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**Cătălin Zamfir, Iancu Filipescu, Simona Stănescu, Simona Ilie,
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Seven stages of turbulent social history of the Romanian sociology

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The authors propose a daring journey into the previously shaded past of Romanian sociology after 1944, based on an ambitious program supported by the Institute for Quality of Life Research and the Romanian Association of Sociologists, set off in 2006, called Romanian Sociological Publishing after 1944. In this paper, we identify six historical stages in the Romanian sociology's development and also focus on its survival during communism and its evolution after communism. Each stage is presented in its historical context, and a prediction for the future of Romanian sociology is made at the end.

Key-words: Romanian sociology, sociological publications

The year 2010 was a special year for the Romanian sociology, because it celebrates twenty years since the fresh start of Romanian sociology within a new social context: the Romanian revolution from 1989 and the profound changes in the Romanian society. On this occasion we should take a moment to reflect to the sociological analysis of the Romanian sociology as a social movement, as a social process, and as a product of a society.

The sociology of the first half of the 20th century was the product of a society which was at the beginning of its modern era, animated by a strong social will to diminish the social and economic lag and to promote development. It started from the actual situation of the Romanian society and made the effort to value the contextual opportunities of the Romanian society of those times.

Throughout this period of more than a century, Romanian sociology was characterized by a sustained effort to decrease the social underdevelopment and to connect to the international sociological movement.

The socio-political context produced by the end of World War Two exposed the Romanian society to a completely new situation. Romania faced an economic and social “lag” compared to other European states. But the context was completely different, characterized by dividing Europe between the capitalist West and the Soviet controlled East.

The year 1989 radically changed the internal and international social context and launched new opportunities. Sociology was challenged to contribute to the process of social development.

Despite the different social contexts, the sociological community always responded to the new imperatives, animated by a socio-moral activism.

The history of the Romanian sociology displays both discontinuities, in terms of the flow of publications and topics approached, and continuities, in its endeavour to crystallize a sociological community. Beyond the changes of topic, continuity was ensured by the social vocation of sociologists, and by the never ending effort of professionalisation.

What happened for over a century in the Romanian sociology?

To answer this question, the Institute for Quality of Life Research, with the support of the *Romanian Association of Sociologists*, set off in 2006 an ambitious program: ***The Romanian sociology after 1944***. The first stage of this program ended in 2010 with the development of a complex of databases on Romanian sociology¹ which comprises:

- a. **Sociological production after 1944**² which includes two databases:
 - b. Published books (over 3,000 titles)
 - c. Sociologic papers published in field journals and in collective books (over 14,000 titles)
- d. **Sociologists who published various works, with their CVs.**
- e. **Doctors in sociology, with the title of their doctoral thesis.**
- f. **Institutions with sociological profile: education, research, consulting.**

This complex of databases provides for the people interested in the analysis of the Romanian sociology *as a social fact* a huge empirical source. Although they aim to be exhaustive, at such scope, the databases do have

¹ We hereby thank all our sociologist fellows who collaborated with promptitude in accomplishing this program. They are the rightful authors of this huge work.

² The databases also include results for 2008: 125 books and 275 papers. Because at this moment we see no reason for such a dramatic decrease compared to 2007, we consider that the publications of 2008 must have been covered only partially. Hence, we only present the data until 2007 inclusive. We intend to enlarge the database for 2008 and 2009.

imperfections, omissions or improper inclusions of some authors or titles. Naturally, the process of completing and reviewing will continue.

On the occasion of celebrating 20 years from the start of a new phase of Romanian sociology, we present an overview of Romanian sociology over half of century.

We will provide synthetic data on the sociological publishing (books and papers published in field journals) and on the doctoral theses in sociology. These data provide an illustrative empirical database on the various stages of the contorted history of the Romanian sociology.

We divided the sociological production into seven stages: a stage of establishment of the Romanian sociology, before 1944, and six stages after 1944. The hypothesis, verified by the configuration of the dynamics of the sociological production, is that the dramatic social events yielded deep, often dramatic changes in the dynamics and profile of sociology.

Stage 1. Establishment of the sociological community and of the institutional system of the sociology. Even from early 20th century, and even more over after the first World War One, Romanian sociologists were confronted with the challenges of the socio-economic development of Romania. Within this context, the sociological community coagulated and directed its effort towards three objectives: setting the bases for the profession of sociologist; promotion of an impressive research-development program and an effort of institutional construction at the national level. The initiatives belong to the Bucharest Sociological School of Professor Dimitrie Gusti and it materialized in the establishment of several national institutions, such as the Romanian Social Institute and the establishment of the journal of *Romanian Journal of Sociology (Sociologie românească)*, gathering point for the national communication space of Romanian sociologists.

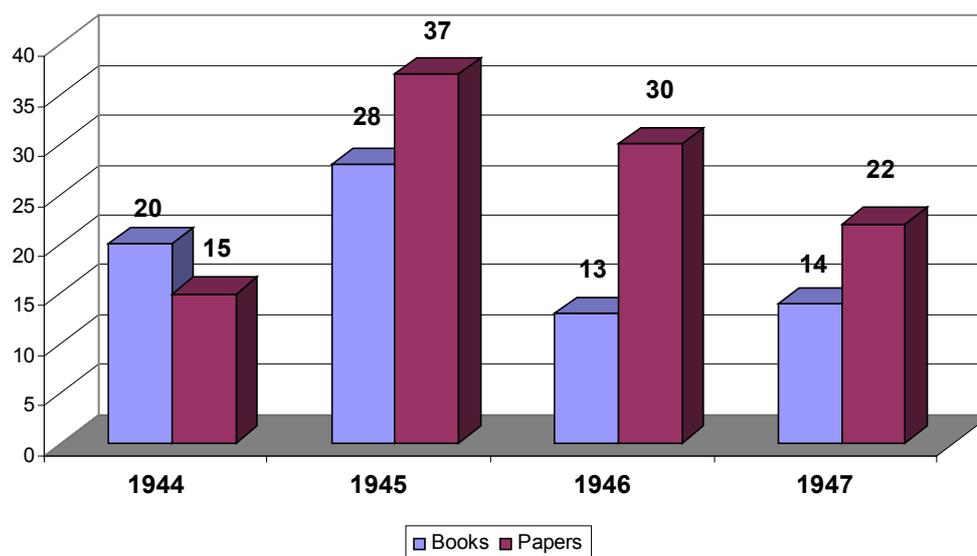
Stage 2. Post-war continuation of the Gustian program (between 1944, end of World War Two, and 1948, after the instauration of the communist regime). The Romanian sociology continued to activate within the previous pattern characterized by the sustained effort to the socio-economic development of Romania. Romanian sociologists formed before the War were active, however, within a confusing political context. This was a heroic gesture of Romanian sociologists who continued to publish during the first four post-war years: **75 books and 104 papers.**

The important representatives of the pre-war Romanian sociology (Dimitrie Gusti, Henri H. Stahl, Traian Herseni, Ernest Bernea, Gheorghe Focșa, Alexandru Bărbat, Lucia Apolzan, Ion Chelcea, Xenia Costa-Foru, Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, Mihail Ralea, Stanciu Stoian) were active during this period; they were accompanied by young hopes, such as Vasile V. Caramelea, Pompiliu Caraion, and by sociologists who continued to publish in France after they left Romania: Mattei Dogan, Șerban Voinea.

The *Romanian Journal of Sociology (Sociologie românească)* ceased to be published in 1944.

In acknowledgement of the particular role of Dimitrie Gusti, he was elected on June 2nd 1944, president of the Romanian Academy, position which he held until June 6th 1946. In this capacity, Gusti established the *National Council of Scientific Research*. However, in 1948, Dimitrie Gusti was (politically) ousted from the Romanian Academy.

Chart 1. Sociological production between 1944 and 1947



Stage 3. Underground Gustian sociology (1948-1961). 1948 was a crucial year, as the brutal disruption of the previous illusions and the instauration of the Soviet-type communist regime took place. Sociology was branded as “*bourgeois* and reactionary science”, and terminated as profession and institution. The term ‘sociology’ has been removed from the public discourse. The Romanian Social Institute and the National Council of Scientific Research have been closed and cancelled in the same year.

Has Romanian sociology been completely liquidated? Some sociologists have been imprisoned. A paradigmatic case is that of Anton Golopenția, who died tragically in prison, and the cases of Traian Herseni, Ernest Bernea and Pompiliu Caraion. Dimitrie Gusti has been confined to his home, like in some kind of home arrest. Others have continued their activity in research institutes with social profile doing research and publishing, but not as sociologists. Among them were Henri H. Stahl, Leon Țopa, Pompiliu Caraion, Gheorghe Focșa, Mihail Ralea, Paul H. Stahl, George M. Marica and Roman Cresin.

In 14 years the publishing of the Romanian sociology decreased dramatically: **45 books and 157 papers**. During 195–1953 sociological publishing was virtually absent.

The few books with sociological profile, or from related areas, generally written by the older members of the Bucharest School, can be divided in several

categories. In 1948, a few books and papers still appeared, „reminiscences” of previous approaches: sociology of villages and towns. Two important books are published, in France, however: Mihai Ralea, *Explication de l'homme*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1949 and Șerban Voinea, *La Socialisation*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1950, (220 pag.). Monograph-type articles survived mostly. Active during this period were the Institute of Anthropology, the Institute of Hygiene and Work Protection (for instance, the study for the organization of the social services in the lower basin Vedea-Călmățui³), the Institute of Economy. Most publications, however, had ethnographic and anthropological profile, and were mainly oriented towards subjects such as: folk art and architecture, ceramics etc. Paul H. Stahl was very active during this period when he published studies of ethnography and ethnology. Several attempts of the remaining sociologists to contribute to the social development can also be identified. For example, in 1949, at the initiative of some sociologists, the Department of Urbanism of the Ministry of Constructions organised a campaign of research in Hunedoara County, with the purpose to develop the best methods to collect the documentation required for a subsequent regional systematization⁴.

The first works of Marxist sociology appear: *Concepția partidului și proletariatul asupra lumii și istoriei* (Conception of the party and proletarians on the world and history by Miron Constantinescu, a young sociologist with a declared Marxist-Leninist option even before the war, 1950), *Bazele organizatorice ale partidului marxist-leninist* (The organisational basis of the Marxist-Leninist party by Constantin Nicuță, 1949), *Sociologia burgheză din România. Studii critice* (Bourgeois sociology in Romania. Critical studies by Ernő Gall, 1958). Several books or papers of “critique of the bourgeois sociology” published during this period have a complex signification. On the one hand, they were a dogmatic and ideological reaction of sociology’s rejection, but they certainly were an attempt to resume the contact with the Western sociological literature, and to bring back into focus the pre-war Romanian sociology. Such papers appeared no more after 1962.

Two outstanding characters were noticed during this period. The most active publisher of the period was Mihail Ralea, by quality essayistic works with socio-cultural profile. Ralea was an exception, explainable probably by the special esteem which Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej had for him. We must, however, also note a fundamental book for the Romanian sociology, published in two volumes in 1958⁵ and 1959⁶, by Henri H. Stahl: *Contribuții la studiul satelor*

³ Matei I. Ioan, *Problems of organisation of the social services in the rural environment (research conducted in the lower basin Vedea-Călmățui* (in Romanian) in *Studies and research of public hygiene and health*, Medical Press, Bucharest, (pp. 333-341), 1964

⁴ Henri .H. Stahl and I. Matei, *An experience of sociological documentation for territory systematization* (in Romanian), in Miron Constantinescu (coord.) *Contemporary sociological research*, Bucharest, Scientific Press, 1966

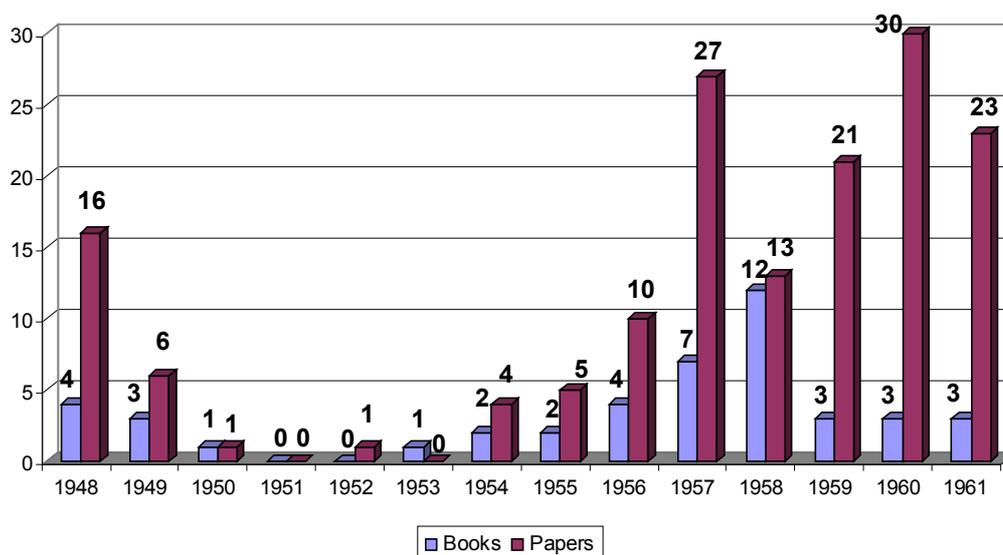
⁵ Henri H. Stahl: *Contributions to the study of the Romanian “devălmașe” villages*, vol. I, *Confederations of forestry centres, territorial structures and agricultural techniques*, Romanian Academy Press, Bucharest, 374 pag., 1958

⁶ Henri H. Stahl: *Contributions to the study of the Romanian “devălmașe” villages*, vol. II, *Internal structure of the free “devălmașe” villages*, Romanian Academy Press, Bucharest, 365 pag., 1959

devălmașe românești (Contributions to the study of the Romanian “devălmașe” villages. The third volume was published in 1965⁷.

Within a hostile climate for sociology and for social research, in general, one may still identify a constant increase of the articles in the field of social research.

Chart 2. Underground Gustian sociological publishing: 1948–1961



Stage 4: Acknowledgement of the sociology as legitimate science, by the communist regime: 1962–1977. This fresh start of Romanian sociology benefited from the generation formed in the Sociological School of Bucharest, which survived professionally during the difficult years of the early communist program.

Three sub-stages were observed: the **tacit acknowledgement of sociology** (1962–1965), the **official acknowledgement of sociology and the establishment of the university departments of sociology** (1966–1973) and the **impact of the “cultural mini-revolution”** started in 1971, which peaked with the cancellation of the sociological education in 1977 (1974–1977).

We have chosen 1962 as starting year for the acknowledgement of sociology. Surprising signs of general political opening and acceptance of sociology were observed that year. The symbol for this change was the 1962 publication of the first book which had the term sociology in its title: **Sociology of successes** by Mihail Ralea and Traian Hariton (Herseni), (in Romanian) at the *Editura Științifică* (Scientific Press). This is the first theoretically solid book of sociology. We should also note the acceptance of Traian Herseni, the “former

⁷ Henri H. Stahl: Contributions to the study of the Romanian “devălmașe” villages, vol. III, Process of feudal enslavement of the “devălmașe” villages, Romanian Academy Press, Bucharest, 457 pag., 1965

fascist sociologist”, freed after years of imprisonment, as author of a book, under the pseudonym of „Hariton”. During the following years, Traian Herseni published numerous books of sociology. We are, however delaying still the recognition of Mihai Ralea’s sociological contribution, brilliant socio-literary essayist and psychologist, with a fundamental sociological contribution: sociology of success, initiated by his lecture on the same topic between 1944-1945 and *Explication de l’homme*. He undoubtedly intervened in favour of Traian Herseni’s „rehabilitation” and, maybe, of convincing Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej to accept, tacitly for the beginning, sociology as a legitimate science under the communist regime, too.

This tacit recognition of the Romanian sociology started to manifest timidly even before 1962. After a 10-year period of silence, the term ‘sociology’ started to appear in press with a neutral-positive connotation. In 1957 there was a study on the “Marxist sociology”. The term itself *sociology* was mentioned in a title from 1959, in four titles from 1960, one in 1961, two in 1962 and six in 1964.

An extremely important event was noticed in 1962, too: Henri H. Stahl, Elena Florea and Mioara Constantinescu published two volumes: *Manual de prevedere și asistență socială* (Manual of social provision and assistance⁸). In the same year, the bases of a new system of social assistance were established, on the grounds of the pre-war tradition.

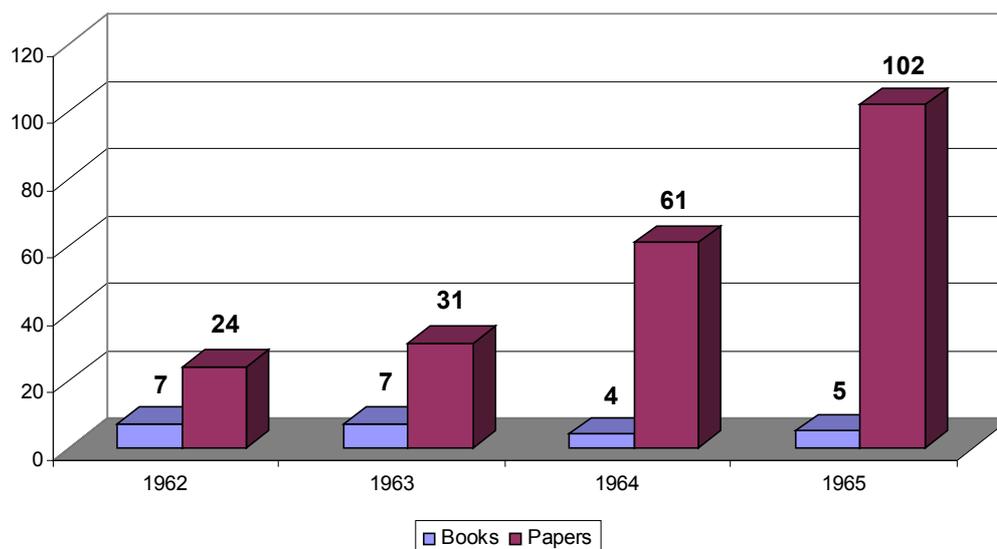
Tudor Bugnariu played an important role by his activity at the Romanian Academy in relaunching sociology and the cultural anthropology. Among first articles promoting a new vision on sociology we mention: *Școala sociologică de la București* (The Sociological School of Bucharest) by Traian Herseni and Tudor Bugnariu, published in *Contemporanul* review, no. 42 (940), on 16th of October 1964 and, *Actualitatea sociologiei sau sociologia actualității* (Actuality of sociology or the sociology of actuality) by Romulus Zaharia, published in *Luceafărul* review, Romanian Writers’ Press, year IX, no. 22 (213), 28 May 1966⁹.

In 1964, Ștefan Milcu manages to establish a department of Cultural Anthropology within the „Francisc Rainer” Institute of Anthropology, probably taking advantage of a political confusion: anthropology was accepted in the Soviet Union, but as physical anthropology, however.

Chart 3. Tacit acknowledgement of the sociology: 1962-1965

⁸ Henri H. Stahl, Elena Florea and Mioara Constantinescu, *Manual of social provision and assistance, vol. I, Theory and technique of the social provisions*, Medical Press, 356 pag., 1962, and Henri H. Stahl, Elena Florea and Mioara Constantinescu, *Manual of social provision and assistance, vol. II, Methodology and technique of the investigations of*

⁹ It is the merit of Professor Tudor Bugnariu to have introduced, in 1972, at the Bucharest Faculty of Philosophy (department of philosophy), the course of cultural anthropology. The titular lecturer was Vasile V. Caramelea. The same year Tudor Bugnariu published *Social and cultural anthropology in Romania. Its co-operation with philosophy in education and in field investigation*, *Annuaire Roumain d’Anthropologie*, 9, 1972, pp. 105-121)



The buildup of pressure to acknowledge the importance of sociology peaked in 1965: the importance of sociology was mentioned and highlighted at the 9th congress of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP). Further, the December 1965 plenary meeting of the Central Committee of RCP and the session of the Great National Assembly restated the importance of sociological research. Therefore, the *National Centre of Sociology* was established, with the task of coordinating the research in sociology¹⁰.

This act has to be interpreted as an expression of both pressure from the party intellectuals to modernise the socialist system, and of the party illusions to launch a new program of social development. This political enthusiasm didn't last too long, however.

The '60s have been marked by an explosion of the enthusiasm for sociology. The sociologic research was regarded as a strong antidote to the political and ideological dogmatic program of the communist model of Soviet origin. The liberation from the Soviet influence which Gheorghiu Dej initiated, was a factor which stimulated the authorities to regard sociology as an important instrument for social relaunching. The Romanian sociological publishing bursted forth. The national sociological journal *The social future* started to be published again, in 1972.

The period has been animated not just by the efflorescence of the sociological publishing, but also by the amplification of the field sociological research. The empirical research was a strategy to release from the ideological schemes of understanding the social reality and to make a contribution to anchoring the political options on realistic bases. During this period, empirical sociological research was initiated at the Institute of Anthropology (Vasile V. Caramelea), at the Institute of Psychology, department of Industrial Psychology (Traian Herseni), at the Institute of Philosophy (Mihail Cernea, Honorina Cazacu, Gheorghe Chepeș, Maria Larionescu); the ethicist Niculae Bellu¹¹ also had some attempts of empirical sociological research. Sometimes later, in 1968, the

¹⁰ Miron Constantinescu, Current directions of the sociological research, in Miron Constantinescu (coord.), *Contemporary sociological research*, Bucharest, Scientific Press,

Institute of Sociology of the Romanian Academy was established, taking over many researchers from the Institute of Philosophy and from the Laboratory of Sociological Research of the Bucharest University; the Research Centre for Youth Problems headed by Ovidiu Bădina was established in the same year.

The reestablishment of higher sociology education (Bucharest in 1966, Cluj and Iași in 1968) was an important moment for the new sociology, based on an impressive accumulation during the previous years. Also during this period, sociology was introduced in the curriculum of the Party's "Ștefan Gheorghiu" Academy. Miron Constantinescu, who made use of his political position, played an important role in the organization of sociology. Some people had a contrary position: with his authoritarian manner and with an exacerbated subjectivism, Miron Constantinescu imposed rigid limitations to the new sociology.

The universities started to produce a new generation of sociologists. This generation was a strong point for the subsequent relaunching of sociology. Courses of industrial sociology have been introduced in 1972 at the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute, and then expanded at other universities, such as the sociology courses from the Academy of Economic Studies. An attempt to introduce a course of education sociology in all faculties of the University of Bucharest failed.

The doctorate in sociology, higher form of formation in research, also started in that period. The first two doctoral theses on sociological topics (*Sociometry* - Mihaela Achim and *Normative activity. Psycho-sociological study* - Cătălin Zamfir) were presented in 1969, under the tutorship of Professor Tudor Bugnariu. The number of new doctors in sociology increased spectacularly during this period. After 2000, the doctoral programs expanded dramatically, the people engaged in doctoral studies coming from a wide range of activity areas.

Table 1. Dynamics of the doctoral theses in sociology

Years	No. doctor s	Annual averag e	% of the total
1969-1989 - 21 years	62 ¹²	2.9	24%
1990-1994 - 5 years	4	1.0	2%
1995-2000 - 6	33 ¹³	5.5	13%

¹¹ The project of Niculae Bellu started in 1962-63, on a sample of 1 000 subjects, with a sociologic questionnaire on subjects of moral sociology: influence of the socialist organisation of work on the life family. A book was published with the results from this research.

¹² Six PhD theses have been presented abroad: one in France and one in Great Britain, four in the USSR

¹³ Several doctoral theses are missing for this period, as well as the ones presented abroad. The list will be further updated

years				
2001-2008 years	- 8	159	19.9	62%
Total 1969-2008		258	6.6	

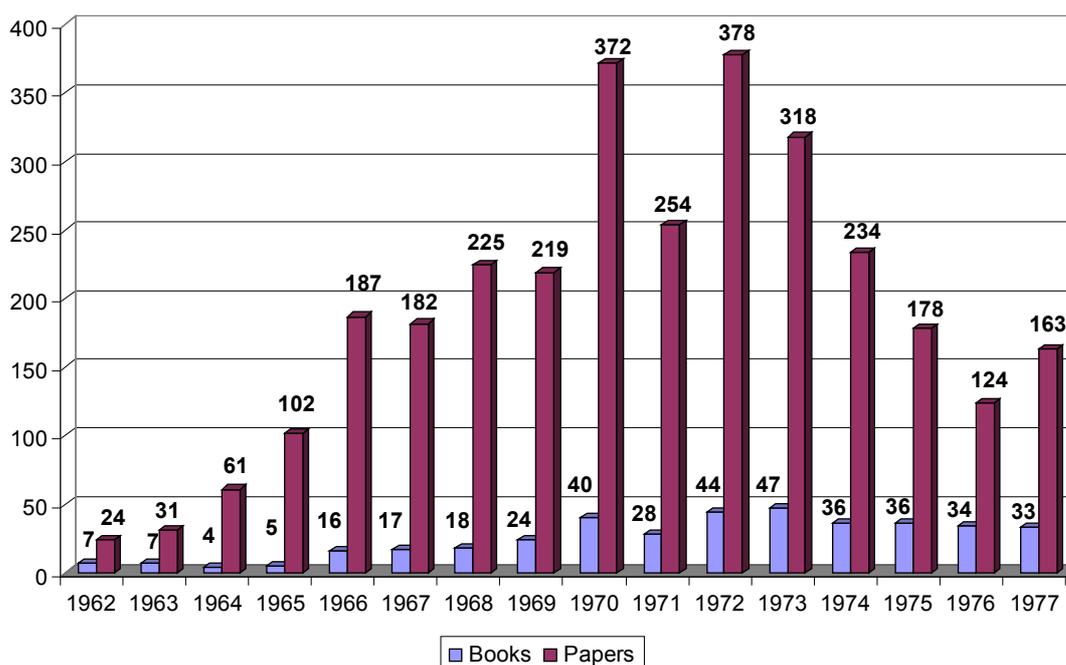
The sociological publishing was moderate during the early years, it increased dramatically during 1966-1972, followed by a plateau stage after the return to the dogmatic and ideological authoritarianism.

Between 1962 and 1965: **23 books and 218 papers.**

Between 1966 and 1972: **187 books and 1 817 papers.**

Between 1973 and 1977: **183 books and 1 017 papers**

Chart 4. Sociological publishing after the formal acknowledgement of sociology: 1962-1977



During the third substage, we can notice a peak of publications between 1970-1973, followed by a decrease under the impact of the cultural mini-revolution, the depression being severe, particularly for the papers.

Stage 5: remarginalization of sociology (1978-1989). The „reclosing” of the communist regime which started with a shocking political document of 1971¹⁴, that intended to start a “cultural mini-revolution” inspired by the Chinese pattern and, particularly, by the North-Korean pattern, peaked with the discontinuation of the departments of sociology and psychology in 1977. Something happened, and it is not quite clear what. After setting off a radical program of closing at the famous Plenary of July 1971, a period of “suspension” followed until 1974, when the “theses” of that program were not enforced. The witnesses invoked several factors of this delay: there has been internal resistance (for instance, the violent protest of the writer Marin Preda¹⁵) or the influence of the western context. A family factor was also involved. Elena Ceaușescu hadn't yet completed the steps of access to the top power. However, after a short break of unexpressed delay of the hardline program, as of 1974, a process of promoting the ideological closure became visible, marked by the election of Nicolae Ceaușescu as President of the country, besides the function of Secretary General of the party and by the access of Elena Ceaușescu to the top power. It seems that the full political control was imposed that year.

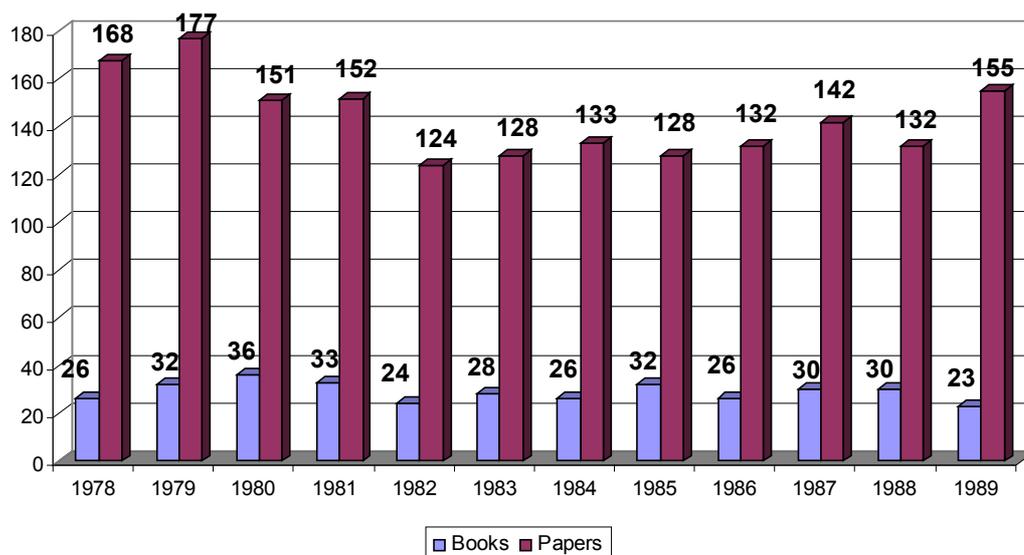
Sociology continued, however, to be tolerated, but the relations with sociology “cooled”, and the field research was discouraged. The last wide scale empirical research was probably done in 1979 on subjects of quality of life, but was achieved following a private initiative, with the support of several persons from various institutions who were interested to support the sociologic research. The break with sociology peaked with the cancellation of the high education in sociology, in 1977. The sociologists, with a sound professional formation acquired during the past years, continued to publish during that period too, but the theoretical articles were predominant, with few exceptions.

During this time, the sociologic publishing continued, despite the unfavourable climate: **346 books and 1 722 papers**. Under the pressure of the intellectual community, to which important members of the political leadership contributed, the sociological publications continued, with an obvious decline in the number of papers published in the specialised journals and in collective volumes.

Chart 5. Sociological production during the years of marginalization: 1978–1989

¹⁴ The speech of Nicolae Ceaușescu at a Romanian Communist Party plenary of 1971 was a surprise. An incoherent discourse seeped by a profound dissatisfaction to the recent openings and the first signs of the personal dictatorship. It was not an accidental episode, but the expression of a more general process of political and ideological closing. In the public image, the visit in North-Korea was shocking and frustrating for the upcoming dictator, Nicolae Ceaușescu. Kim Ir Sen's cult of personality seems to have had a deep impression on Ceaușescu. This experience has probably been the starting point of his initiative and contributed to its formation. The political reorientation of 1971 had deeper origins, however: one way or another, the liberalization process of the communist regime had reached its limits, which was observed in all the socialist countries.

¹⁵ The following situation is said to have actually happened: the writer Marin Preda demanded audience to Nicolae Ceaușescu (September 1971). He was blunt, with no protocol introduction: „Comrade Ceaușescu, if you enforce the „theses” I will commit



Stage 6: fresh start of sociology after the 1989 Revolution: 1990-2008.

The 1989 Revolution found a sociological community which was not very large, but which had a solid professional training and social prestige. Its members were marginally, or not at all involved in the propaganda of the '50s-'80s. Many sociologists have been involved from the beginning in governance, parliament and in different political institutions.

A spectacular increase of the sociological institutions, like those in education and publishing followed afterwards.

From the beginning of 1990, the sociological higher education was re-established in Bucharest, Cluj and Iași. Over the following years, sociological education expanded to cover other centres, as well: Oradea, Timișoara, Brașov, Craiova, Sibiu, Constanța.

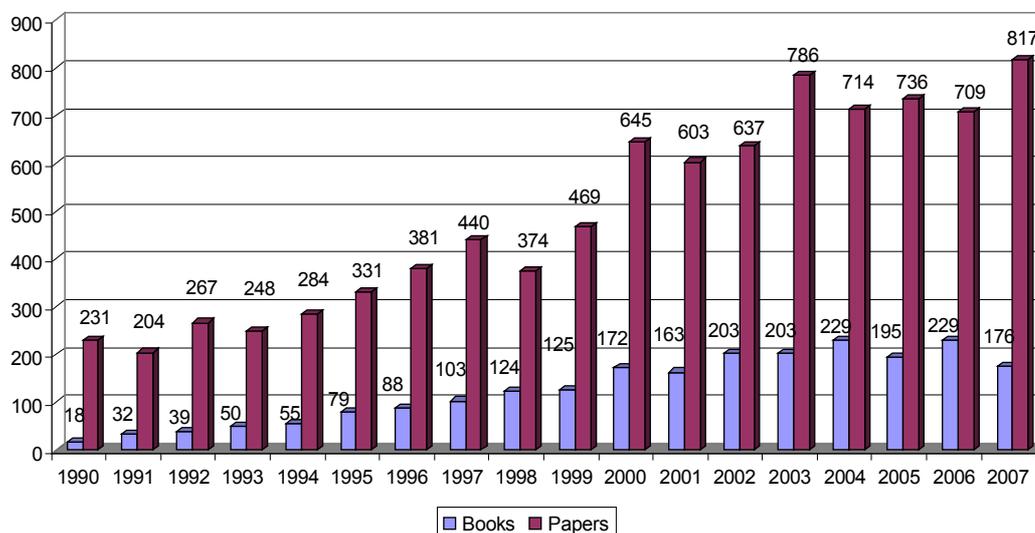
A merit of the new sociology was, by assuming the Gustian tradition, the massive institutional and professional support to re-establish the **profession of social work**. In 1990, departments of social work were established in Bucharest, Iași, Cluj, at the initiative of Cătălin Zamfir, then minister of Labour and Social Protection; these departments of social work expanded rapidly in all university centres.

The *Romanian Association of Sociologists (RAS)* was re-established with outstanding enthusiasm. Assuming its national responsibility, RAS relaunched its journal during the first months after the Revolution: *Romanian sociology*, as the national sociological journal, assuming the pre-war tradition of the journal.

After a disruption of more than 17 years, in 1994-1995 the first generation of new sociologists graduated the higher education. However, this generation could only start publishing after a few years of experience required for formation as researchers. The gaps between generations - 1947-1971 (when the first generation graduated) and 1977-1994 - had dramatic effects on the dynamics of the sociologic community, implicitly on the Romanian sociologic publishing.

The sociological publications soared, peaking after 1999: **1 570 books and 5 647 papers.**

Chart 6. Fresh start of the sociology after the 1989 Revolution



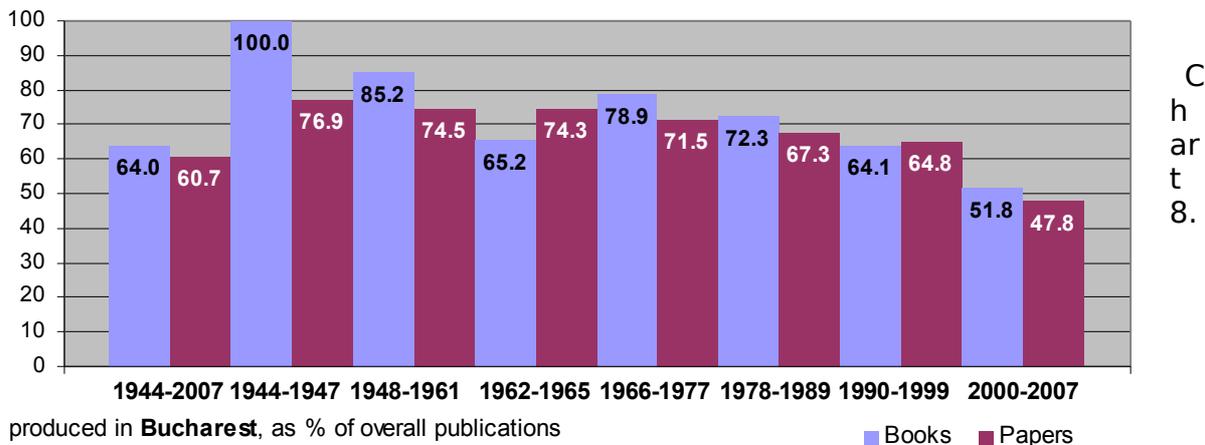
Stage 7: We think that 2009 opened a new stage of the Romanian sociology: its answer to the economic, social and political crisis of Romania, aggravated by the world economic crisis. It is a prognosis which deserves being followed. As sociologists, we are challenged by a new set of questions: reconsideration of the naïve hopes in a continuous, problem-free, economic growth and identification of the durable effect of the economic crisis on the social state; finally, we are confronted with a crisis of sociologic thematic, or at least with the need to reset its role. Is this the right moment to re-examine the major components of our paradigm? Is the whole society worldwide entering a new stage of rethinking its basic principles and directions of development, which would bring forth new challenges for sociology?

Publications by university centres

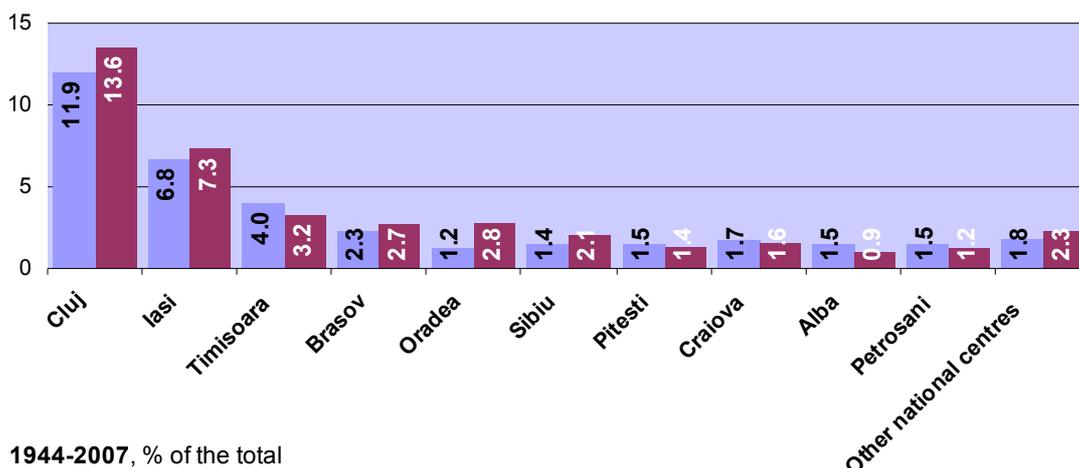
The force of an academic community is testified, among others, by the existence of several academic centres. The universities, next to institutions of sociologic research belonging to the Romanian Academy, are also centres for sociological research.

If we consider the sociologic production throughout the entire 1944–2007 period, this image shows major differences: **64%** of the books and **61%** of the papers were produced in Bucharest, the balance coming from other university centres.

Chart 7. Publications produced in Bucharest as percentage of overall publications



Publications produced in the other university centres as percentage of overall publications (1944 - 2007)



The trend of sociological production distribution changes the overall picture. During the first period, Bucharest was almost the exclusive producer. Gradually, however, several university and research centres increased their contribution of publications, so that after 1990 the contribution coming from Bucharest decreased to about half of overall publications.

The contribution to the sociologic production of the other centres, except Bucharest increased after 1989 too, particularly after 2000. By mid '90s, new university centres were established, which matured after 2000, when they increased their contribution. This configuration is bound to continue changing over the coming years.

Chart 9. Contribution of the other university centres, except Bucharest, as percentage of overall publications: 1944-1989

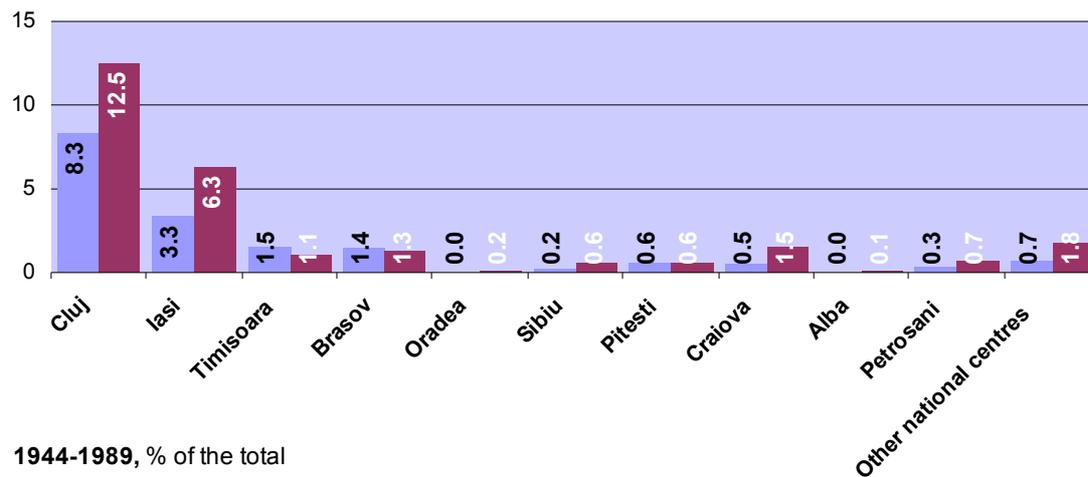


Chart 10 and 11. Contribution of the other university centres, except Bucharest, as percentage of overall publications: 1990-1999 and 2000-2007

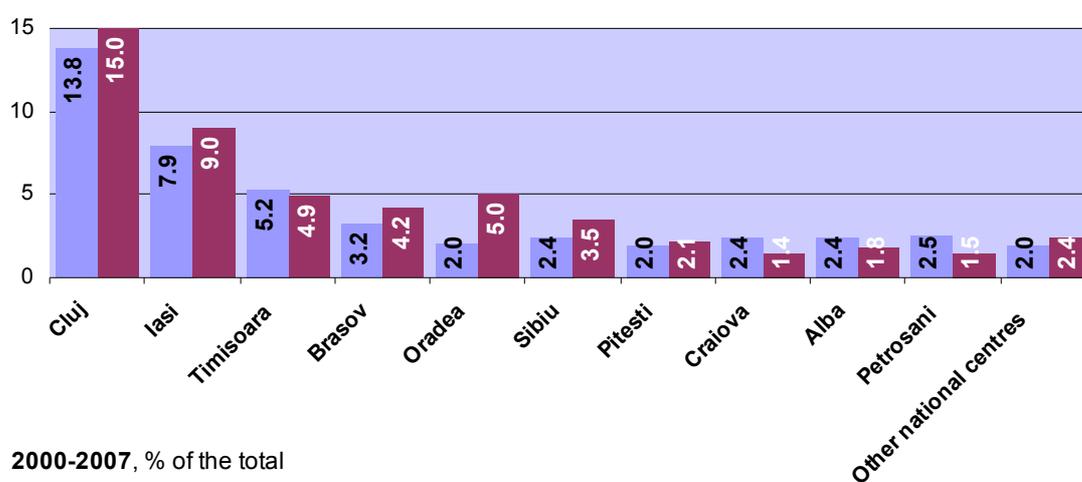
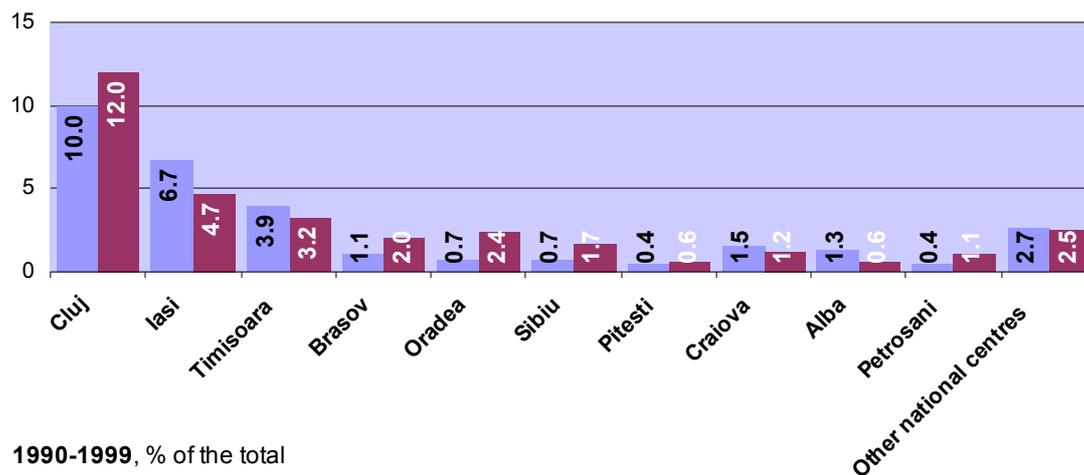


Table 2. Dynamics of the publishing production (books and papers) of the university centres

Period	Universit y centre												
	Bucharest	Cluj	Iasi	Timișoara	Oradea	Brașov	Sibiu	Pitești	Craiova	Alba Iulia	Petroșani	Other national centres	Abroad
1966 - 1989	71 %	12 %	6 %	1 %	0 %	1 %	1 %	1 %	1 %	0 %	1 %	2 %	2 %
1990 - 2007	54 %	14 %	7 %	4 %	4 %	3 %	3 %	2 %	1 %	1 %	1 %	2 %	2 %

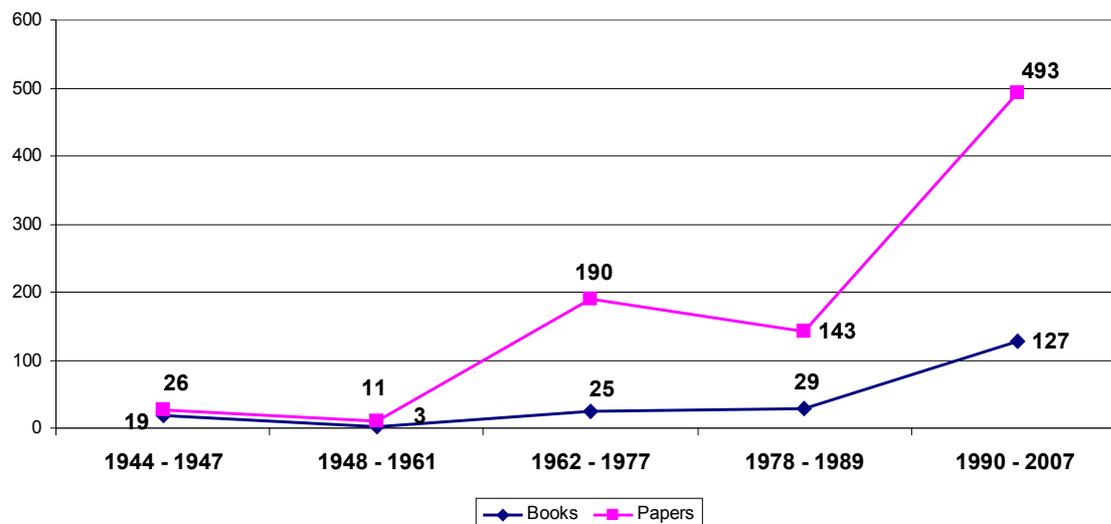
Global evaluation of the Romanian sociology after 1944

Table 3. Romanian sociological production during 1944-2007

Nr.	Number of years	Period	Sub-period	Books			Papers		
				Published	Annual average	%	Published	Annual average	%
1.	4 years	1944 - 1947		75	19	2%	104	26	1%
2.	14 years	1948 - 1961		45	3	1%	157	11	1%
3	16 years	1962 - 1977		393	25	13%	3052	190	22%
			1962 - 1965	23	6		242	61	
			1966 - 1972	187	27		1817	260	
			1973 - 1977	183	37		1017	203	
4.	12 years	1978 - 1989		346	29	11%	1712	143	12%
5.	18 years	1990 - 2007		2283	127	73%	8876	493	64%
			1990 - 1994	194	39		1234	247	
			1995 - 2007	2089	161		7642	588	
T	64 years	1944 - 2007		3142	49	100%	13901	217	100%

Over the past 63 years, Romanian sociology displayed an outstanding productivity: **3 151 books** with an annual average of **49** books and **13 901** papers, with an annual average of **217** papers. 73% of the books and 64% of the papers were produced after the 1989 Revolution. However, an important sociological production was also noticed during the difficult years of the communist regime.

Chart 12. Dynamics of the annual average production of sociologic books and papers: 1944-2007



The above data support the idea that **sociology displayed important fluctuations induced by the socio-political contexts**. Sociology is, perhaps, the most sensitive scientific domain to the socio-political context. Beyond the politically-induced fluctuations, the history of Romanian sociology displays a remarkable continuity. After 1944, there was a vigorous increase of the sociologic production: from an annual average of **19** books in the early post-war period, to **127** during the recent years, and from **26** to **493** papers.

This configuration provides support for several general estimations.

* The difficult years of the dictatorship and of the war did not disrupt brutally the course of the sociological community. Immediately after the war, in just four years, **75** books and **104** sociology papers were published. The new, difficult, stage in the history of Romania was reached with a crystallized sociologic community, consisting of many enthusiastic young people with a solid sociological training.

* Over the subsequent 14 years, a period of hard repression by the communist regime, dominated by an anti-sociologic dogmatic ideology, the sociological publications, although dramatically lower, nevertheless continued. During this period, sociological papers continued to be published, although they avoided using the term sociology in their title.

* The process of political and ideological reopening of the communist regime, initiated in the early '60s, did not find sociology unprepared. Sociologists, educated before the war, survived the period of hard repression and brought an essential contribution to the fresh start of sociology. A sociologic literature of high professional standard emerged in a few years.

* Even from the beginning of the '60s, a process of public reassertion of sociology was noticed. The "official" relaunching of sociology in 1965 marked, however, a dramatic increase of the sociological publications, which expressed the professional buildup and, as expected, a naïve enthusiasms. Between 1966 and 1977, over 12 years, **370** books and **2 834** papers were published.

* The remarginalization of sociology, which started in 1974, by explicit political positions, peaking with the termination of the university departments of sociology in 1977, surprisingly, did not suppress the sociological production, but blocked its growth. The accumulation of professionalism yielded higher quality papers, taking advantage of a climate characterized by the lack of political support for sociology and by an incoherent ideological tolerance.

* The 1989 Revolution did not cause a break in sociology, rather the continuation of the accumulated professionalism. The sociological community, although marginalized during the degradation period of the Ceausescu regime proved, within the new context, its dedication for sociology. It had the merit to restore rapidly the institutional system of sociological education-research at high professional standards. Immediately, books were published, written, obviously, after the Revolution, which lacked the distortions of the communist ideology. The number of publications surged. A total of **194** books were published during the first five years after the Revolution, with an annual average of **39** books. The increase of the number of papers was even more spectacular: 1 234, with an annual average of **264**. After 1994, the sociological production soared: **2 089** books with an annual average of **161** books. Also during this period were published **7 642** papers, with an annual average of **588**.

What will be „after“? It is very difficult to make prognoses, but we take the risk of making a prediction, by saying that the sociological production will most probably slow down in quantity. The explosive numerical increase was due, first, to the fast development of the institutional system of university and research units, and with it, to the number of sociologists with research vocation. The number of universitarians and of researchers will probably reach a plateau level. On the other hand, the higher exigency for the quality of the publications will also temper the publishing activity.