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British Sociology

A History

John Scott

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Sociology Transformed

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British Sociology

A History

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Sociology Transformed

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Preface

This book is far from being a complete institutional and intellectual history of British sociology, a project that would require many lengthy volumes. My aim has been simply to give an introductory overview and to sketch the main themes and ideas that British sociologists have explored, concentrating on the period since 1945. Much of this history will be unfamiliar to many readers, and I hope that this taster will encourage readers to learn more about the history of their own departments and the sociological work that has been undertaken.

'British sociology' is, in some respects, a loose and ambiguous term. I use it here to refer to the work carried on in British university departments of sociology and cognate subjects by those who have been active in those departments for much of their careers. I therefore include those born and trained elsewhere but who have migrated to Britain and settled here. Conversely, I do not include those born in Britain who have worked overseas for the greater parts of their careers. This is, no doubt, arbitrary, but it provides a workable delineation of the field. For each of the periods covered I first discuss the university and departmental infrastructure of teaching and research and then follow this with a discussion of the principal intellectual trends. It should be possible for the reader to use the index to map the intellectual work back to the departments in which it was undertaken. My accounts of research and my listing of individual

sociologists are necessarily selective, and I hope that I will be forgiven by those whose work I fail to mention.

I have made use of the few existing historical accounts wherever possible, but much of the information comes from obituaries, prefaces, acknowledgements, and footnotes in a variety of sources that cannot be listed in the Bibliography without extending this to unreasonable lengths. I have included much information from my personal knowledge and that of various friends and correspondents, to all of whom I am very grateful. I am also grateful to my editors, John Holmwood and Stephen Turner, for comments on an earlier draft. I will be glad to hear of any corrections that need to be made.

In presenting my account I have frequently referred to people by their personal name or the short name by which they were widely known in the profession. I hope that this gives a more intimate and inclusive picture than would be the case if I referred to them all by their full name. Cross-checking with the Bibliography and Index will connect up all name variants. I have not followed this strategy in the case of the early pioneers discussed in Chap. 1, as it was more usual at the time for colleagues to refer to each other by surname alone. While Patrick Geddes was known to his friends as 'Pat' and Leonard Hobhouse to his friends as 'Leo', it seems more natural to refer to them in full. This, I am sure, involves some inconsistencies for which I apologise.

I have generally referred to universities simply by their geographical location wherever this involves no ambiguity or confusion. Thus, for example, Essex University is referred to simply as 'Essex', as is common in discussions among colleagues.

The citations included in the Bibliography are to publications by academics working in Britain only, in line with the above delineation of my field. Where it is necessary to refer to sources by writers outside Britain, these are given in full in the footnotes. I have not sought to give full references to the US, French, and German sociologists that are mentioned in passing.

I hope that this book will convey, and share, some of the enthusiasm and commitment that I feel for the subject that I have studied for the last 50 years, though not quite for the whole of the period covered by this history!

Colchester, UK
November 2019

John Scott

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1

Pioneers and Early Beginnings

Abstract This chapter briefly reviews the origins of British sociology in the theoretical and statistical discussions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It considers the influence of the ‘classical’ sociologies of Patrick Geddes and Leonard Hobhouse and assesses their role in the establishment of professional sociology. The formation of the first department of sociology at the London School of Economics is discussed, and the origins of other departments of social studies and social science are summarised. The chapter concludes with an overview of the main studies undertaken between 1920 and 1940.

Keywords Spencer • Booth • Geddes • Hobhouse • Sociological Society

The word *sociologie* was invented by Auguste Comte in 1830, and his neologism was first taken up in Britain—as ‘sociology’—by Herbert Spencer when he began to build his own intellectual system from the mid-1850s. Regarded by linguistic purists as a barbarous combination of Latin and Greek roots, the name that Spencer gave to his ideas about

human evolution was widely disparaged, as were those ideas themselves. Nevertheless, the term caught on in the margins of intellectual life, and a Sociological Society was formed in 1903 to promote the subject in the universities and in public life. The Society set up a journal (*The Sociological Review*, originally called the *Sociological Papers*) and helped to establish the first university professorship to carry the designation 'sociology' at the London School of Economics (LSE).

The association and journal had some initial success, but the drive to establish sociology had lost much of its momentum by the time of the First World War. Sociology at the LSE grew only slowly, and it was not until after the Second World War that there was any significant expansion in university teaching and research in the subject. It was at this time that a new journal, *The British Journal of Sociology*, was formed under the firm control of the LSE and that new departments began to appear in provincial universities under the somewhat reluctant sponsorship of the LSE and its staff, who acted as external examiners for the university colleges that adopted the London degree structure. When a major expansion of university teaching was encouraged and financed by the government during the 1960s, many more departments of sociology were founded in new universities and in colleges that were later to expand and to acquire university status. Sociology was finally established as a university discipline, though it has been the target for financial cuts and political hostility ever since.

This brief sketch of organised sociology might seem to support the view that sociology in Britain is a 'new' subject with no real history behind it. However, sociology as a subject of study is more than just a name. It is a particular way of thinking about and reporting on social life. In this sense, it has a much longer history in Britain than does its university organisation under the label 'sociology'. As in many other countries, social thought and social investigation developed outside the universities and was often undertaken by those who identified with other long-established disciplines and practices. To be a 'sociologist', then, it is not necessary to be a member of a 'Sociology' society or department, nor is it necessary to embrace the label or even to identify with its practice. Sociological ways of thinking abound in the work of self-identifying

philosophers, historians, political economists, and literary critics, and among those without any fixed intellectual affiliation. Empirical investigations into social life were enthusiastically pursued by religious and social reformers as ‘statistical’ studies into living conditions, and these gradually came to be thought of as a new science of poverty and industrial organisation that was variously called ‘social science’ or ‘social economics’, but only rarely ‘sociology’. Any study of organised sociology in Britain must recognise the importance of this lively and fruitful pre-history to the university discipline that expanded after 1945.

Theory, Research, and the Emergence of Professional Sociology

Reflections on human society can be found in religious and philosophical writings from the late medieval and early modern periods, but specifically modern theoretical reflections date from the eighteenth-century Enlightenment.¹ The works of Scottish writers on politics, economics, and class structure were followed by historical investigations by Henry Buckle and the reflections on method undertaken by J. S. Mill produced a lively debate over the interpretation of social conditions. The evolutionary ideas of Herbert Spencer, Edward Tylor, and Benjamin Kidd produced an explanation of the long-term development of these conditions from earlier forms of society. Romantic and idealist thinkers developed a critical account of the destruction of community and the alienation inherent in what Thomas Carlyle called the ‘cash nexus’ of modern commercialism. This critique was taken further by socialist theorists such as Eleanor Marx and Edward Carpenter in views of patriarchy and the dehumanisation of sexuality in capitalist society.

In parallel with this, empirical surveys were undertaken by government, the Church, and a variety of Statistical Societies concerned with the problem of poverty. These statistical surveys and censuses were complemented by ethnographic studies of the urban poor that culminated in major studies by Henry Mayhew, Charles Booth, and Seebohm Rowntree.

This work established, by the early twentieth century, the need for a new 'social science' combining social thought and empirical research that was capable of producing the information and understanding required by social workers and social policy administrators and would allow more effective policy making and social intervention. This had not, however, crystallised into a desire to establish university departments of 'sociology', and social concerns were as likely to develop under the labels 'social science', 'social policy and administration', 'social studies, or 'social economics'.

It was in this context that three pioneering projects to establish sociology as a discipline emerged. These comprised a group of interdisciplinary thinkers and organisers around Patrick Geddes, a group of Labour activists associated with the establishment of the London School of Economics (LSE), and a group of liberal philosophers associated with the Charity Organisation Society (COS) and its attempts to organise social work training.

Patrick Geddes, a Scottish botanist and ecologist, was much influenced by the sociology of Le Play, which he saw as offering an 'ecological' approach to sociology. Moving more firmly into sociological speculation, he became associated with the London Positivist Society and was attracted to many Comtean ideas. He combined these French influences with a commitment to the ethical socialism of Ruskin and Morris and produced a model of the social system that emphasised the ecological relationships between culture, the material way of life, and the environment. His sociology stressed the need to understand social life in its regional setting and to investigate the processes involved in the formation of both 'rustic' villages and 'civic' urban areas. This sociology was to have a practical relationship to the 'reconstruction' of modern urban life in the expanding industrial towns and cities, through contributing to the building of a civic way of life centred on the actively involved citizen.

Geddes's student and collaborator, Victor Branford, worked hard to popularise Geddes's ideas and to establish his approach as the dominant form of sociology in Britain (Geddes 1904, 1905, 1915; Branford and Geddes 1919). Branford's first attempt to institutionalise Geddes's sociology was as the 'Edinburgh School of Sociology', based in the Outlook Tower and offering Summer School courses for teachers and the interested

general public. These efforts led to the formation in London in 1903 of the Sociological Society, intended to bring together the diverse strands of social thought and social research and begin the development of a professional discipline. The Society launched an annual publication that became the *Sociological Review*, the first professional journal of sociological research in Britain. The Geddes group sponsored a number of empirical studies of rural and urban areas that were carried out by local amateurs, schools, and some more organised groups with an interest in ‘civics’ and regional issues.² Geddes and Branford failed to secure academic positions in Britain from which they could develop their sociology, though they had an influence on some who went into geography and anthropology (e.g., Herbertson and Herbertson 1899; Fleure 1918, 1919). Geddes largely withdrew, becoming professor of sociology at the University of Bombay and then establishing an interdisciplinary university college for Scottish students in Montpellier, France.

The Society was an unsteady coalition of interests, both academic and practical. Opposition to its project from others, combined with Branford’s inability to match his organisational skills with an intellectual engagement in constructive dialogue, led the Society—later renamed the Institute of Sociology—to become increasingly moribund through the 1930s. By the time of the Second World War it was a spent force in academic life.

The Fabian Society had been formed as a socialist pressure group aiming to educate people in socialist thought through research that would produce evidence to inform socialist policies of intervention and the administration of policy reforms. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, and, for a while, H. G. Wells, were ethical socialists who developed a non-Marxist alternative to utilitarian economics. They advocated the development of a new science of ‘sociology’ that would explore the implications of economic concentration, monopoly, and class divisions within a ‘social organism’.

The Webbs had been a major force in founding the LSE, running courses in economics and lecture programmes in politics, sociology, and philosophy (Dahrendorf 1995; Husbands 2019a). An early recruit in sociology was Leonard Hobhouse, a moral philosopher and Liberal Party activist who was in 1907 appointed to a Chair in sociology, along with

Finnish anthropologist Edvard Westermarck. Though opposed to Spencer's evolutionism, Hobhouse's sociology traced a 'social development' from simple tribal societies to complex industrial ones (Hobhouse 1901, 1906, 1924; and see J. Scott 2016). His friend and associate John Hobson, lecturing at the South Place Ethical Society, sketched a complementary account of the economic basis of social development with an influential analysis of capitalist class relations and the structure of imperialism (Hobson 1901, 1906).

The initial courses in sociology at the LSE were aimed at the clergy, social workers, trade union officials, and civil servants, and were intended to be practical in character. However, the funding that made the two professorships possible was intended to establish a more theoretical and comparative orientation to teaching and to build a more academic student body. The result was a rambling and unstructured syllabus in which core courses in comparative morals and religion and in social philosophy were combined with an eclectic mixture of courses on social psychology, tribal societies, India, classical Greece, contemporary France, philanthropy, and professional organisation (Husbands 2019a: 12–24).

Morris Ginsberg was appointed in 1914 and during the 1920s sociology was more formally organised as a 'department' with a professor and a reader organising teaching into a BA in Sociology rather than simply as a 'Special Subject' within a BSc Econ. The syllabus became more organised and regularised and the teachers involved in sociology included Tom Marshall, John Hobson, Maude Pember-Reeves, and Harry Pear. The sociology of tribal societies that Westermarck had pioneered was split off into a separate department of 'social anthropology' headed by Bronisław Malinowski and developed during the 1920s largely in parallel with sociology.

Ginsberg and Marshall were antithetical towards the Institute of Sociology, which they saw as a mere vehicle for Geddes's ideas. While they participated in some of its activities, they engaged in protracted opposition through the inter-war years and the approach taken by Geddes was increasingly marginalised.³ Institutionalised sociology remained largely confined to the LSE. Its sociologists pursued Hobhouse's theoretical concerns, engaged in empirical studies of social class and mobility, and began to adopt a more empirical approach to their work.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Romantic and idealist social theory had been formulated into a coherent ‘social philosophy’ by a group of philosophers who drew on the idealism of Kant and Hegel. Most influential was Edward Caird (1885), who led a move to reconstruct Spencer’s concept of the social organism by emphasising that solidarity and cohesion depend on the ‘internal relations’ that comprise its ‘moral bonds’. Bernard Bosanquet, the most systematic of these writers, was among the first in Britain to take seriously the theoretical ideas of Emile Durkheim, who he saw as having utilised German idealism in developing the ideas of organic solidarity and the *conscience collective* (Bosanquet 1899; Jones 1883, 1910). Bosanquet saw society as ‘mind-made’, as built from the meanings that people construct in their minds on the basis of their cultural socialisation. The institutions and practices of a society were seen as the external projection of a mental system constituted in the minds of interacting individuals. This view was promoted in programmes of social intervention that encouraged self-reliance among the poor by Bosanquet with his wife Helen and with Charles Loch in the Charity Organisation Society (COS).

The idealist philosophers set up the London Ethical Society in 1896 as a discussion group for developing a social philosophy to inform social casework and social administration (see Mackenzie 1895, 1918; Muirhead and Hetherington 1918). The London School of Ethics and Social Philosophy was formed, as an adjunct to this, as a training base for those going into social work and administration. Their hope of emulating the LSE by affiliating to London University was rebuffed and the School was disbanded in 1903 to be reformed as the School of Sociology and Social Economics, which would work closely with the LSE in the training of practitioners. Its lecturers included Hobhouse and Cambridge anthropologist Alfred Haddon. Funding from the Ratan Tata Foundation allowed it to be established as a ‘Department’ of London University—as the Department of Social Science and Administration—until it was absorbed into the LSE in 1922 (Harris 1989). Despite the theoretical interests of the idealists, the department stressed the practical implications of the link between ‘social philosophy’ and ‘social science’. Teaching staff included Henry Tawney and Clement Attlee, and a number of empirical studies of women’s work, casual work, and poverty were

produced by associated researchers and settlement workers, including Varvara de Vesselitsky, labour activist Arthur Greenwood, statistician Arthur Bowley, and Christian social worker Henry Mess. Though Hobhouse had nominal oversight of the department, it operated at arm's length from the sociologists and was under the operational headship of Edward Urwick (1912).⁴ After Urwick's departure in 1920 for a chair in Toronto, Tata funding was reduced and the department concentrated on social work training.

Centres of Sociology and Social Science

Only very tentative moves were made to establish 'sociology' outside the LSE. The sociology that developed elsewhere owed more to the idealist conception of social philosophy than it did to the sociology established under Hobhouse and Ginsberg, and this was reflected in the common usage of 'social science' as a designation for the departments. These ventures were often undertaken in conjunction with the growing number of social work settlements associated with universities.⁵ The first teaching course to be undertaken as 'Sociology' was taught from 1888 by Philip Wickstead at Manchester New College, a Unitarian foundation in London. The College later moved to Oxford, where the Dunkin Lectureship in Sociology was set up in 1890, though lecture titles, given by idealist social philosophers and others, varied between 'sociology' and 'social economy'. Six years later, the Lancashire Independent College in Manchester, a Congregationalist foundation, introduced a course in sociology taught by Robert Mackintosh, who subsequently published his lectures as a book (Mackintosh 1899). A number of occasional lectures on sociology were delivered from 1893 as public, adult education lectures in Oxford, Plymouth, Birmingham, and Leeds by Dennis Hird, Harry Osman Newland, and Adolphe Pernotte of Ruskin Hall, later Ruskin College. The lectures drew on Herbert Spencer and the American sociologist Lester Ward and on ideas of civics and citizenship.

Robert MacIver, a lecturer in politics at Aberdeen, had begun to teach political sociology and persuaded his university to attach the label 'sociology' to his job title in 1911. Although he produced the most

important sociological monograph of the period (MacIver 1917), this was published just as he left Britain for a post in Canada and he spent the rest of his career in North America. At Cambridge, Alfred Haddon had delivered anthropological lectures in 1896 under the designation ‘sociology’ and Henry Sidgwick (1899) had expressed some limited support for sociology, having himself lectured on ‘Sociology and Philosophy’. In 1895 the university invited Benjamin Kidd to talk about the possibility of establishing regular teaching in the subject within the philosophy faculty’s Moral Sciences Tripos, but despite being dined at King’s, Emmanuel, and Peterhouse, the discussions led nowhere. When, in 1924, the Rockefeller Foundation offered to fund a chair in sociology this was turned down (Bulmer 1981). With funding from Martin White, who had already provided the funds for the Sociology Society and for Hobhouse’s chair at the LSE, St Andrews established a trial lectureship in sociology in 1918. Jack Williams was appointed to this lectureship, but the university’s commitment was half-hearted and the experiment was not continued.

A School of Training for Social Work was formed in Liverpool by economist Edward Gonner in 1905 to work in association with the University Settlement for Women and Frederic D’Aeth, a London curate, was recruited as a lecturer in social work. Emily Simey, the Warden of the settlement, joined university staff Elizabeth Macadam and Eleanor Rathbone to provide its teaching of courses in social ethics (by D’Aeth), social economics (by Gonner), local government and poor law administration (by Rathbone), urban problems, and child welfare. Sixty-seven students were enrolled in its first year, and a small amount of research was undertaken (D’Aeth 1907; Stocks 1949; M. Simey 2005). The School was incorporated into the university in 1917 as the Department of Social Science and a major step forward was taken when Alexander Carr-Saunders was appointed to the new Charles Booth Professorship in 1923. David Caradog Jones was soon appointed as lecturer in social statistics and two additional teachers were appointed. The new staff began to build a strong research base, undertaking a social survey of Merseyside (Jones 1934) for which Charles Booth’s grandson George Macaulay Booth—a director of the Bank of England—was an adviser. A degree course in Social Science began in 1925. Emily Simey’s nephew Tom was recruited in 1931

to teach public administration and in 1935 he married Margaret Todd, the first person to have graduated from the degree scheme. When, in 1939, Carr-Saunders became Director of the LSE, Tom Simey succeeded him as professor.

The Glasgow University Women's Settlement began social work training in 1902, later employing economist Harry Jones to teach a course, later published, on social economics (Jones 1922). This was formalised after the First World War as a School of Social Study and Training and James Cunnison, formerly lecturing at the Quaker Woodbrooke College in Bourneville, was appointed as a settlement warden and as a lecturer in social economics. Although Cunnison published on issues of labour organisation, the School remained largely a teaching unit until it was incorporated into the University in 1943. The university had separately established within the political economy department in 1921 the Stevenson lectureship, an annual lecture series taught through the 1930s by South Place Ethical Society lecturer Cecil DeLisle Burns.

Leeds University introduced a course on social economy, taught by economist David MacGregor and established this as a diploma course in 1912. Harry Jones was involved in this work after moving from Glasgow.

Courses taught in the Birmingham University Women's Settlement were incorporated into the university in 1905 as a diploma course in 'Social Study' for welfare administrators. Economic historian William Ashley was recruited as professor of commerce—a post for which Victor Branford was an unsuccessful applicant—to oversee its introduction and to work alongside John Muirhead, who was recently appointed as professor of philosophy. The social study course included social philosophy (Muirhead 1892), industrial organisation (taught by Ashley), welfare administration (taught by historian Howard Masterman), and lectures in education, health, and housing that were later consolidated as 'social economics'. When Philip Sargant Florence was appointed as Ashley's successor in 1929, he began a more active involvement in empirical research on industry and regional issues. A Department of Social Study was incorporated into the School of Social and Political Science in 1939 and the diploma became a degree course in 1945.

Bedford College for Women, a part of London University, had started a course in 'Social Studies and Economics' in 1918, basing this on a war-time COS course on 'Social Ethics and Social Economics'. The course became a BA degree in Sociology in 1925. The department was modelled on the LSE Department of Social Science and Administration and its female students were taught by a female staff. A research effort began in 1935 when Henry Mess was appointed as Reader and Head of Department. Mess had formerly been a settlement worker for the Student Christian Movement and then lecturer in social science for the Lancashire and Yorkshire Congregational Union before undertaking a survey of Tyneside (Mess 1928) for the Church Socialist League's conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship. In 1948 Barbara Wootton was appointed as Professor of Social Studies (Oakley 2011).

Limited provision was made elsewhere. Teaching was provided for social workers at Manchester University from 1912, taught by Joseph Findlay from within the School of Education and Findlay produced a textbook based on the idealist standpoint (Findlay 1920). However, this teaching did not continue after his retirement. Some occasional teaching for a certificate in social studies took place at Bristol from 1911 through the university settlement at Barton Hill and with support from professor of psychology Conwy Lloyd Morgan. This training did not really take off until the 1939 appointment as settlement warden of Hilda Jennings, formerly a voluntary researcher on the Quaker-directed community experiment at Brynmawr in South Wales (Jennings 1934). A Department of Social Policy was later formed. A School of Social Study and Training was set up in Edinburgh in 1918, headed by Nora Milnes from the LSE social science and administration department. The School was incorporated into the university in 1928.

Around 900 students studied for a qualification in sociology, social science, or a similar course between 1918 and 1939. The vast majority had studied for a certificate rather than a degree. Some additional teaching was undertaken through the Workers' Educational Association and other adult education classes, as well as in some prisons. There was no teaching of sociology in any school, though there was a move to introduce civics or citizenship to schools (Keating 2011).

Sociology and Social Research in the Inter-war Years

The growing number of students had few textbooks to guide them. While some texts on sociology or social science for a general audience had been published (Saleeby 1905) and some, for adult education (MacIver 1921; Evans 1923) and for those in social administration and social work (Mackenzie 1918; Findlay 1920), no reasonably comprehensive textbook on mainstream sociology appeared until the publication of Ginsberg's *Sociology* (1934). This textbook reigned supreme until after the Second World War, despite being fairly basic. Its use was supplemented by a reliance on MacIver's (1917) monograph on social theory and its subsequent American editions, which was also used as a supporting, advanced textbook. Intellectually, there was much in common between Ginsberg and MacIver, especially the latter's drawing of a contrast between community and association as forms of social cohesion. Ginsberg, however, placed this within a developmental framework. These views were later summarised for students outside the LSE by Mess (1942) and Wright (1942).

The LSE sociologists produced little in the way of empirical research. Ethnographic studies were produced by Westermarck (1906, 1926), and Hobhouse himself had produced an early comparative study (Hobhouse et al. 1914), but knowledge of the 'simpler' societies depended on the work of those in the new Department of Social Anthropology, most notably Malinowski (1922, 1926, 1929, 1935) and Firth (1936). William Beveridge, the Director of the School, was increasingly frustrated by the sociology department's failure to stray too far from Hobhouse's view of the subject and by its failure to develop empirical and applied research of the kind originally envisaged by the Webbs. For a time he sponsored a rival Department of Social Biology, headed by zoologist Lancelot Hogben, a fervent opponent of eugenics, to consolidate and advance demographic and statistical work on social mobility (Harris 1997), with which Ginsberg cooperated (Ginsberg 1929). The most extensive empirical research project was the 'New Survey of London' that Beveridge launched in 1928 and for which Herbert Llewellyn Smith, formerly a research worker on Booth's origi-

nal London survey, took the academic lead (Llewellyn Smith 1930–1935). The sociologists had little involvement in this, though it was linked to developments in statistical techniques being developed by Arthur Bowley. Beveridge’s successor, Alexander Carr-Saunders, closed down Social Biology but encouraged demographic research to develop closer relations with a reluctant sociology. This decision planted the seeds of an opposition of demographic researchers to theoretical sociology within the LSE department.

The London survey was one of a number of similar surveys undertaken elsewhere and often in association with the social work settlements. Many of these followed Geddes’s advocacy of rustic and civic studies (Kent 1985) and included a city study of Norwich (Hawkins 1910) and a village study of Corsley in Wiltshire (Davies 1909). Important later surveys were the Merseyside survey undertaken at Liverpool (D. C. Jones 1934), a study of Tyneside by Henry Mess (1928), a local survey of Brynmawr (Jennings 1934), and studies of Southampton (Ford 1934), Plymouth (Taylor 1938), and Bristol (Toot 1944). A summary of these surveys was produced for the Institute of Social Service by Ginsberg’s doctoral student Alan Wells (1935). From the late 1930s, a number of surveys were carried out in Bolton and London by a newly formed research organisation. Formed by Humphrey Jennings, Tom Harrison, and Charles Madge in 1937, Mass-Observation was outside the university system and undertook studies that combined ethnography with survey and diary research (Mass-Observation 1939, 1942, 1943a, b; Jennings and Madge 1937).⁶

By the end of the Second World War, some faltering steps had been taken to establish social theory and social research in university departments of sociology, social science, social studies, and social policy and administration, as well as in a growing number of units in social anthropology. Only at LSE, however, did this take the form of a Department of Sociology. Meanwhile, both the Sociological Society (by now renamed the Institute of Sociology) and the *Sociological Review* had become moribund. The discipline was, with some hesitation, at a new beginning.

Notes

1. A detailed discussion of the development of British social theory can be found in J. Scott (2018). Important aspects of the institutional history of sociology are discussed by Chris Renwick (2012).
2. The Edinburgh School of Sociology is discussed in J. Scott (2007). The Sociological Society and the role of Victor Branford are discussed in Scott and Bromley (2012, 2013) and Scott and Husbands (2007).
3. See the excellent account of this period in B. Rocquin, *British Sociologists and French Sociologists in the Interwar Years. The Battle for Society*. London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.
4. The department had links with King's College, where Urwick held a chair in economics and where Lionel Tayler taught on social psychology and 'hygiene' in its School of Home Training and Domestic Science.
5. An account of some of these departments and lecture courses can be found in Husbands (2014, 2019b). See also (Fincham 1975: chs 2 & 3; Bulmer 1985a).
6. Mass-Observation is discussed in Calder (1985), Hinton (2013), and Hall (2015).
7. All sources are listed here and cited in the text by their date of first publication. Where a second date is shown this refers to the later edition, reprint, or translation consulted. Unless otherwise stated, place of publication is London.

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