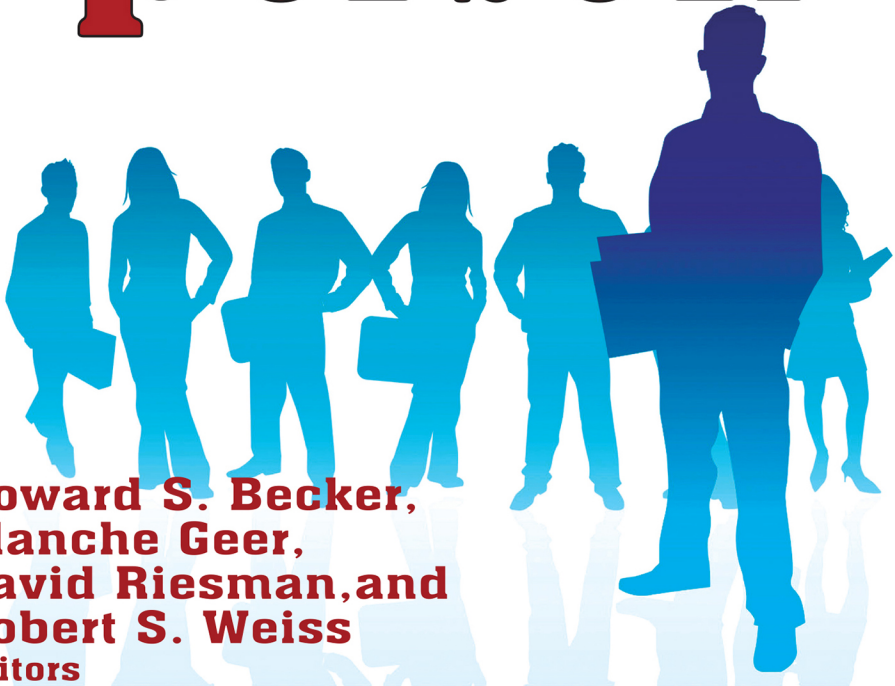
Festschrift In Honor Of Everett C. Hughes

Institutions and the person



Howard S. Becker,
Blanche Geer,
David Riesman, and
Robert S. Weiss
editors

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Everett C. Hughes—An Appreciation

Everett Hughes did his graduate work at the University of Chicago and went from there to McGill to teach. He later returned to the University of Chicago as a member of its faculty and has been teaching most recently at Brandeis. At these places, and at others where he has served as a visiting professor or lecturer, he has had a remarkable impact on both students and colleagues, igniting their interest in problems of society and social process.

His own major research efforts have centered on such specific problems as the industrialization and development of Canadian society; race relations in the United States and elsewhere; the organization of medical practice and medical education; and other forms of educational organization. These topics, interesting and important in their own right, have also served as the vehicle for profound explorations of basic sociological problems. We have tried to make explicit here some of the underlying themes and characteristics of that sociological approach which is distinctively Everett Hughes'. We shall not succeed in capturing it fully; his thinking is too varied and subtle for that. The essays in this volume, representing the impact of his thinking and teaching on the contributors, will present another partial view.

We have been struck by Everett's unwillingness to be dogmatic about methodology, his conviction that there are many ways of learning about social reality. While he himself represents a tradition of firsthand observation, handed down from Park, he uses demographic data as well, and insists that his students be literate in statistics. (He once taught statistics himself.) He does, however, have special respect for what is known firsthand. He seems to believe that, although no one should be forced to specialize in an area just because he has had experience in it, personal experience should not be lost. He has encouraged students to do their first research on matters important to

them in their lives: the occupations of their fathers; neighborhoods such as those they grew up in; or an after-school occupation which seemed to them before his intervention to be irrelevant to their work in sociology. Everett believes it important to harness people's feelings to their work and he sees that people's own repressed or uninterpreted experience is one way of doing this. He wants work to be relevant to self and society. But this does not mean one has to go out in the field in the formal sense. The same mission might be accomplished by a man who went back to read the poetry and stories he found illuminating in childhood, in order to understand what these stories and poems mean to the young.

The problems Everett has chosen to work on almost always have to do with central social issues. In much of his work it is the mixing of peoples who identify themselves as belonging to different groups; in some of his work it is the nature of occupation and career, and of training for each. But one can never feel that Everett is concerned solely with contributing to the sociology of race, or to occupational sociology, or to medical sociology, although he has made important contributions in all these areas. Rather, he is concerned with the entire field of society, and addresses not only those of his colleagues who are working on his problems of the moment, but all sociologists, and not just sociologists.

We have all learned from Everett a way of looking at phenomena, at once caring and dispassionate. Some of his students may have responded more to the dispassionate, even the debunking aspect of his thought, the insistence that sociologists had a right to go anywhere, see anything, write about it and publish it. He gives legitimacy to curiosity, to what others might regard as "mere" journalism, not knowing how difficult journalism is. He encourages students to keep a diary of their own experiences; he helps people overcome uneasy feelings about prying, about the betrayal of confidences, about putting personal relations to sociological account. His interest and responsiveness give people the feeling that their observations are not meaningless, not simply random and excessively subjective. But Everett's dispassionateness—his belief that everything and everybody was fair game for inquiry—tends to hide from some of his friends and students the degree to which he also cares deeply about cruelty, injustice, and war. Before Hitler came to power, he saw the dangers of German fascism; before militarism came to power, the dangers of American chauvinism; to the dangers of racism here and abroad, he was always alert. He has had the advantage, in regarding the United States, of a Canadian-born wife and Canadian experience—a center of intellectual gravity bounded neither by his Ohio birthplace nor his long Chicago residence.

He cares also about his discipline and the way self-righteous monopolists regarded it as their own methodological preserve, whether as against the

supposed talky vagueness of the Hutchins College or as against some of his less quantitatively oriented students. He believes deeply in the freedom of the marketplace of ideas. At a notable meeting of the American Sociological Association he pointed out the difference between a learned society, which welcomes contributions to knowledge no matter the source, and a professional association, which restricts its membership to those for whom it can vouch. He made no secret of his sympathies; he regretted the pressures that turn fields of study into rationales for professionalization, although he understood what those were.

Some of Everett's students may be unaware of the extent to which he has been dedicated to peace and opposed to nationalism, racial discrimination, and injustice in any form. Although his statements are sometimes muted by the tact, dignity, and reserve which seem so much a part of his character, he is first of all a moral man. He has not only been outspoken against war but also against a belligerent and insensitive self-righteousness which has often been the leading element of American statements addressed to nationals of other countries. He has an international rather than national perspective. He was one of the first in the United States to draw attention to the problems of developing nations, and may well be the only member of the American Sociological Association to teach a course in the African novel. In many ways he has carried into his own life the stance of his minister father, a man of great understanding and genuine moral commitment who was singled out by the Ku Klux Klan to have a cross burned on his lawn.

Everett belongs to a generation and a minority group that has intense loyalties, but does not put them on display. He cares passionately about the best traditions of American life, but despises patrioteering. He has long been devoted to Chicago and indeed to its College, as presently he is devoted to Brandeis, but he has never been a spokesman for the vested interests of a department or an institution. Most of all, he is a spokesman for a particular way of looking at society, asking always what is the relation of one set of institutions to another, what it is that people seek, and how their motives are organized and channeled socially. And this view of motives has been formed not only by American social psychology of the Meadian dispensation, but also by a nonorthodox psychoanalytic sense of the depths and complexities of man. For him, man is never banal—neither when evil nor when good, nor when both together.

Everett is a gifted, rewarding, but intensely demanding, teacher. The range of his reference in time and space and across cultures—including high, middle, and low cultures—never ceases to astonish us. In all this, he is ruminative, reflective, anecdotal, discursive, digressive; to be his student requires patience and a kind of uncategorized willingness to wait for what comes.

In time the student can hope to acquire Everett's peculiar double vision, which sees the specific and the general almost at once. His discussion may move without pause from the migrations of peoples to a particular French Canadian family and its experience. He may keep the general level to himself and react to an observational report by thinking of another observation, which superficially seems absolutely unconnected, but which the student can come to see as another instance of some general class of phenomena.

It may be because Everett needs concrete materials to anchor his magnificent capacity for conceptualization that he has sponsored field research among his students, and done field research himself. His mind is not an empiricist's, careful about facts, insistent that they not be smudged with speculation, skeptical of interpretation or theory. Rather, he has an extremely strong conceptual mind which operates with the materials of concrete reality, which functions by relating apparently disparate observations, presenting them in new perspectives, producing frameworks and concepts for organizing and integrating them. He prefers to develop analyses which retain complexity; to find value, at times delight, in variety; to move from level to level and relate the growth of cities, the mixing of peoples, the problems of industrialization, and the vicissitudes of careers. His general aim is to identify the systematic underlying the various; not by simplifying, but by making clear what is essential.

We count it our good fortune to have studied with Everett Hughes. The essays that follow are presented in gratitude and affection.

Howard S. Becker
Blanche Geer
David Riesman
Robert Weiss

PART ONE

The World of Work

DAVID N. SOLOMON

1 Sociological Perspectives on Occupations

In my own teaching and thinking about occupations I have found it necessary from time to time to ask myself what we have been doing, what we are doing, and what needs to be done in the immediate future in this area of sociological interest. This paper is the result of my ruminations. It consists of four parts: first, I have taken the liberty of reminiscing briefly about my own contacts with Everett Cherrington Hughes; second, I have attempted to delineate the scope and approach of the sociological perspective on occupations by considering definitions of a few common terms: work, occupation, and career; third, I have set forth a paradigm which I think summarizes as well as can be done the essential features of Hughes' perspective on occupations; and, finally, I have made a few remarks to indicate the tasks I think need to be done in order to integrate the field somewhat and to continue to advance in the directions indicated by the work of Hughes and his students.

Having chosen to consider sociological perspectives on occupations, I have had to ask myself what my own perspective is, and in doing so I have been led back over my own career and the parts of it which have been so significantly influenced by the career of Everett C. Hughes.

Perhaps I can be forgiven a little reminiscence since I started with ECH as an undergraduate and have done two of my three degrees with him. In the autumn of 1935 I registered for Sociology 1, being a second year student in the Faculty of Arts and Science at McGill University. The course was taught in two sections, one of about forty students by Everett Hughes, the other a somewhat larger section, by Carl Addington Dawson, who had in 1922 founded the department at McGill, and was for most of his career the dean of Canadian sociology. I cannot recall whether I was by chance assigned to Everett's section or whether it happened to be at a convenient time—I think it met from 12:00 noon to 1:00 P. M. on Tuesdays and Thursdays, with a conference hour at another time. What I do remember very clearly is that I was immediately tremendously interested and involved in the

course. Along with a friend who is now a successful pathologist I frequently stood talking with Everett after the lectures in the dim hall of the old Arts Building. The things that interested us seemed also to interest Everett, and the lecture frequently continued as an informal discussion until almost two o'clock. I had many late lunches, and it was a tremendous experience for an undergraduate in his first course in sociology. Everett and Helen also introduced me to the small coterie of sociology students, all of whom were senior to me, and some of whom had assisted with French Canada in Transition, *the field work for which was in full swing at the time. This was my first exposure to the sociological perspective, and I was "hooked" almost immediately. I had no reference group which regarded such an addiction as deviant, so my career as a sociologist was launched.*

If one wanted to look at this in terms of the notion of career contingencies, one of the many concepts added to the sociological perspective by Everett Hughes, this was clearly the fateful contingency in my own career. Looking back on it, I think it worked in two ways. I was introduced to sociology as a body of colleagues, at that time a very small band indeed, who were together engaged in a common effort. There was a very strong feeling among McGill sociology honor students of being involved and committed; considering we were very few in number, quite a who worked with Everett were made to feel that they were participants in a common intellectual enterprise.

The other fateful feature was the way the experience shaped one's outlook. Sociology at the time was struggling to free itself from the influence of social philosophy and possibly certain types of journalism, and to establish itself in the academic community vis-à-vis history, economics, political science, and psychology. In Everett's teaching, nothing of value from these other disciplines was thrown away, and indeed we read much more in these other fields than in sociology, if only for the simple reason that, compared with the vast literature of the present, hardly anything had been written in sociology. There were, I think, two basic elements to what I internalized at that time. I have given considerable consideration to which I ought to put first. As I remember it, the first principle was that there ought to be data. The first essential of the sociologist was his obligation to observe as closely and intimately as possible the behavior of the persons he was concerned with, and this meant somehow or other participating in their lives, whether as an observer or an interviewer, so that they could reveal the aspects of interaction which were significant to them. *Second, or perhaps at the same level of primacy, was the conception of man as a social being, interacting with his fellows within the structure of a framework of social understanding and mutual expectations. While these ideas seem hardly novel now, at the time—in the middle and late thirties—it was quite something to absorb and become absorbed with them in the contemporary undergraduate academic climate.*

In everything I have ever worked on, the sociological perspective as presented to me by ECH has been very much to the fore. With the exception of a study of outpatients in which I am presently engaged, all my research interests and a good

deal of my teaching have been concerned with people at work: the roles of functionaries in a Young Men's Hebrew Association; the career contingencies of doctors in Chicago; the training of infantry recruits in the Canadian army; the roles and self-conceptions of Ph.D. chemists in the Montreal chemical industry; and a course in the sociology of occupations which I have taught for the past ten years.

In order to write this paper I have asked myself how I could set down, as much for my own benefit as to share with others, in some reasonably clear and concise form, of what the sociological perspective on occupations consists. Like the rest of Everett Hughes' students, I think I have pretty well absorbed his perspectives, although unfortunately not his ability to make them work.

The Scope and Nature of the Sociology of Occupations

The sociology of occupations is a substantive field of sociology, to be characterized not primarily in terms of a set of unique concepts or principles, but more by its interest in a particular set of phenomena: occupations, or more broadly, people at work. While the questions asked and the concepts and principles used are to some degree unique, and give the field its own particular flavor, the sociology of occupations consists mainly of the application of the sociological approach to a particular sector or area of behavior, "the realm of work and occupational life."[1] The scope or range of the field can be indicated by a brief discussion of the meaning of the terms work and occupation.

Work

Work is most conveniently regarded as the generic term for activity leading to the production of goods and/or services, that is, for economic activity in any kind of society, regardless of how the social system of the economy is organized. In pre-market, pre-industrial societies, work roles may, for example, be part of the familial system. In the market economies of industrialized societies, however, where "economic activity is functionally removed from other institutional arrangements,"[2] work roles are part of the occupational system, which constitutes an important element of the social system of the economy. This social aspect of production can be looked at as a system as well as in terms of "two basic units of social structure—*occupational roles* and *organi-*

1. Sigmund Nosow and William H. Form (Eds.), *Man, Work and Society: A Reader in the Sociology of Occupations* (New York: Basic Books, 1962), p. 3.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

zations."[3] Depending upon which of these interests is emphasized, there are three main divisions to the field of the sociology of work.

Work and society consists of the macro-sociology of the economy as a social system, including studies of the dynamics of labor markets, labor force analyses, manpower problems, occupational trends, the values surrounding work, the meaning of work, and other system problems. *Industrial sociology* has been concerned primarily with the study of various aspects of work organizations: (*a*) industrial relations, that is, the conflict between labor and management seen as collectivities; (*b*) human relations in industry, to a considerable degree the same conflict seen at the micro-level, and overlapping with (*c*) the study of complex organizations, many of which are industrial, although others produce health, religious, educational, or other such services. Finally, the *sociology of occupations* as a field of interest has developed around the study of occupational roles.

Occupation

The notion of occupation is broadly connotative, understood by everyone, but without precise denotative content. Defined in abstract terms, occupation can be thought of as a major "institutional complex" of the economy, which "refers to the institutionalization of human services." Occupation in this sense is the structure of institutionalized norms which state the conditions under which human services can be involved in the system of production of goods and services.[4]

This is not, however, how we ordinarily think of occupations, or more specifically of *an* occupation. Frequently, we seem to think of an occupation as a set of skills, or a set of persons who possess similar skills. This emphasizes the technical aspect, which is only one part of the interest of the sociology of occupations. If, however, people have similar skills, it seems a fair assumption that they perform similar roles. Occupation is, after all, a label for a class or category of persons, which, to be of sociological interest, must be characterized in some other way as well. Once an occupational label identifies a category of persons it is implied that they behave or can legitimately be

3. Neil J. Smelser, *The Sociology of Economic Life* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 72.

4. Talcott Parsons, and Neil J. Smelser, *Economy and Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956): ". . . we may classify the primary complexes of economic institutionalization as three: contract, which deals with the institutionalization of the exchange process itself; property, which refers to the institutionalization of rights in non-social objects; and occupations, which refers to the institutionalization of human services. This classification corresponds roughly with that of the factors of production themselves: contract is associated with organization as a factor, property with capital, and occupation with labour" (p. 107).

expected to behave in the same or similar ways in given situations, that they have similar roles to perform.[5] The occupational label and the behavioral expectations are equivalent to the notions of occupational status and role. *An* occupation can thus be thought of as *a* role.

Conventional occupational labels are hardly ever identical with roles not only because the continuing differentiation of roles into new specialties leaves the nomenclature behind, but also because occupations which provide careers consist of sequences of roles appropriate to the various stages of a career. The label frequently includes a variety of roles; a career always consists of a sequence of roles.

To view the sociology of occupations as limited to consideration of occupational roles perhaps is too confining, since many other concepts—indeed the whole conceptual apparatus of sociology—are relevant. Nevertheless, it may be as well to start out *as if* we considered the study of occupations as mainly the study of roles and a few related concepts. The primary sociological interest in an occupation is, after all, as a role. Whatever other interests we pursue, or whatever other concepts we introduce are incidental to, or arise from, the fact that the phenomenon we are concerned with in studying an occupation is in essence a role.[6] Moreover, such roles can be clearly identified by a single criterion: They are roles people are paid to perform.[7]

The Hughes Perspective on Occupations

The outstanding feature of Hughes' approach to the study of occupational roles is his insightfulness. He possesses the sociological imagination in a very high degree, and his creativeness is expressed most frequently by comparing diverse types of work. In *Men and Their Work*,[8] for example, physicians,

5. The notion of role as a class or category of persons who can be further characterized in terms of behavioral expectations seems particularly relevant in consideration of occupations. See S. F. Nadel, *The Theory of Social Structure* (London: Cohen and West, 1957), pp. 24-25 *et passim*.

6. Everett C. Hughes, "The Study of Occupations," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. (Eds.), *Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects* (New York: Basic Books, 1959) "An occupation, in essence, is not some particular set of activities; it is the part of an individual in any ongoing system of activity. . . . The essential is that the occupation is the place ordinarily filled by one person in an organizational complex of efforts and activities" (p. 445).

7. Arthur Salz, "Occupations in Their Historical Perspective," in Nosow and Form, *op. cit.*: "Occupation may be defined as that specific activity with a market value which an individual continually pursues for the purpose of obtaining a steady flow of income (p. 58).

8. Everett Cherrington Hughes, *Men and Their Work* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958).

lawyers, ministers, janitors, real estate men, teachers, prostitutes, librarians, nurses, sociologists, factory workers, musicians, personnel men, promoters, quacks, salesmen, scientists are all mentioned. The qualities of the Hughes approach are such that it is perhaps presumptuous and certainly difficult to summarize.

Hughes is, by his own declaration, "preoccupied" with the "goal of learning about the nature of society itself from the study of occupations."[9] The more immediate purpose of study, however, is always to describe and understand the behavior of the persons who are involved in whatever kind of work comes to his attention. Understanding is achieved by focusing attention on critical aspects of the work situation which are selected for description and discussion. Three basic elements are involved in these discussions: the nature of the work itself, the problems or tensions generated in the work situation, and the resulting social order. These elements are related. The nature of the work generates problems or creates tensions for the persons involved. The problems must be overcome, and the tensions must be dealt with. The response is an ordering of the social situation of the work which enables, facilitates, permits, or sometimes impedes, the conduct of the work.

The Nature of Work

The study of work is the study of an aspect of society, since like other human activities work by nature involves interaction. The basic preoccupation of Hughes' approach is with the "social drama of work," that is to say, with processes of interaction among participants, be they fellow workers or others. The outstanding feature of work in this perspective is that it requires, permits, encourages, or discourages interaction. Work is never done except in some situation of interaction.

The features of work which are relevent are therefore those which have some bearing on the concomitant system of interaction. There is always a technological aspect. An occupation can be looked at as a bundle of skills, and what is happening to the skills is clearly relevant for the work situation. The work may be dangerous, physically dirty or disgusting, socially dirty or disreputable, or in some sense fateful, whether for those who perform the work or for those who benefit or wish to benefit, from the product or services. But these and other aspects of the character of work are relevant only insofar as they have recognizable social consequences, that is to say, if they have meaningful consequences for the interaction. The center of attention is on the features of work which critically influence interaction. One might say of

9. Hughes, "The Study of Occupations," *op. cit.*, p. 442.

Hughes that he always knows where the interaction is, and that is where he goes and sends his students.

Problems

I use the word problems for want of a better term. The nature of the work itself, and/or the features of the social situation in which it is usually or traditionally carried out, presents people who are involved in the work (workers and others) with problems they seek to overcome or with tensions they seek to reduce or at least control. Some aspects of work, or of work situations, for example, are experienced as threatening the sense of dignity or the prestige of workers or others, so that they act to maintain or increase dignity and prestige. Sometimes the problems are problems of power, manifested, for example, in attempts to maintain autonomy or to control one's activities in the work situation.

The notion of dirty work as a problem is a recurrent theme in Hughes' work. The dirty work of society, whether physically dirty or socially disreputable, must be done. While some occupations specialize in dirty work, almost every occupation includes some such work. People in the occupation usually feel the need to make their peace with the work, with themselves, and with others. This may involve developing a terminology to make the work seem less dirty, concealing the dirty aspects, referring the dirty work to less-favored colleagues, or sloughing it off onto members of other occupations. If work, or some aspects of work are, or are regarded as, dirty, workers seem to feel the need somehow or other to structure interaction so as to mitigate the impact.

The problematic feature of some work is that its outcome is doubtful and uncertain. From the worker's point of view the risk of failure is always present, and a certain percentage of failures is inevitable. While there is always the possibility that mistakes will be made, in some occupations mistakes are more fateful than in others. One of the ways of making mistakes less damaging for workers is to conceal the inner workings of the occupation from public view, as is the case in medicine and elsewhere, but, however it is done, dealing with mistakes is a problem for the workers.

In many of the service occupations, including the professions, the problem is that clients or customers experience their needs for service as something of an emergency. In almost any personal service the customer's need is for him to some degree a crisis, but for those who provide the service managing the emergencies of others is routine. The juxtaposition of routine and crisis, detachment and emergency, sets the problem for the workers and explains some of their contributions to the interaction process.

Dirty work, mistakes, managing the emergencies of others, exemplify a

variety of such problems which the persons involved in work attempt to solve in order to reduce or bring under control their tensions and needs. Hughes presents this problem aspect as a social-psychological phenomenon in that the problems are inherent in the social situation but manifest themselves in the inner experience of the participants, which is in turn revealed to the observer or interviewer.

The Moral Order

While behavior in the work situation need not be seen as exclusively a result of the problematic character of the social situation, Hughes seems most frequently to emphasize this aspect. In any case, behavior in the work situation becomes at least partly structured by rules and expectations of behavior which order the process of interaction, thus bringing the problems and tensions under control, or at any rate mitigating their effects. There is, Hughes emphasizes, a division of labor as far as the work is concerned and also a social division of labor as far as the interaction is concerned. This social division of labor manifested in the rules and expectations of behavior, he refers to as the moral order, in the sense that interaction is to some degree ordered by a set of moral imperatives, of varying force or rigidity, which tend to routinize the interaction. The order is always tentative. The processes of adaptation are continuous—never completed or static. Many things, including, for example, technological change, influence the continuing processes of adaptation. The prototype of such processes is, of course, professionalization, but this is only one of a number of possible modes of adaptation.

Relationship and Change

There is never anything static about these elements. Each is continuously changing, and since they are related all are changing. The essential features of the scheme are its emphasis on the relatedness of the various aspects and their ever-changing character.

Nor are there any assumptions as to the functional or dysfunctional character of social systems, but rather an emphasis on relationships between the different elements. Social systems and occupational roles are described in terms of these three dimensions. The imputation of connections between them results in a sociological understanding of work. Within this framework Hughes makes use of a variety of concepts—career, career lines, career stages, career contingencies, mistakes at work, routine versus crisis or emergency, reality shock, dirty work, work and identity, occupational culture, and others—which enable him and his students to study occupations in process.

The Immediate Future of the Sociology of Occupations

Hughes' framework and set of concepts have initiated and given great impetus to the sociology of occupations as a field of study, but like others it requires occasional review and attempts at systematic integration. There is now a vast amount of material, so that a few generalizations of a certain level of abstraction should be possible. Review and generalization are hindered, however, by a number of deficiencies.

First, the concepts we most frequently rely on appear most useful when applied to the classical professions, which are characterized by ancient tradition, high prestige, great technical complexity, highly developed internal division of labor, and an extensive elaboration of role expectations. They are not nearly so useful when applied to occupations at the opposite end of the continum, which are unskilled, unprestigeful, and so on. This is partly because much of what we know about occupations is based on studies of professions or similar occupations. While there is some doubt as to whether "profession" is a useful sociological category for classifying occupations, it seems clear that if we knew more about so-called nonprofessional types of occupations we might be better able to select appropriate concepts and to clarify and integrate them into some set of limited generalizations about occupations. This draws attention to the need to supplement studies of professional or quasiprofessional occupations by using the same concepts to examine other types of occupations. Broadening the range of occupations of which we have knowledge would permit a truly comparative approach and put concepts to the test.

Second, in addition to broadening the range of studies of occupations, and for much the same reasons, we need many more studies of particular occupations in depth. The need here is perhaps even greater because, with a few notable exceptions, there are no studies which cover in full detail all aspects of any particular occupation. Almost all the work to date is piecemeal and deals with one aspect or one stage of a career, or frequently with aspects which are extraneous to our interest in occupational roles and thus peripheral to the sociological interest in occupations. For example, despite the large amount of work that has been done on the practice of medicine, it would still be a difficult task to compile a comprehensive and systematic book on medicine as an occupation. Here again, we can improve our selection of concepts and our ability to make limited generalizations only if we have a larger number of systematic, comprehensive examinations of particular occupations.

Finally, one of the great difficulties involved in attempting to order the impressive mass of existing data arises from the great diversity of the pheno-

mena which are labeled occupations. While asking the same questions, that is to say, applying the same concepts to apparently dissimilar occupations, is useful, the answers to such questions should indicate whether apparently dissimilar occupations are indeed the same, or in what respects they are the same or different. A comparative review of the field would result not only in additional knowledge about the occupations being compared but also in a useful scheme for classifying occupations. While the construction of a classification sometimes appears a hopeless task, without one the sociology of occupations may remain hopelessly chaotic.

The precise dimensions of classification depend upon the aspects of occupations one wishes at the moment to bring to the fore. In a very early paper Everett Hughes suggested a "rough classification of types of places in the division of labour according to (1) the manner in which persons enter, (2) the attitude of the person to his occupation, and (3) the implied standing of the occupation in the eyes of the community."[10] The classification scheme consists of six categories: missions, professions and near-professions, the enterprises, the arts, the trades, and, finally, jobs. This is a workable scheme, but so far as I know it has not been used.

If, as I have suggested, the primary feature of an occupation for sociological purposes is its character as a role, then the basic dimension of a classification of occupations should be some set of types of occupational roles. We might think, for example, of the following: *executive roles,* in which the primary feature is the organization and coordination of the roles of others; *service roles,* in which the outstanding characteristic is the face-to-face relationship between the person who performs the occupational role and the client to whom service is given; and finally, *labor roles,* in which the primary characteristic is that the person in the occupational role contributes his knowledge, skill, or physical force as part of a division of labor directed toward achieving the ends of some other or others.[11] This classification scheme has obvious defects, but it is one of the ways one might start to construct one dimension of a taxonomy of occupations. Since the features of occupational roles which are of primary interest seem to differ not only between different occupations but between different career stages of the same occupation, it might be useful to consider career stage as the second dimension of classification, thus examining how occupations differ or resemble each other at the same or different stages of the career.

10. Hughes, "Personality Types and the Division of Labour," *Men and Their Work, op. cit.,* p. 32. This paper first appeared in 1928.

11. See, for a somewhat similar classification, Walter I. Wardwell, "Social Integration, Bureaucratization, and the Professions," *Social Forces* (May, 1955), pp. 356-59. See also Parsons and Smelser, *op. cit.,* pp. 147 *ff.*

The purpose of this paper has, of course, not been to develop a taxonomy of occupations, but rather to point out some of the considerations which might guide a few ventures in the field of sociological research on occupations in the immediate future. While research is obviously not going to wait for an adequate scheme of classification, it is equally obvious that some such scheme would be very helpful and is perhaps the paramount need of the field. I have pointed to three other requirements: first, more studies like those which have arisen from the tradition innovated and established by Everett Hughes are required, but with more attention being paid to clearly nonprofessional occupations; second, we need at least a few comprehensive studies of particular occupations in depth; and, finally, a summarizing review of the field is long overdue. This paper is intended as a small contribution toward the initiation of such a review.

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