High Stalinism (ca. 1948-1956), marked by severe repressions and control of all cultural and political activities and the disappearance of sociology as an autonomous discipline; (3) post-Stalinist relaxation following the "Khrushchev Thaw" during the latter half of the 1950s, with different dynamics of liberalization, autonomy, and reconsolidation of power; and (4) the transition to liberal democracies since 1989.

As a rule, sociological institutions generally saw their most dynamic proliferation in phases of political liberalization and reform after the mid-1950s. During that period, members of the discipline could engage in relevant empirical and theoretical research and writing. However, sociology's autonomy from political interference was vulnerable and came under pressure whenever the political regimes resumed more repressive modes of rule. Although sociological research was eventually carried out in almost all Communist countries of Eastern Europe by the 1960s (with the notable exception of Albania), sociology's pretensions as a comprehensive social science whose role is to produce not only data but also critical interpretations of social realities was limited in most countries most of the time.

During the early postwar years, sociology blossomed in eastern bloc nations which had strong sociological traditions prior to World War II. In Poland, for instance, sociologists resumed their pre-war research activities immediately after the war ended and strove to play an active role in reconstructing social and political order following the devastations of the war. Polish sociology had been fully established by the 1930s. Its most prominent proponent was Florian Znaniecki (1882-1958), who gained fame in Western sociology through his co-authored book with William I. Thomas, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (5 volumes, 1918-1920), and later as president of the American Sociological Association (1954) after he had emigrated to the US following the outbreak of World War II (Znaniecki Lopata 1965). Znaniecki held the first Polish chair in sociology at the University of Poznan in the early 1920s, founded the first sociological journal in Poland *Przegląd Sociologiczny* (Sociological Review) in 1930, and initiated the establishment of the Polish Sociological Association in 1931. Sociology became a university subject in 1930, making Poland one of the oldest fully institutionalized sociological communities in Europe.

In postwar Poland, sociologists benefited from a high moral reputation amongst cultural elites and the general public, not least due to their activities in underground resistance to Nazi occupation. The Communist authorities did not engage in systematic purges among intellectual elites, as happened in East Germany, leaving most former sociologists—"bourgeois" and

Marxists—side by side under the new conditions (Connelly 2000). In 1948, when Stalinism finally ruled Poland, sociology was removed as a label and declared, according to Stalinist officials, to be bourgeois pseudo-science. Nevertheless, some sociologically relevant research under the conceptual umbrella of Marxism-Leninism continued (Voříšek 2011: 31).

Starting in 1956, many of the old sociological elites in Poland, including Stanisław Ossowski, Maria Ossowska, Józef Chałasiński and Jan Szczepański (Voříšek 2011: 31), could resume their work under the new conditions of a reformist government. They developed the most dynamic sociological community of the Warsaw-Pact countries, with high international visibility.

While Poland serves as a case for the perseverance of an old sociological tradition under a relatively liberal condition of the Communist regime, Romania is a counter-case. Having had a similarly rich prewar tradition, it could not blossom in postwar Romania due to the repressive nature of its regime. During the early postwar phase, many sociologists from the so-called Bucharest School, under its mastermind Dimitrie Gusti, continued some of their prewar research activities (Badina 1983: 358). They were soon silenced, however. The Romanian political regime was, by regional standards, particularly repressive and staunchly anti-intellectual (Tismaneanu 2003). Any attempts towards liberalizing party and state control were crushed during the reign of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1948-1965).

Only after Gheorghiu-Dej's death in 1965 did Romania experience a short phase of relaxation. During the early Ceaușescu period, Miron Constantinescu (1917-1974), a sociologist by training, became minister of education and helped reestablish the discipline (Tismaneanu 2003: 260). An association was founded in 1964, a study program in 1966, and a journal in 1972. Nevertheless, the Romanian “thaw” was more intended to gain independence from Soviet interference than to liberalize the country internally. Sociology was soon removed as a study subject from universities and sociologists were largely marginalized by the mid-1970s (Voříšek

2011: 33). Only after the violent revolution of 1989 that left Ceaușescu and his wife executed and his regime ended, was sociology's institutionalization completed in Romania.

Hungary exhibited a different development because there fundamental studies were produced mostly outside the official institutions dedicated for research. Investigations on e.g. social mobility and gypsies did not fit into the frame of reference of party officials but they did allow outsiders to carry out such studies either beyond the two tier system of universities and Academy of Science in specialized research units or via individual contracts administered by research institutes of the Academy but officially not done by them. From the 1970s onwards sociology reemerged in universities and research institutes and produced some interesting research, e.g. in social stratification, anathema in other Communist countries.

In Yugoslavia, to name another particular case, sociology proliferated during socialist rule. It did not have an important prewar tradition. Rather, it emerged out of lively debates about an authentic and independent Yugoslav path to communism following the ousting in 1948 of Yugoslavia from the Cominform, the official international cooperation of communist parties dominated by the Soviet Union (known as the Tito-Stalin split). During the 1950s, Yugoslav sociologists fought a battle to emancipate as a distinct discipline from philosophy, which was still dominated by orthodox historical materialists. Portraying historical materialism as equal to Stalinist dogmatism, sociologists capitalized on the anti-Stalinist turn in Yugoslavia's political and cultural discourse and used it as a source of legitimization for their empirical and applied project (cf. Lazić 2011).

In 1957, the Institute for Social Sciences was established at Belgrade University as a research institute. Its sociology division became Yugoslavia's first sociological research institute. In 1959, sociology was introduced as a university subject and a journal was founded. The Yugoslavian Sociological Society was established in 1954 but had merged with the philosophical association two years later. Finally, the Yugoslav Sociological Association emerged as an independent organization in 1959, completing the institutionalization of the discipline.

Yugoslavia became a fertile ground for non-dogmatic Marxist thinking in the 1960s that attracted many Western Marxists and made Yugoslav sociologists known beyond their borders. Yugoslav sociologists actively commented on and researched the country's spectacular modernization project from a Humanist Marxist position.

Unfortunately, Yugoslavia's boldest instance of censorship against social scientists affected members of its internationally most renowned group—the Praxis group—in 1971. During the following two decades, sociology kept growing institutionally but lost some of its appeal as a critical voice in public discourse. The international acclaim of Yugoslav sociology from the 1960s has never been revived.

In Czechoslovakia, sociology experienced rapid institutionalization during a reformist phase in the mid-1960s only to be silenced after the Soviet-led military invasion in 1968 that brought an end to the liberalization project of Czech Communism (Voříšek 2012). In the German Democratic Republic (GDR), sociology was rehabilitated in 1964 but kept under strict surveillance by the Central Committee of the leading Socialist Unity Party (Sparschuh and Koch 1997). As a consequence of their ideological streamlining, few sociologists from the GDR could retain their university positions after the German unification in 1990. Most were replaced by West German colleagues (Keen and Mucha 2004:127).

Bulgaria, as one last example, established institutional structures in preparation for the congress of the International Sociological Association (ISA) in Varna in 1970—the first ISA congress held in a Communist country. The discipline saw an explosion in the number of its personnel, fueled by a law that assigned a sociologist for each company and kolkhoz. Not surprisingly, the Bulgarian Association of Sociology had 1.400 members in 1989, an impressive number given a total population of nine million.

After the end of what could be called Soviet Europe around 1989, sociology in Europe became much more influenced by transnational developments which had their origins primarily in activities of the European Union and its research policies. Again, we cannot go into details

here but want to stress two developments: 1) A side-effect of the creation of the European Research Area has been an attempt to encourage transnational exchange and international collaboration, and 2) the establishment of a Europe-wide system of recognizing “excellent” research has begun to lead to a much more stratified academic system across nation state boundaries (see Fleck & Hönig 2014). Grants from the European Research Council have started to become the gold standard of academic success and awarded primarily to the best known members of the discipline.

### **Conclusion**

Sociology has gone through different levels of success and institutionalization across continental Europe over the last seven decades. During the first two decades after World War II, it attracted a small group of younger people on the western side of the Iron Curtain who learned their sociology primarily in the US. During the 1960s, sociology became faddish and adored not only by academics but the cultural elite and the student movements. Expectations that it would gain the status of a social engineering discipline got the attention of reformist governments and politicians. In the eastern part of Europe, under the rule of communist governments, sociology flourished only during the short thaw periods. After the fall of the Iron Curtain closer collaboration among European nations has led to more exchanges of ideas across nations. While its impacts are not yet fully known, the European Union’s new funding and award policies have begun to create a stratified system of research sites and rewards among sociologists across continental Europe.

In the foreseeable future, sociology will not disappear in any cross-, trans- or other entity of non-disciplinarity. On the other hand, sociology had stopped trying to become another science decades ago and is still struggling to define its place vis-à-vis other disciplines. Within the borders of sociology, in its journals, at its conferences, and in department curricula, multiple paradigms are widely used; the members of the sociology tribe are proud of their diversity which other might see as a cacophony. A trademark of European sociology will remain its continuous

production of grand theories, some of them travelling more smoothly across the Atlantic and increasingly to more far away destinations in Asia and the global South. The policy oriented part will not disappear either but will not get attention beyond small circles of aficionados. In a word: in the first half of the 21<sup>st</sup> century sociology will perform the role of a quite ordinary member of the academic population, sometimes remembering its more tumultuous past but most of the time doing business as usual.

### **References**

- Agodi, Maria Carmela, Ellen Annandale, Luís Baptista and Roberto Cipriani, *European Societies* 17 (3) 2015, pp. 281-300.
- Albrow, Martin, The Changing British Role in European Sociology, in: *Sociology in Europe: In Search of Identity*, ed. Birgitta Nedelmann and Piotr Sztompka, Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 1993, pp. 81-97.
- Aron, Raymond, *Opium des intellectuels*, Paris: Calmann-Lévy 1955 (First English translation 1957).
- Badina, Ovidiu, Sociology in Romania, *International Review of Modern Sociology* 13(1/2) 1983, pp. 131-374
- Brunnbauer, Ulf, Claudia Kraft and Martin Schulze Wessel, Introduction: Sociology and Ethnography in East-Central and South-East Europe under State Socialism, in: *Sociology and Ethnography in East-Central and South-East Europe: Scientific Self-description in State Socialist Countries*, ed. ibid., Munich: Collegium Carolinum 2011.
- Connelly, John, *Captive University: The Sovietization of East German, Czech, and Polish Higher Education, 1945-1956*, Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press 2000.
- Fleck, Christian and Barbara Hönig, European Sociology: Its Size, Shape, and 'Excellence', in: *Routledge Handbook of European Sociology*, ed. Sokratis Koniordos and Alexandros-Andreas Kyrtsis, London, New York: Routledge 2014, pp. 40-66.
- Heilbron, Johan, *French Sociology*, Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press 2015.
- Keen, Mike and Janusz Mucha, Sociology in Central and Eastern Europe in the 1990s: A Decade of Reconstruction, *European Societies* 6(2) 2004, pp. 123-147.
- Kropp, Kristoffer, *A Historical Account of Danish Sociology: A Troubled Sociology*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2015.
- Lazić, Mladen, Sociology in Yugoslavia: Correlation Dynamics between Critical and Integrative Social Theory in Liberal Socialism, in: *Sociology and Ethnography in East-Central and South-East Europe: Scientific Self-description in State Socialist Countries*, ed. Ulf Brunnbauer, Claudia Kraft and Martin Schulze Wessel, Munich: Collegium Carolinum 2011, pp. 87-106.

Platt, Jennifer, *A Brief History of the ISA: 1948-1997*, Montréal: International Sociological Association 1998.

Tismaneanu, Vladimir, *Stalinism for All Seasons A Political History of Romanian Communism*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press 2003.

Voříšek, Michael, *The Reform Generation: 1960s Czechoslovak Sociology from a Comparative Perspective*, Praha: Kalich 2012.

Voříšek, Michael, Sociology in Soviet Europe: Perspectives on the Historiography of Sociology and its Problems, in: *Sociology and Ethnography in East-Central and South-East Europe: Scientific Self-description in State Socialist Countries*, ed. Ulf Brunnbauer, Claudia Kraft and Martin Schulze Wessel, Munich: Collegium Carolinum 2011, pp. 29-58.

Weyer, Johannes, Der "Bürgerkrieg in der Soziologie". Die westdeutsche Soziologie zwischen Amerikanisierung und Restauration, in: *Ordnung und Theorie. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Soziologie in Deutschland*, ed. Sven Papacke, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1986, pp. 280-304.

Znaniecki Lopata, Helena, Florian Znaniecki: his life, in: Florian Znaniecki, *Social Relations and Social Roles: The Unfinished Systematic Sociology*, San Francisco: Chandler 1965, pp. xxi-xix

Table 1: Sociology in Europe, by year of foundation of professional organization, journal, professorships and curricula

Country	Professional Organization	founded	restart	First Journal	starts	Second Journal	starts	1st chair	1st postwar chair	1st opportunity to study Sociology at any level
Albania	Albanian Institute of Sociology	1990	2006	Sociological Analysis	1998					
Austria	Österreichische Gesellschaft für Soziologie		1950	Die Meinung (later:) SWS - Rundschau	1961	Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie	1976	1950	1950	1966
Belgium, Flemish	Organisatie voor Vlaamse Sociologen/ Vereniging voor Sociologie	1962	1975	Tijdschrift voor Sociologie	1980	Societes	1984			1948
Belgium, French	Société Belge de Sociologie/ Association des Sociologues Belges de Langue Francais	1950	1975	Recherche Sociologiques	1970					1948
Bulgaria	Bulgarian Sociological Association		1959	Sotsiologhicheski izsledvaniya (Sociological research)	1968	Sotsiologhicheski problemi (Sociological Problems)	1969	1976		1968
Croatia	Croatian Sociological Association	1958	1992	Sociologija sela (Rural sociology)	1963	Revija za sociologiju (Sociological review)	1971	1906	1963	1963
Cyprus	Cyprus Sociological Association		1996							
Czech Republic	(Masaryk) Czech Sociological Association		1964	Socialni Studia	1957	Sociologicky Casopis	1965			
Czecho- slovakia	Masaryk Sociological Society, later: Czechoslovak Sociological Association	1925	1945	Sociologicka Revue	1945					
Denmark	Dansk Sociologforening		1965	Nordiske Udkast	1973	Dansk Sociologi	1990	1938	1948	1958, ?
Estonia	Eesti Sotsioloogide Liit		1999							
Finland	Westermarck Society		1940	Acta Sociologica	1955	Sosiologia	1964	1926	1945	1955, ?
France	Association Française de Sociologie		2002	L' Annee Sociologique	1898	Cahiers Internationaux de sociologie	1946			1958
France	Société française de sociologie	1962								
Germany	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie		1909	Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie (und Sozialpsychologie)	1921	Soziale Welt	1949			
Greece	Hellenic Sociological Association		1983	Koinoniologiki Skepi (Sociological Thought)						
Hungary	Hungarian Sociological Association	1978	1989	Huszadik Század	1947	Szociológia	1972			1983
Iceland	Félagsfræðingafélag Íslands		1995						1970	1970, ?
Ireland	Sociological Association of Ireland		1973							
Israel	Israel Sociological Society		1967							

Italy	L'Associazione Italiana di Sociologia		1983	Quaderni di Sociologica					1950	1985
Latvia	Latvian Sociological Association		1989							
Lithuania	Lithuanian Sociological Society		1992							
Macedonia	Association of Sociologists of the Republic of Macedonia		1984						1975	
Netherlands	Nederlandse Sociologische Vereniging		1936	Mens en Maatschappij	1925	De Sociologische Gids	1953	1921	1948	
Norway	Norsk sosiologforening		1949	Sosiologisk tidsskrift	1993				1949	1950, ?
Poland	Polish Sociological Association	1931	1957	Polish Sociological Review / Bulletin	1961	Przeglad Sociologiczy	1938			
Portugal	Associação Portuguesa de Sociologia		1985							
Romania	Romanian Sociological Association	1964	1990	Romanian Journal of Sociology	(1936-1946) 1990	Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai. Sociologia	1970			
Russian Federation	Russian Society of Sociologists	1958	1989	Moskovskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet. Vestnik. Seriya 18: Sotsiologiya i Politologiya	1946	Sotsiologicheskie Issledovaniya	1974			
Serbia	Serbian Sociological Association	1935	1954	Sociologija	1959	Sociological Review	(1938) 1961		1959	1959
Slovakia	Slovenská sociologická spoločnosť		1964	Sociologia	1969					
Slovenia	Slovensko Sociološko društvo		1965	Sociologija	1959	Teorija in praksa	1963		1960	1960
Spain	Federación Española de Sociología		1978	Revista Espanola de Investigaciones Sociologicas	1965					1974
Sweden	Swedish Sociological Association		1962	Sociologisk Forskning	1964			1947		1972, ?
Switzerland	Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Soziologie	1954	1970	Schweizer Zeitschrift für Soziologie	1975			1886		
Turkey	Sociology Association in Turkey		1990							
Ukraine	Sociological Association of Ukraine		1993							
United Kingdom	British Sociological Association		1951	The Sociological Review	1908	British Journal of Sociology	1950			
Yugoslavia	Yugoslav Association of Sociology	1954	1959	Sociology	1959	Sociologija sela	1963	1959	1959	

Note on sources and limitation: As everyone can see several cells are blank. We tried hard to find appropriate data but were not more successful, unfortunately. Most data are from the websites of the national associations, stem from literature or expert consultation. We thank all those who helped us and would be happy to receive more information on missing cases.