

# **KNOWLEDGE, EDUCATION, AND CULTURAL CHANGE**

---

Papers in the Sociology of Education

Edited by  
Richard Brown

ROUTLEDGE LIBRARY EDITIONS:  
BRITISH SOCIOLOGICAL  
ASSOCIATION



ROUTLEDGE LIBRARY EDITIONS:  
BRITISH SOCIOLOGICAL  
ASSOCIATION

---

Volume 3

KNOWLEDGE, EDUCATION,  
AND CULTURAL CHANGE

---



Taylor & Francis  
Taylor & Francis Group  
<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

# **KNOWLEDGE, EDUCATION, AND CULTURAL CHANGE**

Papers in the Sociology of Education

Edited by  
**RICHARD BROWN**



LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published in 1973 by Tavistock Publications Limited

This edition first published in 2018

by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

© 1973 British Sociological Association

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*Trademark notice:* Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-138-49942-3 (Set)

ISBN: 978-1-351-01463-2 (Set) (ebk)

ISBN: 978-1-138-49766-5 (Volume 3) (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-351-01814-2 (Volume 3) (ebk)

#### **Publisher's Note**

The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this reprint but points out that some imperfections in the original copies may be apparent.

#### **Disclaimer**

The publisher has made every effort to trace copyright holders and would welcome correspondence from those they have been unable to trace.

# *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change*

PAPERS IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

---

*edited by*  
RICHARD BROWN



TAVISTOCK PUBLICATIONS

*First published in 1973  
by Tavistock Publications Limited  
11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4  
Printed in Great Britain  
in 10 pt Plantin 2 pts leaded  
by Willmer Brothers Limited, Birkenhead*

SBN 422 73960 X

© The British Sociological Association 1973

*Distributed in the USA by  
HARPER & ROW PUBLISHERS, INC.  
BARNES & NOBLE IMPORT DIVISION*

# *Contents*

---

EDITORIAL NOTE	vii
CONTRIBUTORS	ix
RICHARD BROWN Introduction	I
EARL HOPPER Educational Systems and Selected Consequences of Patterns of Mobility and Non-mobility in Industrial Societies: A Theoretical Discussion	17
PIERRE BOURDIEU Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction	71
ANDREW PEARSE Structural Problems of Education Systems in Latin America	113
BRYAN ROBERTS Education, Urbanization, and Social Change	141
ANDREW MCPHERSON Selections and Survivals: A Sociology of the Ancient Scottish Universities	163
RAYMOND JOBLING A Traditional Theme in General Sociology and its Relevance for the Study of Universities	203
PAUL HIRST Some Problems of Explaining Student Militancy	219
BRIAN DAVIES On the Contribution of Organizational Analysis to the Study of Educational Institutions	249

<b>ROYSTON LAMBERT, ROGER BULLOCK, SPENCER MILLHAM</b>	
The Informal Social System: An Example of the	
Limitations of Organizational Analysis	297
<b>IOAN DAVIES</b>	
Knowledge, Education, and Power	317
<b>MICHAEL F. D. YOUNG</b>	
Curricula and the Social Organization of Knowledge	339
<b>BASIL BERNSTEIN</b>	
On the Classification and Framing of Educational	
Knowledge	363
<b>NAME INDEX</b>	393
<b>SUBJECT INDEX</b>	399

## *Editorial Note*

---

This volume is the second in a series under the auspices of the British Sociological Association. The papers in it are a selection from those contributed to the Annual Conference of the Association held at the University of Durham, 7–10 April 1970, on the theme of 'The Sociology of Education'. They appear substantially in the form in which they were presented to the conference. Contributions from the official discussants and from other participants have not been included in this volume, but certain issues raised during the conference discussions are taken up in the Introduction.

I should like to thank all those who contributed to a most interesting and worthwhile conference. Basil Bernstein, Peter Collison, Elizabeth Gittus, John Rex, Peter Worsley, and Michael F. D. Young gave valued advice at various stages on the selection of papers for the conference and/or for this volume. I am greatly indebted to Mrs June Wallis for much help in typing and retyping papers, notes, and references.



Taylor & Francis  
Taylor & Francis Group  
<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

## *Contributors*

---

BASIL BERNSTEIN, born 1924. Studied at London School of Economics, 1948-51. Assistant Teacher, City Day College, Shoreditch, 1954-60; Honorary Research Assistant, Department of Phonetics, University College London, 1960-2; Head of the Sociological Research Unit and of the Department of Sociology of Education, University of London Institute of Education, since 1962.

Author of several articles in the area of socio-linguistics.

PIERRE BOURDIEU, born 1930, Denguin (Basses-Pyrénées). Studied at the Faculté des Lettres, Paris, and at the École Normale Supérieure. Taught at the Lycée in Moulins, 1955; Assistant at the Faculté des Lettres, Alger, 1958-60; Assistant at the Faculté des Lettres, Paris, 1961-2; Maître de conférences (Lecturer) at the Faculté des Lettres, Lille, 1962-4; Professor at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, and Director of the Centre de Sociologie Européenne.

Author of *Sociologie de l'Algérie*, 1958; *Travail et travailleurs en Algérie*; *Le Déracinement*; *Les Héritiers*; *Les Étudiants et leurs études*; *Un Art moyen*, 1964; *Rapport pédagogique et communication*, 1965; *L'Amour de l'art*, 1966; *Le Métier de sociologue*, 1968; *La Reproduction*, 1970; *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique*, 1972.

RICHARD K. BROWN, born 1933, York. Studied at University of Cambridge, BA (History), 1956; London School of Economics (Personnel Management), 1957-8. Research Officer in Sociology, University of Leicester, 1959-60; Assistant Lecturer and Lecturer, 1960-6; Lecturer and Senior Lecturer in Sociology, University of Durham, since 1966.

Co-author of *The Sociology of Industry*, 1967, and of several articles in industrial sociology.

Currently completing a sociological study of shipbuilding workers on Tyneside.

**ROGER BULLOCK**, born 1943, Birmingham. Studied at University of Leicester, BA, and University of Essex, MA. Research Centre, King's College, Cambridge, 1965-8; Research Centre, Dartington Hall, since 1968.

Co-author of publications by the Research Unit (listed under Lambert).

**DAVID IOAN DAVIES**, born 1936, Kisangani, Congo (Zaire). Studied at the Polytechnic, Regent Street, and London School of Economics, BSc(Econ). Extra-mural Staff Tutor, University of Cambridge, 1962-5; Lecturer and Senior Lecturer in Sociology, University of Essex, 1965-70, PhD; Visiting Senior Lecturer, University of Guyana, 1970; Associate Professor, Queen's University, Ontario, 1970-2; York University, Toronto, since 1972.

Author of *African Trade Unions*, 1966; *Social Mobility and Political Change*, 1970; *Political Masques*, 1973; *The Management of Knowledge* (in press); co-editor (with Kathleen Herman) of *Social Space*, 1971.

**WILLIAM BRIAN DAVIES**, born 1938, Carmarthenshire. Studied at London School of Economics, BSc(Econ.), 1959; University of London Institute of Education, Postgraduate Certificate, 1960; Academic Diploma in Education, 1963; MA(Ed), 1966. Senior Lecturer in Secondary Education, Goldsmith's College, University of London, 1964-7; Lecturer, University of London Institute of Education, since 1967.

**PAUL Q. HIRST**, born 1946, Devon. Studied at University of Leicester, BA, and University of Sussex, MA. Lecturer in Sociology, Birkbeck College, London, since 1969.

**EARL HOPPER**, born 1940, USA. Studied at Washington University, St Louis, BA (Sociology) and MA (Sociology). Assistant Lecturer in Sociology, University of Leicester, 1962-3; Assistant Lecturer, Faculty of Economics and Politics, University of Cambridge, 1963-7; Lecturer in Sociology, London School of Economics, since 1967.

Editor of *Readings in the Theory of Educational Systems*, 1971; author of several articles concerning stratification, social mobility, and education.

**RAYMOND JOBLING**, born 1941, Northamptonshire. Studied at Liverpool University, BA. Assistant Lecturer in Sociology, University of East Anglia, 1965–7, Lecturer, 1967–8; Visiting Assistant Professor of Educational Sociology, University of British Columbia, 1967–8; Assistant Lecturer in Sociology, University of Cambridge, 1968–70, Lecturer, 1971; Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, since 1968.

Author of several articles in the fields of sociology of education and sociology of religion.

Currently engaged in research on university development in Africa.

**ROYSTON LAMBERT**, born 1932, London. Studied at Cambridge and Oxford Universities; Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Nuffield Research Fellow, London School of Economics, 1962–3; Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, 1963–9; Headmaster, Dartington Hall School, and Director of Educational Research Unit, since 1968.

Author of *Sir John Simon and English Social Administration*, 1963; *Nutrition in Britain*, 1964.

The Research Unit under his direction has published *Demand for Boarding Education*, 1965; *State and Boarding Education*, 1966; *The Hothouse Society*, 1968; *New Wine in Old Bottles*, 1969; *A Manual to the Sociology of the School*, 1970. Its present research interests are in residential provision for deprived and delinquent children.

**ANDREW MCPHERSON**, born 1942, Louth. Studied at University of Oxford, BA (History), 1964. Assistant Lecturer and Lecturer in Sociology, University of Glasgow, 1965–8; Research Fellow, University of Edinburgh, since 1968.

Currently engaged in research on the educational and occupational behaviours of able pupils and students.

**SPENCER MILLHAM**, born 1932, London. Studied at Cambridge and Oxford Universities. Taught in two secondary schools, 1956–65; Research Centre, King's College, Cambridge, 1965–8; Research Centre, Dartington Hall, since 1968.

Co-author of publications by the Research Unit (listed under Lambert).

ANDREW PEARSE, born 1916. Studied at University of Cambridge, MA. Worked in north Scotland with WEA, Extra-mural Department; in Trinidad and Tobago, Brazil, Colombia, and Ecuador with Unesco; in Chile with FAO; Fellow of St Antony's College, Oxford, 1968-70 (Latin American Centre); at present director of a global research project on the 'green revolution' for United Nations, at UN Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva.

Author of several papers on economic and social development in Latin America.

BRYAN ROBERTS, born 1939, Cardiff. Studied at University of Oxford, BA, 1961; University of Chicago, AM, PhD, 1964. Assistant Lecturer and Lecturer in Sociology, University of Manchester, from 1964; post-doctorate Fellow, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, 1966; Visiting Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of Texas, 1968; Senior Lecturer in Sociology, University of Manchester, since 1972.

Author of *Organizing Strangers*, 1973, and of articles on urbanization in Latin America and on education.

Currently engaged in research on regional structure and entrepreneurial activity in a Peruvian valley.

MICHAEL F. D. YOUNG, born 1934, London. Studied at University of Cambridge, BA (Natural Sciences), 1957; University of London, BSc (Sociology), 1966; University of Essex, MA (Sociology), 1967. In charge of Chemistry, and from 1963 Head of Science Department, London Nautical School, 1959-66; Lecturer in the Sociology of Education, University of London Institute of Education, 1967-72; Senior Lecturer from 1972.

Editor of and contributor to *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*, 1971.

RICHARD BROWN

## *Introduction*

---

For some years the sociology of education has been an obvious candidate as a theme for the Annual Conference of the British Sociological Association. Its choice for the 1970 conference could be supported on several grounds. In the first place, it was likely to be of interest to a large number of active sociologists. More than a quarter of those who replied to a survey of members of the Association in 1966 regarded the sociology of education as a 'main' or 'special' interest (Carter 1967). Although somewhat more research was in hand or completed at that time in industrial sociology and the sociology of work, which was the only other field of interest to have a comparable level of popularity, the same survey revealed that education was increasingly frequently chosen as an area for research projects. For some years members of the Association had supported an active sociology of education study group. Second, the sociology of education has been widely taught. In addition to those aspects of the field which form an essential part of any basic 'social institutions' or 'empirical sociology' course, the sociology of education is frequently listed as an option for undergraduates and appears now to be regarded as an essential component in the training of teachers in departments and colleges of education (a development which has provided welcome employment opportunities for many sociology graduates). Further, perhaps in no other area have sociologists appeared to have such an immediate and direct influence on policy. This has been reflected in the texts and appendices of official reports, for example those on Higher Education (Committee on Higher Education 1963) and on Children and their Primary Schools (Central Advisory Council for Education 1967). There also appears to be widespread interest among non-specialists in the work of sociologists concerned with education, for example that of Douglas (1964) and Jackson & Marsden (1962) concerning social class and educational opportunity; of Bernstein

(1961; 1965) on linguistic codes and educational performance; and of Lambert and colleagues (1968) on boarding education.

The 1970 conference, to which the papers in this volume were presented, was not, therefore, like its predecessor, an occasion for trying to integrate the subject into 'general sociological theory and discussion' (see Zubaida 1970) or to define a relatively new field of sociological inquiry. Indeed, the student of the sociology of education is already well served with introductions, textbooks, and volumes of readings, and, as the references to the papers in this volume indicate, faces the task of mastering a formidable body of articles and monographs reporting the results of research. The conference, and its more permanent embodiment in this volume, were intended to provide the opportunity for a survey, however incomplete, of the present state of the field and an assessment of current work and new problems. It was of particular interest, therefore, for the relative outsider, like the present writer, to note that despite the considerable achievements of the sociology of education, during the previous two decades especially, a great deal of dissatisfaction with the present situation was expressed by those currently working in this field,<sup>1</sup> and the familiar plea for more and better research was frequently to be heard. Partly this appeared to reflect the feeling expressed by Lambert, Bullock, and Millham that too much of the sociologist's output was irrelevant or unhelpful to the practising teacher. Partly it appeared to reflect other sociologists' feelings that in some respects the frame of reference of much research in the sociology of education should be extended and related to issues of wider theoretical significance. But, in part, it reflected the very interesting fact that the definition of this whole field of sociological inquiry was changing in important ways.

When Floud & Halsey (1958) made their authoritative review of the field twelve years earlier, their bibliography could be subdivided into four basic sections: education and society, education and social structure (demography, economy, social stratification, and minority groups), social aspects of educability, and the sociology of educational institutions (schools, colleges and universities, and adult education), with nearly three-quarters of the references falling in the second and the fourth sections. This sort of definition of appropriate subject-matter is also to be found in more recently published textbooks and books of readings (e.g. Halsey, Floud & Anderson 1961; Musgrave 1965; Banks 1968; Swift 1970), though of course the ways in which such topics are treated have by no means remained static, as many of the papers in this

volume demonstrate. One well-established new direction for research has been concerned with the relationship of education and economic development—but this has not radically altered the definition of the field. Such approaches, however, leave out of account almost entirely any consideration of the *content* of education, of what is being taught, of how knowledge is organized, of the cognitive element in the socialization process in the school.

In considering in his paper in this volume this virtually complete absence, until very recently, of any sociological attention to the curriculum, Michael Young points out that the sociologist has lagged behind educationalists, who have been concerned with curriculum studies and reforms of curricula for many years. He suggests that this can be explained in terms of the ideology of educational sociologists, who emphasize the importance of explaining differential life-chances in a situation where the content of education is taken as given; and in terms of their institutional situations, in that neglect of content helped their attempts to establish a place for the sociologist in colleges and departments of education with a minimum of 'boundary disputes'. One can take the argument further. The sociology of educational knowledge is part of the sociology of knowledge; but, as Ioan Davies comments, this field has, following Mannheim, been focused on the study of ideologies and belief systems, so that only certain types of 'knowledge' were regarded as problematic (see also Martins 1970:2). Sociology generally has tended until recently to develop a perspective Martins (1970:74) calls 'cognitive minimalism': 'the presumption that cognitive variables are of little systematic importance to general sociological theory and to most branches of sociological enquiry...'. In contrast, many of the papers in this volume suggest that the questions now being asked about the content of education are of importance also for discussion in the more traditional areas of the subject.<sup>2</sup>

These papers, therefore, provide an indication of how traditional areas of interest in the sociology of education have been developed in recent years,<sup>3</sup> and, in addition, preliminary statements of some implications of these more recent changes in subject-matter and approach. It is to a more detailed consideration of the papers that we shall now turn.

There has been a long tradition in Britain and elsewhere of studies of the selective and differentiating functions of educational systems, many

of them having demographic and/or reformist emphases (see Halsey, Floud & Anderson 1961). Turner's article (1960), with its suggestion that the accepted mode of upward mobility in a society (ideal-typically 'sponsored mobility' or 'contest mobility') shapes its school system, provided a more theoretically significant orientation for much of this work. It has proved extremely fruitful and is the starting-point for Earl Hopper's and Andrew McPherson's papers in this volume.

Hopper is concerned with 'the warming-up: cooling-out dilemma' referred to by Turner (1960: 866-7). He argues that all societies have to meet the functional problems of the 'total selection process'—training, selection, recruitment or allocation, and the regulation of ambition. The structural contradictions inherent in any attempt to cope equally well with all four problems give rise to a dilemma: 'the more effective a society is in raising and maintaining ambition at a high level initially, the more difficult is it to reduce and suppress ambition at a relatively low level at a later phase'. Exploration of this problem involves Hopper both in constructing a more elaborate typology of education systems than Turner's and in a discussion of status rigidity as a characteristic of systems of social stratification. The many interesting hypotheses he develops are as yet supported by very little empirical data and will no doubt require modification in the light of empirical research and of the inclusion of further theoretical variables in the model. His approach, however, is a valuable attempt to develop middle-range substantive theory and to deal with the interesting (and often ignored) problem of the personal psychological consequences of social processes such as upward and downward mobility.

McPherson sees the Scottish educational system as more nearly embodying the norm of 'contest mobility' than the English one (though not nearly as much as that of the USA). The Scottish universities in particular remained relatively unchanged between the 1860s and the 1960s, organized, he claims, around the values of collectivism and individualism and explicitly designed to be widely accessible, geographically, numerically, and socially. The strength of McPherson's argument lies in the fact that he is also able to explain why, despite its apparent openness, the system has proved socially selective and to do so by reference to the consequences of these same values for university, and school, organization. So far as universities are concerned this meant admitting all those minimally qualified, who had then to compete as best they could. Universities did not define clearly and consistently what was expected of the student, nor did they

provide him with the means of meeting their expectations. Thus 'if neither school nor university does much to socialize students to the values that the university (wrongly) presupposes in its entrants, the academic race will go either to those whose social origins give them the best (i.e. most appropriate) start or to those whose motivations most closely conform to those that university organization presupposes'. It is interesting that McPherson provides suggestions as to how the dilemma Hopper discusses has been met by Scottish universities, by providing a range of possible outcomes—ordinary and honours degrees—and the 'cooling-out' process associated with exclusion from university teaching but not the examinations.

Pierre Bourdieu's concern with education and social stratification is rather different; as he puts it:

'...the controlled mobility of a limited category of individuals, carefully selected and modified by and for individual ascent, is not incompatible with the permanence of structures, and...it is even capable of contributing to social stability in the only way conceivable in societies based upon democratic ideals and thereby may help to perpetuate the structure of class relations.'

It is to this continuity (or reproduction) of a class society that he directs his attention. He points out that the educational system (in this case in France but the same would apply to England, or to Scotland, as McPherson shows) demands a linguistic and cultural competence that it does not itself provide. This gives an advantage to those from families that diffusely and implicitly transmit the necessary 'instruments of appropriation of culture'. As a wealth of statistics show, an apparently open and meritocratic system is therefore predisposed to favour those who already have 'cultural capital'. Possession of cultural capital is closely associated with possession of economic capital; Bourdieu's detailed examination of the French upper classes demonstrates, however, that the relationship between the two forms is complex: the distribution is not the same; cultural capital (i.e. academic qualifications) is most effective (outside the academic market) when combined with economic capital and political power; and in any case those with economic capital both have more chances of possessing cultural capital and are more able to do without it. Thus there is value in considering cultural capital and its reproduction separately. The concept of cultural capital, with its obvious connotations, could lead

to the drawing of false analogies, but its utility in other contexts has already been demonstrated, for example by Hindess (1970).

These three papers illustrate the point that in considering industrialized societies attention has been paid both to the ways in which educational systems are shaped by social factors and to the ways in which they perpetuate or change the social structure; the more recent interest in education in developing societies has been largely concerned with the latter, the function of educational institutions as agents of social change. Andrew Pearse and Bryan Roberts both question this emphasis and point to the frequent ineffectiveness in practice of education as an agent of economic and social development.

Pearse considers primary education in four Latin American societies and shows how in all cases it has not served its intended purposes of benefiting the peasants and the urban poor. Though the details differ in each country he is able to summarize the processes involved in terms of 'institutional appropriation' and 'class appropriation'; the former refers to the difficulty of establishing an autonomous educational system, sufficiently independent of pressures from local government, the church, or the political machine; the latter to the appropriation of educational opportunities by 'the *arriviste* townfolk strata'. Though the processes are clear, Pearse suggests that more basic questions about them—are they inevitable in new societies, or societies at this stage of development, and if so why?—are not yet being answered.

Roberts is concerned with education in conditions of rapid urban growth and describes what could be termed 'class appropriation' of educational opportunities in such situations. White-collar groups see education as performing a social as well as an occupational role, and are able to maintain their own preferential access to this means of obtaining important social credentials. The situation is not uniform, however, and the level of industrialization is seen as a crucial factor in changing the orientations of low-income families towards education. Work organization in large-scale manufacturing industry makes men aware of both the occupational opportunities open to the educated and the degree of social differentiation in their own social world. Changes in social structure must accompany educational developments if they are to have the effects intended.

There is not only a long tradition of research on the interrelations of education and the social structure but also one of research on universities. Indeed Floud & Halsey (1958:187) commented that

'European higher learning has a self-conscious history from mediaeval times'. It is scarcely surprising that a profession so predominantly employed in institutions of 'higher learning' should have directed its attention towards universities and other bodies in the tertiary sector. Three papers in this volume discuss universities, but from very different points of view and with very different points to make.<sup>4</sup> As we have seen, McPherson's paper is concerned with the crucial role of the ancient Scottish universities in the Scottish educational system—especially with reference to the socially selective functions of education—and relates aspects of university organization to traditional Scottish values, on the one hand, and to social selection, on the other. Raymond Jobling is concerned to establish a case for considering the development of higher education in England within an evolutionary framework. He claims legitimization for his theme in the works of classical sociologists, but adds to this insights derived from the work of general systems theorists; references to the genetic structure of universities are combined with discussion of the transactions between such organizations and their environment—though the nature of these 'imports' and 'exports' is not clearly specified. One might say in criticism that this biological analogy cannot 'explain' the processes described, which must not in any case be seen as inevitable; but Jobling's approach does draw attention to some important influences on the development of higher education, including the constraints of past developments and of tradition.

While Jobling may be criticized for failing to extend his explanation to include the motivated actions of individuals and groups, Paul Hirst argues, with reference to the specific case of student militants, that the sociologist faces several virtually insuperable problems in attempting to 'understand' the aims and definitions of the situation of this set of actors. The difficulties arise from the central place of sociology in student militancy (as a forum for discussions of society and because of the prominent roles played by sociology students), the continuing doubts about the 'objective' and 'scientific' status of sociology, and the problem of transcending the conflict between student and staff when the researcher is also staff. Yet 'the meanings the militant students attribute to their actions and constitute by their actions are one of the most interesting things about the new militancy'. Hirst supports his case with criticism of three British explanations of student militancy. But despite his, by implication, very pessimistic outlook on the whole enterprise he makes his own contribution to

such explanations by pointing to the importance of students' status as a relatively uncommitted intelligentsia. We shall return to some aspects of his theme later and need only raise the question now of how far the criticisms he makes of explanations of student militancy are in fact specific to this particular topic or relevant more generally for sociological research in any sort of conflict situation.

These studies of universities are only indirectly concerned with them as organizations. Brian Davies and Royston Lambert and his colleagues, however, focus directly on the contribution that organizational analysis can make to the sociology of education, particularly with reference to social relations in schools. Davies's wide-ranging review of the literature suggests that although most work in the sociology (or the so-called 'theory') of organizations has not focused on schools, it is of relevance to any sociology of the school, with the reservation that it is essential 'not... to prevent the development of a conceptual apparatus appropriate to educational institutions themselves'. Davies argues that a systems framework is the most appropriate starting-point for a sociological analysis of schools as organizations: it sensitizes one to issues such as the external relationships and boundary maintenance of the system (relationships between schools and local education authorities, parents, etc.), the possible lack of utility of the formal/informal dichotomy (discussed further below) and the self-maintaining activities of organizations; and combined with 'a more sensitive conceptualization of goals in educational organizations' the systems approach allows 'some sort of order to be brought to the discussion of the crucial problems of compliance and commitment of school personnel'. His discussions of labelling and of decision-making draw equally, perhaps, on other traditions in sociology, though the concluding emphasis on a task approach is quite compatible with recent systems thinking.

Davies suggests that the usefulness of the formal/informal distinction must be called into question because of the complexity of organizations, the indistinctness of the line between formal and informal structure, and the problem of knowing whose official 'picture' of the organization one should accept. Accepting the continued utility of the concept of an informal social system ('the pattern of norms, values, and relationships not prescribed structurally or normatively by the official goals of the organization, but which may still have effects on these goals'), Royston Lambert, Roger Bullock, and Spencer Millham take this discussion further, though without explicitly countering

Davies's criticisms of it. On the basis of their extensive research experience in a wide variety of educational organizations, they question some of the relationships between structural variables of the school and aspects of the pupil society which it has been suggested exist. Their own contribution is in developing a typology of informal systems, and of the relationship, which may vary over time, between them and the formal system. This typology, however, is subject to reservations in any particular case because of the possibility of functional alternatives, the unpredictable convergence of independent factors, and the persisting traditions of the school. Indeed the burden of their argument is the need for comparative empirical research and for extreme caution in positing causal relationships. It is interesting that one possible direction in which their work leads is towards the sort of approach used by Pugh and colleagues (1963) in analysing industrial organizations; at the same time, however, they appear well aware of the dangers and limitations of the operationalizing and measurement of variables that this might involve.

While we can admit the dangers of being mere 'wholesalers of concepts' who never get to grips with the problems actually faced by those teaching, learning, or administering in schools, or of using 'abstract classificatory schemes' in ways that invite the charge of 'theoretical trivialization' (Baldamus 1971), we must agree with Davies and Lambert and colleagues that the existing concepts and generalizations in this field cannot and should not be ignored. There is no escape from the apparently conflicting twin demands for a more adequate understanding of educational organizations as such, on the one hand, and for a more coherent and satisfactory general 'theory' of organizations, on the other.

Brian Davies points out that schools have as their raw material not only people but knowledge, and the ways in which both are viewed are important for any understanding of the structure of the school. The papers by Ioan Davies, Michael F. D. Young, and Basil Bernstein all treat of the question of knowledge from different but complementary perspectives, and go a long way towards providing a framework within which problems of the relationship between educational knowledge and social structure can be tackled.

Ioan Davies provides perhaps the most general approach. He uses the Parsonian categories of existential beliefs (sciences, philosophy, etc.), evaluative beliefs (religious ideas, political ideologies, etc.), expressive symbols (forms of art), and evaluative symbols (the examina-

tion of types of *Weltanschauungen*) to examine problems of innovation (e.g. the 'new' mathematics—where do innovations come from and who decides what is filtered through to the schools?) and the general problem of relations between culture and structure at different levels. In doing so he is forced to consider questions of power, in particular with reference to controlling and subordinate cultures in a variety of contexts and at a variety of levels, and concludes that the way forward in research on educational knowledge in Britain lies in getting behind face-to-face relations to the decision-making structures which they tend to conceal. The utility of the Parsonian categories may be questioned, but this final point is well made and finds support in Young's paper.

In the context of a discussion of the developing interest in curriculum reform in recent years, and the failure of sociologists to contribute—to which we have already referred—Michael Young provides a critique of the Marxist, Weberian, and Durkheimian contributions to the sociology of the curriculum. He suggests that 'consideration of the assumptions underlying the selection and organization of knowledge in terms of those in positions of power may be a fruitful perspective for raising sociological questions about curricula'. If knowledge can be seen as stratified (high- or low-status subjects), specialized (or not), and open or closed (Bernstein's distinction between 'integrated' and 'collection' types), then the varying implications for those in authority of changes on any or all of these dimensions can be assessed, and the acceptance of or resistance to change be explained. The stratification dimension, it is suggested, is the most important: thus innovations can be seen to take place in low-status areas, or in ways that do not threaten existing social evaluations of knowledge.

Finally, Basil Bernstein develops his own categories (already referred to by Davies and Young) in terms of which to discuss educational knowledge, and its realization through the three message systems of curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation. He makes three interrelated distinctions: between strong and weak 'classification' (the degree of boundary maintenance between contents)—the basic structure of the message system curriculum; between strong and weak 'frames' (the degree of control teacher and taught possess over the selection, organization, and pacing of knowledge)—the basic structure of the message system pedagogy; and, on the basis of these distinctions, between a 'collection type' of curriculum (where 'contents' are clearly bounded and insulated from each other) and an 'integrated type' (where contents

are in an open relationship). The important point about these categories—as was the case with Bernstein's (1965) earlier discussion of restricted and elaborated language codes—is that they have crucial implications for social relations and social processes, especially in this case with reference to power and social control. Thus further discussion of the implications of the development of integrated codes, for example, leads to the paradoxical conclusions that they may involve a reduction in the strength of hierarchical elements in the school, the need for a strong and explicit ideological consensus as a basis for the integration, *and* a reduction in the areas of privacy available to the student.

Sociological interest in the curriculum is so recent that the concepts and perspectives developed in these three papers have not yet been widely utilized in systematic empirical work. All three authors, however, are able to give sufficiently clear and apposite empirical examples of the implications of their ideas to indicate their potential. Many problems remain: how far, for example, is there an inherent structure to knowledge itself which sets limits to the possible ways in which it may be socially organized? But it is certain that the definition of the scope of the sociology of education has been permanently and valuably enlarged by this focusing of attention on educational knowledge.

It remains to make a few general points about this collection of papers as a whole. The first of these relates to the place of sociological theory. It is a noticeable and welcome characteristic of the papers that to a greater or lesser extent they are all, explicitly or implicitly, concerned with theoretical issues. This is manifest at various levels and in various ways: exploring the implications for a theme of theoretical ideas derived from 'founding fathers' or 'elder brothers'; developing substantive propositions; providing a theoretically informed analysis of a particular situation or process; or developing an entirely new theoretical perspective and set of concepts. Equally obviously, however, the papers reflect the fact that there is no overall agreement as to the appropriate theoretical framework for the sociology of education. Indeed this field of sociology, like many others, is characterized by particularly important and interesting arguments about theory at the present time.

It is probably true to say that work in the sociology of education has, until recently, mostly been carried out within a structural/functional

or systems framework. Questions have been formulated in terms of, for example, the *functions* of the educational *system* as a whole for society, the *social system* of the school, and the *role* of the teacher. Current theoretical discussions can be seen as criticisms, from various positions, of this perspective. Indeed, systematic development of the perspective has revealed familiar inadequacies. For example, Brian Davies's discussion of the systems approach in organizational analysis leads him to criticize its ahistorical nature, while Joan Davies's exploration of the Parsonian categories for the definition of culture has to be complemented by an emphasis on the importance of power structures.

The major criticisms 'from outside' and attempts to deal with such inadequacies in these papers can perhaps be labelled as those of 'conflict theory', 'the action perspective', and 'phenomenology'. A particularly obvious example of the first, which is not contained in this volume, was a challenge to Jobling's interpretation of developments in higher education by considering the relationship between universities and polytechnics as one of 'class conflict'. More generally, the emphasis on power structures, for example in the three papers on the curriculum, implies a rejection of any sort of consensus model of society, while notions of class conflict as a central social process in modern societies underlie Bourdieu's contribution, the papers on education and development, and Hirst's discussion of student militancy.

In some cases what might be broadly termed an 'action perspective' coincides with 'conflict theory'; in both the papers on education and development in Latin America, for example, the analysis is in terms of the way various groups or categories of actors define their situation and seek to use the educational opportunities available to them in pursuit of their own ends, with some groups being in more economically or socially advantageous positions than others. In other papers, too, the motivated actions of individuals and groups are brought into the discussion; McPherson's account of social selection and the Scottish universities, for example, differs from Hopper (on social selection) and Jobling (on universities) in that he explicitly considers the question of how far there is deliberate action to maintain or change the system. There is no indication in any of these papers, however, of the same sort of deliberate and self-conscious adoption of an 'action perspective' in the sociology of education as has occurred in recent years in industrial sociology (e.g. Goldthorpe 1966; Silverman 1970), but there is no doubt that such an approach could be of value.<sup>5</sup>

Consideration of the actor's definition of the situation can lead on to a questioning of the relationship between the categories used by the actors to understand the world and those of the sociologist. This 'phenomenological' point is, I take it, an important part of Hirst's criticism of existing studies of student militants. Similarly, the advocacy of the questioning of the ways in which educational knowledge is organized could be taken to imply that the categories of the sociologist as well as those of the actors can no longer be considered unproblematic. Aspects of the sociology of education can be regarded as particularly suitable for this sort of approach and there would appear to be a good deal more work to be done along these lines.

Second, one theme common to a number of papers is the question of how far the educational system or 'parts' of it (schools, the teaching profession, disciplines, universities) can be considered as autonomous and how far they have to be seen as merely reflecting other aspects of the social structure. On the one hand, the sort of approach contained in the influential Turner hypothesis stresses the way an educational system reflects other aspects of social structure, in that case societal norms regarding social mobility; and societal influences on education are emphasized in the papers by Pearse and Roberts and in Davies's and Young's discussions of educational knowledge. With regard to educational organizations, too, Brian Davies advocates the adoption of an open-system model because of the importance of environmental influences on the system. In contrast, the discussions of universities by McPherson and Jobling, and of schools by Lambert and colleagues, all emphasize the importance of the history and tradition of the particular institution as a 'force' to some extent opposed to contemporary societal pressures; and of course there is no suggestion in any of these papers that the relationship between a society and its educational system is entirely one-way. The implications of these discussions are that any typology of educational systems, and for that matter of educational organizations, must be relatively complex; and that any account of the relationship of education and society, however much it may emphasize the 'impotence' of education and the need to look for explanations outside the educational system itself, must permit of a certain indeterminacy and openness in the relationship.

Further, these papers underline again the central importance of the study of social stratification for the analysis of so many other areas of interest in the sociology of industrial and industrializing societies. At the moment, too much work in the sociology of education is carried

out using oversimplified models and categories. For example, although his discussion of the nature of stratification systems is in many ways a sophisticated one, Hopper formulates his hypotheses in terms of a crude and unsatisfactory distinction between 'upper' and 'lower' social classes. Bourdieu's discussion, in contrast, is conducted in terms of identifiable social groups, but even here there is reference to 'the ruling class' without adequate explanation, at least in this paper, of how the term is being used. Obviously the sociologist of education is largely dependent on others for the development of a better understanding of social stratification which he can then apply in his field; even now, however, more complex and more adequate models are available and should be used, even if they may prove operationally less convenient.

Finally, it is noteworthy that none of these papers pretends to be the final word on its subject; all of them indicate how much remains to be done. There is less agreement among sociologists, however, about the right way forward. For some it should involve getting closer to the actual teacher, and his pupils, and attempting to contribute to the solution of their day-to-day problems; for others the present situation demands the development of radically new theoretical perspectives or developing as yet unexplored perspectives derived from the past. It seems more generally accepted that the policy implications of research in the sociology of education are more ambiguous than at one time seemed to be the case, and possibly more radical too. The papers in this volume will contribute to the continuing debate.

### *Notes*

- 1 This point has also been made by my colleague, Bill Williamson, who suggests that the current 'professional doubt' of sociologists of education stems also from the apparent inadequacy of measures advocated by sociologists — such as comprehensive secondary schooling and compensatory education — to solve the problem of inequality of educational opportunity (Williamson 1970). I am most grateful to Bill Williamson both for passing on to me his own discussion of the 1970 conference and for his very helpful comments on the draft of this Introduction.
- 2 The current sociological interest in the content of education would probably not meet the demands of some of those who in the past have criticized sociologists for their neglect of it, for example those concerned with preserving 'standards' and 'high' culture.

- 3 One important traditional area which is not represented in this volume is the study of the teaching profession and the teacher's role.
- 4 The three papers (by McPherson, Jobling, and Hirst) were in fact presented to three quite separate sessions of the conference.
- 5 One particularly appropriate area for an 'action approach' would seem to be in research on educational organizations. In this respect it is unfortunate that a number of important contributions (e.g. Silverman 1970) appeared after the preparation of Brian Davies's paper, which gives regrettably little attention to this perspective.

## *References*

- BALDAMUS, W. 1971. Trivialization. Faculty of Commerce, University of Birmingham, Discussion Papers, Series E, 15.
- BANKS, OLIVE. 1968. *The Sociology of Education*. London: Batsford.
- BERNSTEIN, BASIL. 1961. Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning. In Halsey, Floud & Anderson (eds.) (1961).
- 1965. A Socio-linguistic Approach to Social Learning. In Julius Gould (ed.), *Penguin Survey of the Social Sciences*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- CARTER, M. P. 1967. Report on a Survey of Sociological Research in Britain. British Sociological Association (mimeo). Also published in *Sociological Review* 16: 5-40, 1968.
- CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION (ENGLAND). 1967. *Children and their Primary Schools* (Plowden Report). London: HMSO.
- COMMITTEE ON HIGHER EDUCATION. 1963. *Report* (Robbins Report). Cmnd. 2154. London: HMSO.
- DOUGLAS, J. W. B. 1964. *The Home and the School*. London: MacGibbon & Kee.
- FLOUD, JEAN & HALSEY, A. H. 1958. The Sociology of Education. *Current Sociology* 7: 163-233.
- GOLDTHORPE, JOHN H. 1966. Attitudes and Behaviour of Car Assembly Workers: A Deviant Case and a Theoretical Critique. *British Journal of Sociology* 17 (3): 227-44.
- HALSEY, A. H., FLOUD, JEAN & ANDERSON, C. ARNOLD (eds.) 1961. *Education, Economy and Society*. New York: Free Press.
- HINDESS, BARRY. 1970. 'Participation' and the Failure of Party Politics. Unpublished paper to British Association for the Advancement of Science, Durham.
- JACKSON, BRIAN & MARSDEN, DENNIS. 1962. *Education and the Working Class*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- LAMBERT, R. J., HIPKIN, J. & STAGG, S. 1968. *New Wine in Old Bottles?* London: Bell.
- LAMBERT, R. J. & MILLHAM, S. 1968. *The Hothouse Society*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- MARTINS, HERMINIO. 1970. Sociology of Knowledge and Sociology of Science. University of Essex. (Mimeo.)
- MUSGRAVE, P. W. 1965. *The Sociology of Education*. London: Methuen.
- PUGH, D. S. et al. 1963. A Conceptual Scheme for Organizational Analysis. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 8: 289-315.
- SILVERMAN, DAVID. 1970. *The Theory of Organisations*. London: Heinemann.
- SWIFT, D. F. (ed.) 1970. *Basic Readings in the Sociology of Education*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- TURNER, RALPH H. 1960. Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System. *American Sociological Review* 25: 855-67. Reprinted in Halsey, Floud & Anderson (eds.) (1961).
- WILLIAMSON, BILL. 1970. Sociologists and Education. University of Durham. (Mimeo.)
- ZUBAIDA, SAMI (ed.) 1970. *Race and Racism*. London: Tavistock.

© Richard Brown 1973

EARL HOPPER

*Educational Systems and Selected  
Consequences of Patterns of Mobility  
and Non-mobility in Industrial Societies*  
*A Theoretical Discussion*

---

INTRODUCTION

In 1958, at the IVth World Congress of Sociology, Professor Ralph H. Turner presented a paper on educational systems which was published subsequently as 'Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System' (Turner 1960).<sup>1</sup> His typology of 'contest' and 'sponsorship' educational systems and mobility processes has helped us to understand variations in these phenomena in many societies.<sup>2</sup> In the conclusion to his article, Turner suggested that the structure of a sponsorship educational system would be less likely than that of a contest educational system to increase the probability that the upwardly mobile from the lowest social class would encounter conditions that tend to produce various types of anxiety. In so far as a sponsorship system obtained in England, and a contest system in the United States, upward mobility was hypothesized to be less pathogenic in England than in the United States (Turner 1960:866-7).

In 1966 at the VIth World Congress I presented a paper on educational systems which was published subsequently as 'A Typology for the Classification of Educational Systems' (Hopper 1968a)<sup>3</sup>. It was shown in this article that sponsorship and contest systems represented two special cases in an extended typology. The two types of system do not constitute polarities, at least in terms of this typology, and they are far from being empirically comprehensive. I concluded with the cautious suggestion that one of the ways in which the utility of the expanded typology might be demonstrated would be to take considerations that derived from it in order to revise and reformulate Turner's

hypotheses concerning mobility and anxiety in England and the United States.

As one of the main concerns of the present paper, written shortly before the VIIth World Congress, I intend to pursue these tasks. The paper comprises five sections: I, a statement of the problem, which includes a summary of Turner's thesis, followed by a brief, general critique; II, a discussion of several societal processes that affect educational systems; III, an analysis of some of the possible effects of variations in the structure of educational systems on the life-experiences of the mobile and the non-mobile, at least during the student phases of their life-cycles;<sup>4</sup> IV, a brief analysis of one of the determinants of variations in the structure of educational systems; and, V, a set of propositions concerning the personal consequences of mobility and non-mobility.

#### I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

##### *A Summary of Turner's Thesis<sup>5</sup>*

The author assumed that four conditions were likely to be pathogenic:<sup>6</sup>

- (i) a negative discrepancy between a level of normative expectations and a level of achievement
- (ii) competition for desirable occupations
- (iii) interpersonal isolation and loss of interpersonal support
- (iv) working out a personal value system.

Then, with respect to England, he argued that owing to the effects of educational sponsorship, of subsequent segregation, and of systematic allocation of students to their eventual occupations, neither the non-mobile nor the upwardly mobile from the lowest social class would be likely to encounter any of the four pathogenic conditions stipulated above. Implicit in his thesis is the assumption that children in England are not really ambitious until they pass the initial selection examination: if one passes the test, one becomes ambitious; if one fails, one develops a relatively low level of ambition. Those who fail are unlikely to become mobile or to want to become mobile; hence they are unlikely to encounter the pathogenic conditions. Those who pass are encouraged to desire mobility, are given skills and qualifications which enable them to become mobile, and, in general, are guided, insulated,

and protected; and, hence, they too are unlikely to encounter the pathogenic conditions.

The United States, he argued, presents a different situation. Owing to the absence of systematic regulation of aspirations, training, and allocation to desirable occupations, both the non-mobile and the mobile from the lowest social class in the United States are more likely to encounter the pathogenic conditions outlined above. Implicit in his thesis is the assumption that a generalized success ideology exists in the United States, and that all members of the society want to be successful despite the fact that both the opportunities for upward mobility and the number of people who are capable of becoming mobile are limited. Consequently, the non-mobile are likely to develop discrepancies between their levels of normative expectations and levels of achievement; and the mobile, despite their relative success, are likely to encounter one or a combination of the other pathogenic conditions. In sum, both the non-mobile and the mobile from the lowest social class in the United States are more likely than their counterparts in England to develop certain types of anxiety as a consequence of their non-mobility or their upward mobility.

### *A Brief Critique*

The thesis is plausible, and was supported by much of the evidence available in the late 1950s. It is also possible to interpret more recent findings as consistent with the thesis, at least in a very general way. However, it has several basic limitations:

1. Although it is perhaps most peripheral to Turner's main concerns, mobility is conceptualized simplistically. It is viewed as an attribute or nominal variable, i.e. people are either upwardly mobile from the lowest social class or they are non-mobile. And it is seen as a monolithic process, i.e. there is only one route to the top and it involves the same consecutive steps for all. I am certain that Turner does not adhere to such a model of mobility processes, but both the logic of his original article and the clear implication that such a model would be consistent with his discussion of stratification and mobility make it appear as though he would. Consequently, although a fuller discussion of mobility processes is beyond the scope of the present paper, this point must be made here. However, one should keep in mind the notions of 'patterns of mobility and non-mobility', as well as those of 'mobility route', 'educational route', 'life-cycle', 'occupational route',

and 'career'. These refer to related but distinct social phenomena. Although they may be difficult to separate empirically, they must be distinguished analytically.<sup>7</sup>

2. Apart from its main concern with variations in the folk-norms of stratification, the thesis ignores the effects of variations in the structure of the stratification systems of England and the United States. In this connection, nothing is said of the effects of variations in status rigidity between social classes, between the core and peripheral status groups within social classes, and between the economic and status hierarchies generally. Variations in status rigidity determine to a very great extent the nature of a mobility experience, as well as the formal and informal organization of educational experiences. These points will be developed at greater length later in the present paper.<sup>8</sup>

3. The thesis does not take sufficient account of the variety of educational experiences that are available to both the potentially mobile and the potentially non-mobile students. This is especially evident with respect to England. For example, it is possible that the educational experiences of some portions of the non-mobile population may be as pathogenic as the experiences of some portions of the mobile population, if not more so. Whereas the upwardly mobile through a given educational route may be more likely to encounter pathogenic conditions than are the non-mobile through the same route, the non-mobile through another educational route may be even more likely to encounter such conditions than are the mobile through the first route. In other words, it may be exceedingly difficult to distinguish an educational experience from a mobility experience, especially when there are a large number of routes in the educational system, and when these routes lead to different entry points into the labour market. In brief, evidence suggests that certain patterns of consecutive experiences are characteristic of particular educational routes. These patterns are influenced and organized through ideologies of legitimization and of implementation of educational selection. Such ideologies are properties of the educational system as a whole. And in order to understand the varieties of both educational and mobility experiences available to a population, it is necessary first to locate the educational system in its societal context, and in this connection to understand the various functions it attempts to perform. Although in its entirety such a topic is beyond the scope of this paper, some aspects of it are among my main concerns.<sup>9</sup>

## II. SELECTED ASPECTS OF SOCIETY AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

### *The Total Selection Process as a Societal Functional Problem<sup>10</sup>*

All societies, no matter how simple, strive to solve their various functional problems, both universal and organizationally specific. One such problem is the conduct and management of the 'total selection process'.<sup>11</sup> It comprises four subproblems: training, selection, recruitment or allocation, and the regulation of ambition. Although all societies are confronted by these tasks, the social organizations which are concerned primarily with their solution are more readily apparent in societies with a complex system of social stratification, and especially in industrial societies. I am concerned with the attempted solutions of these tasks within industrial societies, and in this context I will discuss each component of the total selection process.

**i. Training:** All societies strive to provide their personnel with sufficient kinds and amounts of technical and diffuse skills so that the solution of still other problems can be attempted and, at least in large measure, met. These skills pertain primarily to the fulfilment of roles associated with adult occupational positions. However, in so far as industrial societies are stratified with respect to status as well as to economic and political power, adult occupational roles are embedded within a status hierarchy, and, more precisely, within relatively distinct status groups. Therefore, in addition to the technical and diffuse skills required for adult occupational and economic roles, such societies strive to provide their personnel with those skills which facilitate their membership of, and participation in, adult status roles. Of course, these two sets of skills are interrelated: the fulfilment of occupational roles requires both technical and diffuse skills; and, in so far as occupations bestow both economic and status rewards, some technical skills will be required for the fulfilment of status roles, and some diffuse skills for economic ones.

A special case of the provision of skills for the fulfilment of status roles generally is that societies prepare their upwardly mobile members for their mobility experience, i.e. leaving a lower social class and becoming a member of a higher one. Were occupations not such an important source of status positions, such a task would not be so essential. That they do determine the status positions of the vast majority of the population in all industrial societies is beyond dispute. And, to put it bluntly, in all these societies the upwardly mobile are taught

through both formal and informal means to speak 'properly', to use the 'correct' accent, to dress well, to make friends with the right kinds of people, etc. They are taught to extricate themselves from friendship networks containing people from their own initial economic and status positions, and to handle the cross-pressures inherent in both conflicting status norms and retentive and rejective normative orientations towards upward mobility (especially as manifested in their relationships with non-mobile kin).<sup>12</sup> It is also important that they learn to exercise authority over those below and to submit in the appropriate manner to authority from those above.<sup>13</sup>

2. *Selection:* All societies select their personnel for more specialized training, but vary with respect to the stringency of their procedures, the degree of specialization, and the phases of the life-cycle in which they do so. For various reasons, all societies also strive to make their selections as effectively and efficiently as possible. They are always constrained by limited resources, the diffuse norms of substantive rationality, and the ideologies of implementation (Hopper 1968a). Most important, however, is that the effectiveness and efficiency of the training process depend on the efficiency and effectiveness of a selection process. Indeed, the two are so interdependent as to be almost inseparable.

3. *Recruitment and/or Allocation:* All societies structure the process through which their personnel leave the training phases of their life-cycles and enter those phases in which they participate in a labour market and eventually take occupational roles. Such procedures of recruitment and/or allocation are the culmination of the total selection process. However, not everyone is either willing or able to fulfil the most demanding and rewarding occupational roles. Nor are all occupations equally demanding and rewarding.<sup>14</sup> In all societies some people will enter occupations which bestow essentially superordinate economic and status positions, and some will enter those which bestow essentially subordinate ones. Thus some will be more likely than others to fulfil their expectations of economic and status goals, and to feel contented with their achievements. Similarly, feelings of discontent will be generated. Such discontent is closely associated with various forms of personal tension and social conflict, both of which are at least to some extent endemic in any society with a clearly stratified distribution of power.<sup>15</sup>

4. *Regulation of Ambition:* The most difficult task in a society's total selection process is the regulation of the ambition of its personnel.

This takes place at two different phases in the life-cycle. First, ambition must be regulated at early and subsequent selection and rejection steps in the training process. Second, it must be regulated during the final phases of recruitment to occupational roles. Each should be discussed further:

(a) Effective and efficient training demands effective and efficient selections. Consequently, a society must try to assess the distribution of abilities among its personnel as accurately as possible. But 'ability' is not only an inherited set of qualities. Environmental influences are determinant, there are various kinds of abilities, and people develop them at various rates. Further, all the methods available for the selection of the more able from the less able are exceedingly imperfect, no matter how long their application is delayed.<sup>16</sup> Thus, to make accurate assessments a society must try to encourage its children to develop their abilities, and to display them in whatever is deemed the appropriate manner. This means that all societies must try to raise and maintain at a high level the ambition of a maximum number of people until they have been selected for their eventual occupational roles. Ideally this task must be attempted not only as early as possible, but also at every stage of the selection process. It will involve the management of what objects are catheted as goals, and what amounts of these goals are taken as levels of normative expectations. In effect, all industrial societies must strive to inculcate each of their successive cohorts with the desire to fill the most demanding and rewarding occupations, and to acquire the requisite skills.

(b) To recruit effectively and efficiently a society must try not only to guide its personnel into occupations the demands of which are commensurate with their abilities, but also to encourage the more able to have stronger and higher ambitions than the less able, at least in terms of the 'official' assessments. It must strive to minimize the personal discontents associated with the failure to reach one's level of normative expectations. However, if personal discontents were the only consequence of such discrepancies, most societies would not be concerned. In so far as such feelings are also the foundation of social discontent, it is necessary to regulate them. In brief, in any stratified society the most powerful groups in various spheres of interest and activity will try to strengthen the established social order and to minimize potential threats to it. Therefore, they

will strive to reduce and to maintain at a low level the ambition of those personnel who fill essentially subordinate positions. They will also strive to sponsor and to maintain at a higher level the ambition of those who fill essentially superordinate ones.

In sum, the total selection process is a functional problem which consists of four separate but interdependent component tasks, and with which all societies, and especially highly stratified societies, must strive to cope. However, all societies do not meet this problem with the same degree of effectiveness and efficiency. Some are more successful with one component or combination of them than they are with another. Structural constraints inherent in the complexity of the problem make it difficult to cope equally well with all four. In fact, several structural contradictions are inherent in any attempted solution of the total selection process. This gives rise to a structural dilemma, one that no society can eliminate, yet one with which all societies must cope.

#### *The Structural Dilemma Inherent in the Total Selection Process*

The dilemma is easy to describe: the more effective a society is in raising and maintaining ambition at a high level initially, the more difficult is it to reduce and to suppress ambition at a relatively low level at a later phase. For example, it will usually be necessary to reduce the expectations of adults who as children or as younger men were encouraged to aim high. All the available evidence suggests that such a task is extremely difficult, if not impossible. Thus the more effective a society is at an early phase of the total selection process in motivating its personnel to fill demanding occupations, to acquire the requisite skills, and to forgo immediate economic rewards during extensive periods of training, the more likely is it to have to face two problems: personal discontent, and its personal manifestations, among those of its personnel who eventually fill essentially subordinate positions, and hence fail to meet their ambitions; and social discontent, and its manifestations in social conflict between them and those people who eventually fill essentially superordinate positions, and hence do succeed in their ambitions. In other words, there is an inverse relationship between the likelihood of success in the regulation of ambition at the early stages and the likelihood of success at the later ones.

The social organizations that any society develops to cope with the total selection process will be constrained by the conflicting pressures

of this dilemma. Societies vary in the structural mechanisms through which they attempt to cope with it, and in the degree to which they do so successfully. Especially important is that a system of social stratification not only contributes to the severity of the problem (indeed, it tends to define the dimensions), but also helps to resolve it. This is not the place to elaborate the view that stratification is both functional and dysfunctional with respect to the attempted solutions of a large number and variety of societal problems. But a few points are in order concerning the effects of variation in stratification systems on the total selection process.

With respect to the problems under consideration here, it is particularly useful to determine the degree to which a stratification system is characterized by status rigidity. This can be defined in terms of several aspects of stratification and mobility, but primarily in terms of the status hierarchy and its relationships to the stratification system of which it is a part, as follows:

- distinct and mutually exclusive status groups exist, which are arranged hierarchically according to status power
- the life-styles associated with each status group are distinctive and extensive, such that they are difficult to shed as well as to acquire, especially after childhood
- it is difficult to legitimize a newly acquired economic position by entering with speed the core of the commensurate status group
- various occupations or sets of them are governed and regulated by certain status groups, with special reference to recruitment and promotion<sup>17</sup>
- there is great social distance between adjacent status groups, between any one echelon in the hierarchy and any other, and between the core and periphery of status groups in each echelon.

It is impossible to discuss this property of stratification in greater detail here. But it is important to see that a system can be more rigid in some respects than in others. One part of a given system can be more rigid than other parts of the same system. Yet one system can be more or less rigid generally than another. For example, perhaps France is the most rigid industrial society in the West, and the United States the least. England would be more rigid than the United States, and perhaps almost as rigid as France. But it is quite possible to find segments of any one of these societies which are either more or less rigid than segments of the others.

The evidence from many industrial societies suggests that the greater the degree of status rigidity, the more likely it is that the lower a person's initial economic and status positions, the less are: (i) his ambition to raise them as an adult; (ii) his willingness to acquire the skills requisite for raising them as an adult; and (iii) his ability to acquire the requisite skills and to raise these positions (Douglas 1964; Douglas, Ross & Simpson 1968; Coleman 1965). For the sake of clarity, the converse of this threefold empirical generalization should also be stated. The greater the degree of status rigidity, the more likely it is that the higher a person's initial positions, the greater are: his ambition to perpetuate them and possibly to raise them; his willingness to acquire the skills to enable him to do so; and his ability to reach these positions, both in the sense of the acquisition of skill and in the sense of encouragement from, and lack of interference by, others. These relationships are very complex, but because they are axiomatic for the analysis that follows, at least a brief discussion is necessary.

Much of the variance in talent and ambition which exists prior to initial selections and rejections of personnel can be accounted for by variations in inherited qualities, social-class background and its attendant attributes, and a number of aspects of family environment. All three factors are interrelated so that children from the lowest social class tend to have less ambition and 'measurable talent' than do children from higher social classes (Douglas 1964; Douglas *et al.* 1968; Coleman 1965). The origins of achievement orientations are numerous and multidimensional. Although certain biological and psychological qualities are needed, the ease, frequency, and patterns with which they are developed are determined by social experiences (Kahl 1968; DeCharms 1968). Similarly, the relationship between achievement orientations and mobility orientations is problematic. However, the evidence suggests that the greater the mobility opportunities, the more likely are people to translate their general achievement orientations into more precise mobility orientations with respect to economic and status positions (Turner 1960).

Yet, mobility opportunities alone are not enough. Although they are essential in this respect, equally important is the degree to which people perceive the occupational structure as open to them, and are ready to utilize the means available for occupational achievements. In other words, it is necessary to consider the effects of variations in the degree of status rigidity. For example, the more visible mobility is to

members of the lowest social class, the more likely are they to learn of their opportunities and to act upon them. The greater the proportion of mobility that is accounted for by long-range movements, the more is attention drawn to the possibilities of success. The more the acquisition of a new life-style depends on the purchase of status symbols, and the less it depends on learning the subtleties of using them, the more obvious will be the rewards for the mobility efforts. The less the most prestigious and economically rewarding occupations (like those of doctor, barrister, corporation president) are maintained as the prerogatives of traditional and tightly knit higher-status groups, the more likely are long-range mobility and its rapid legitimization to be taken as realistic possible achievements.

To the extent that higher-status groups make it difficult for the economically mobile to acquire a legitimate position in the status hierarchy, the currency of economic achievement is devalued. Thus, when the effort to become upwardly mobile involves leaving a highly supportive status group and family, and is coupled with a low probability of becoming rapidly and easily reintegrated into a new and higher status group, occupational and economic success does not necessarily smell sweet. Moreover, when membership of a status community does not depend primarily on economic accomplishments, money loses its salience as a source of motivation. In other words, although, to a potential candidate for upward mobility, the greater the difficulty of status legitimization the greater the value of a new and higher status, it is also the case that he will be less likely to become mobility-oriented in the first place. When economic mobility demands occupational mobility, and when the latter removes a person from his original status group and kinship network, even mobility orientations towards economic positions are likely to be less frequent and less intense.

It follows from this discussion that variations in status rigidity will greatly affect the balance, emphasis, and elasticity of the dilemma inherent in the total selection process, as outlined above. The greater the degree of status rigidity, the easier is it for a society to motivate able people from high initial positions and the more difficult to motivate able people from low initial positions, both to fill its most demanding and rewarding occupations and to acquire the requisite skills. Status rigidity will be functional with respect to suppressing the ambition of the less able from low initial positions who eventually enter low adult positions, and with respect to maintaining the ambition of the more able from high initial positions who later perpetuate them.

But status rigidity will also be dysfunctional in two respects: it will be difficult to raise and to maintain at a high level the ambition of the more able from low initial economic and status positions, and difficult to reduce and to suppress at a low level the ambition of the less able from high initial economic and status positions who eventually enter low adult positions. In sum, the greater the degree of status rigidity, the easier is it to cope with some aspects of the dilemma in question, and the more difficult to cope with others.

However, it is not the case that the lower the degree of status rigidity, the less thorny the dilemma. With a low degree of status rigidity it is easier to cope with those aspects of the dilemma which are most troublesome under conditions of high status rigidity, but more difficult to cope with those which are least troublesome. The less the degree of status rigidity, the easier is it for a society to motivate able people from low initial positions, and the more difficult to motivate able people from high initial positions. A low degree of status rigidity will be functional with respect to developing and maintaining the ambition of the more able from low initial positions, and with respect to reducing and suppressing the ambition of the less able from high initial positions who eventually enter low adult positions. However, it will also be dysfunctional in two respects: it will be difficult to develop and to maintain the ambition of the more able from high initial positions, and to reduce and to suppress the ambition of the less able from low initial positions.

These effects of variations in status rigidity on the relative ease and difficulty with which each component of the dilemma can be solved are illustrated in *Table I*.

**TABLE I**  
*Status rigidity and the dilemma of the total selection process*

<i>Status rigidity</i>	<i>Initial economic and status positions</i>	<i>Development and maintenance of a high level of ambition</i>	<i>Reduction and suppression of a low level of ambition</i>
High	High	+	-
	Low	-	+
Low	High	-	+
	Low	+	-

Key: (+) = relative ease; (-) = relative difficulty.

This paradigm indicates that certain properties of the stratification system partly create the initial functional problem of the total selection process as well as the inherent dilemma. It also indicates that variations in status rigidity help to solve some aspects of the dilemma but to accentuate others. Clearly, then, a stratification system alone is not sufficient to cope with either the problem or the dilemma. To do so a society will have to develop additional structural mechanisms.

### *Educational Systems in Industrial Societies*

Societies have in fact developed a very large number of functionally alternative social organizations through which they try to cope with the problem and dilemma in question. Further, although any given society is likely to utilize more than one social organization, some structural arrangements are likely to be more important than others. In industrial societies the most important mechanism is the educational system. It becomes responsible, both normatively and actually, for the training, selection, allocation, and regulation of personnel with respect to their adult occupational roles and, hence, their economic and status positions.<sup>18</sup> Thus it becomes responsible for the task of 'forward placement' in the stratification system (Clark 1964). Although this development is by no means inevitable, it is the case in all the present industrial societies, and is rapidly becoming so in most societies now undergoing industrialization processes (Coleman 1965). This pattern is part of the wider phenomena of specialization, differentiation, coordination, and centralization which characterize these societies, largely in response to the emergence of an occupational system which is itself specialized and differentiated both internally and with respect to such institutions as the family and religion.<sup>19</sup> It is therefore understandable that the educational systems of these societies should all be characterized by at least a minimal degree of specialization and differentiation of routes and selection points, and of centralization, standardization, and coordination of the total selection process.

In industrial societies the functional problem of the total selection process and its attendant dilemma are translated into the terms of reference of their educational systems. With respect to training, the educational system will try to provide its student personnel with the technical and diffuse skills necessary for their subsequent allocation into occupational roles, and for their achievement of various amounts of economic and status rewards. 'Career-training' experiences will be

provided with respect to occupational and economic goals, and will involve primarily the development of technical skills. 'Status-training' experiences will be provided with respect to status goals, and will involve primarily the development of diffuse skills. And as a special case of status-training, 'mobility-training' experiences will be provided with respect to the mobility goals of those of its students who are likely to be upwardly mobile from the lower social classes. In fact, more detailed examination of the curricula and extra-curricular activities within educational organizations as well as within classrooms themselves would probably indicate that considerable time and effort are spent on status- and mobility-training relative to career-training.<sup>20</sup>

The provision of skills, however, is not enough. Because some candidates for 'higher learning' are not sufficiently talented and/or the society has provided a smaller number of places in institutions of 'higher learning' than it has eligible candidates, the educational system must also try to organize the selection of students at various phases of their educational experience. And this means that the system must try to organize the regulation of the ambition of its students, especially during the early phases of their formal education. In this respect, the system is set four tasks:

1. In order to maximize the development and display of academic abilities, the ambition of *all* students must be sponsored and maintained at a high level prior to the initial selections.
2. In order to minimize social conflict and personal discontent, the ambition of those students who are rejected initially must then be reduced and maintained at a low level so that it is commensurate with their newly assessed achievement potentials.
3. In order to continue to select effectively and efficiently those it deems worthy of still further promotion to still higher educational levels, the system must continue to maximize the development and display of academic abilities of those who are selected initially. Thus the ambition of all those who are selected initially for advanced training must be sponsored further and maintained at as high a level as possible.
4. And in order to regulate social conflict, personal discontent, and social participation, the ambition of all those who are selected initially but rejected subsequently (at various levels and through various routes) must be reduced and maintained at lower levels so that it is commensurate with their reassessed achievement potentials.

In sum, at every level and through every route within its total selection process, an educational system must strive, on the one hand, to 'warm up' some of its students, and, on the other, to 'cool out' those who are rejected for further training.<sup>21</sup> Those who are warmed up receive further and more specialized training, and those who are cooled out are sent more or less directly into the labour market. Throughout the system, then, a need exists for the simultaneous provision of warming-up and cooling-out experiences.

The dual tasks of warming up and cooling out must be directed, moreover, towards the provision of career-training, status-training, and mobility-training experiences. In other words, students must be warmed up and cooled out more or less continuously, successively, and correctly with respect to their eventual occupational roles, and, hence, with respect to their eventual economic, status, and mobility goals. This means that they must also be warmed up and cooled out more immediately with respect to their contemporary educational goals which stand for each of these long-term adult goals.

However, as outlined above, the more successful an educational system is in its warming-up processes at a given phase in the selection process, the more difficult will it be to manage and conduct its cooling-out processes at a subsequent phase. This is not to state that the effective and efficient provision of both sets of experiences is impossible, but to stress that the likelihood of success with one is inversely related to the likelihood of success with the other. Continual tension and conflict are likely to surround any system's attempts to resolve this structural dilemma. It is a contradiction that is likely to generate pressures for structural change, both within the educational system and in the relations of the system to other institutions. But no matter what the substance or the direction of the structural changes that might occur, the essential nature of the dilemma remains constant, as do the pressures for further change.

Which horn of the dilemma is presented by a society as the longer and the sharper will greatly affect the basic structure of its educational system. This horn represents the demands the society makes on its educational system over and above the relatively small request for the provision of skills of various kinds and amounts. Thus a key to the understanding of the basic structure of any educational system is how it attempts to solve its assignment: that is, how it copes with the dilemma implicated in the structure of its warming-up and cooling-out processes. And this, in turn, is a key to the understanding of the

personal and interpersonal consequences of various patterns of mobility and non-mobility.

### *Variations in the Structure of Educational Systems*

Before turning to the determinants and effects of variations in the structure of educational systems, it would be useful to consider some of the dimensions with respect to which they vary. An almost infinite number and variety of structural properties are involved. To understand these variations requires in the first instance an identification of what merits priority for one's attention. This depends greatly on a researcher's interests as well as on the concerns of traditional research problems. My expanded typology for the classification of educational systems was constructed on this basis (Hopper 1968a). It involves several dimensions of the social organization of educational systems which pertain to the kinds and patterns of experience that are available to students as they progress through their life-cycles. A brief summary of this typology is in order.

The selection process within the system was taken as the focal point, and several questions were asked concerning the ways in which educational systems might vary. How and when *does* educational selection occur? How and when *should* educational selection occur? *Who* should be selected? And *why* should they be selected? Who is actually selected was not asked: this depends on the answers to the other six questions, as well as on many other factors. In answer to these six questions the following dimensions were conceptualized:

1. The degree to which the selection process is coordinated and centralized in its administration.
2. The degree to which the educational programme is standardized prior to initial selections for all segments of the population, both social and geographical.
3. The degree to which the ideology of implementation is of a 'sponsorship' or a 'contest' kind. A sponsorship ideology specifies, for example, that:
  - selection via sponsorship is necessary in order for the 'best' people to be selected
  - sponsors are qualified 'by right' for the task
  - they will exercise good judgement in making selections.

A contest ideology specifies, for example, that:

- selection should be determined not through a centrally administered procedure but through the ‘natural laws’ of a free market’, e.g. ‘survival of the fittest’ and ‘supply and demand’
- the only task of central administration is to keep the market ‘free’.

4. The degree to which the educational system is characterized by early formal specialization and differentiation of routes through which pupils are selected, trained, regulated, and allocated to the labour market.

5. The degree to which the lack of a coordinated and centralized educational administration as well as the lack of a standardized educational programme is based on the existence of specialized and differentiated routes, i.e. the degree of lateral autonomy in the administration of the system.<sup>22</sup>

6. The degree to which the ideology of implementation is of an ‘elitist’ or an ‘egalitarian’ kind. An elitist ideology specifies, for example, that:

- the maximum amount of education for each citizen should depend on his future ability to contribute to economic productivity
- ‘intelligence’ and ‘educability’ are determined primarily by hereditary factors such that some people could not possibly benefit from education above a given minimum
- those who appear to be bound for elite positions should be separated at an early age from those who appear to be bound for lower positions, so that the former will gain in their confidence to lead and the latter in their willingness to follow.

An egalitarian ideology specifies, for example, that:

- the maximum amount of education is the right of every citizen regardless of his future ability to contribute to economic productivity
- ‘intelligence’ and ‘educability’ are determined primarily by environmental factors such that with proper instruction all people could benefit from a maximum of education
- those who appear to be bound for elite positions should work and play as long as possible with those who appear to be bound for lower positions, so that the former will not lose touch with the

'common man' and the latter will not become overly subordinate and lacking in initiative.<sup>23</sup>

7. The degree to which ideology of selection is primarily 'aristocratic', 'paternalistic', 'meritocratic', or 'communistic'. These ideologies can be distinguished in terms of their two component dimensions of universalism-particularism and individualism-collectivism, and can be defined as follows:

(i) *Particularistic*

To the extent that pupils should be selected primarily on the basis of their diffuse skills and only secondarily on the basis of their technical skills, such that those with the most of the former need have least of the latter, the ideology has a 'particularistic' quality. This assumes that the society has a system of ascribed statuses on the basis of which certain diffuse skills and ascribed characteristics are likely to become unequally distributed. It also assumes that the opportunity for learning such skills is strictly limited to particular groups and that substitutes for ascribed characteristics are unacceptable.

(a) *Aristocratic ideology: an individualistic form of particularism*: When particularistic selections are justified to the population in terms of the right of those selected to privilege on the basis of their diffuse skills and ascribed characteristics one may refer to the 'aristocratic' quality of the ideology.

(b) *Paternalistic ideology: a collectivistic form of particularism*: When particularistic selections are justified to the population in terms of the society's 'need' for people with diffuse skills and certain ascribed characteristics in order that the society may be led by the most 'suitable' people, one may refer to the 'paternalistic' quality of the ideology.

(ii) *Universalistic*

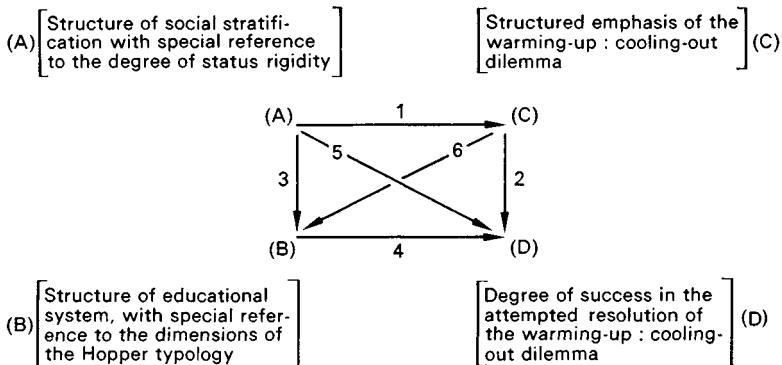
To the extent that pupils should be selected primarily on the basis of their technical skills and only secondarily on the basis of their diffuse skills, such that those with the most of the former need have least of the latter, the ideology has a 'universalistic' quality. This assumes that the society does not have a system of ascribed statuses on the basis of which certain diffuse skills and ascribed characteristics are likely to become unequally distributed. It also assumes that maximum opportunity is available for such skills to be learnt.

- (c) *Meritocratic ideology: an individualistic form of universalism:* When universalistic selections are justified to the population in terms of the right of the selected to privilege as a reward for their talents, ambition, and technical skills, one may refer to the 'meritocratic' quality of the ideology.
- (d) *Communistic ideology: a collectivistic form of universalism:* When universalistic selections are justified to the population in terms of the society's need for the most talented, ambitious, and technically qualified men to be guided to positions of leadership and responsibility, and for those less qualified in these respects to be guided to appropriately subordinate positions, one may refer to the 'communistic' quality of the ideology.

It was shown that educational systems vary according to each of these dimensions. Their positions on any one dimension were not necessarily related to their positions on any of the others. Although it is possible to observe 'strains towards consistency', a system's position on the organizational dimension of a given structural property does not necessarily correspond with its position on the ideological dimension of the same property. It was also shown that although a very approximate relationship might exist, a society's degree of status rigidity was a surprisingly poor indication of the position of its educational system on any of these dimensions.

#### *Variations in the Structure of Educational Systems and the Attempted Solution of the Warming-up : Cooling-out Dilemma*

It is possible to trace the hypothetical effects of variations in the structure of educational systems on the degree to which a system succeeds in its attempt to resolve the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma. It is also possible to trace the hypothetical effects of the structured emphasis in the dilemma (that is, the prominence of the warming-up problems relative to the cooling-out problems, and the relative flexibility of this balance) on variations in the structure of the educational system. However, these two sets of relationships are embedded in an intricate and complex set of social processes. To examine them further demands that they be abstracted from this context. Because it is not possible within the limits of the present paper to consider the very many interesting aspects of this context, it would be useful at least to locate them schematically, as shown overleaf.



With respect to relationship no. 1: the greater the degree of status rigidity in the stratification system, the harder it is to warm up people from the lower social classes and to cool out people from the upper social classes, and the easier it is to cool out those from the lower social classes and to warm up those from the upper social classes. The degree of status rigidity will greatly affect the extent of the need to provide mobility-training experiences, as well as the relative ease or difficulty of providing them. And the distribution of the population among a society's social classes will determine the extent to which warming-up will be either more or less essential than cooling-out, especially during the early phases of the selection process.

With respect to relationship no. 2: the greater the degree of inflexibility and emphasis of one component relative to the other, the more difficult it is to resolve the dilemma successfully. The more intransigent the solution of one of the component sets of problems, the greater the need for a large investment of resources of various kinds in its attempted solution. The greater this investment, the less the resources available for the other component set of problems. Usually, too much emphasis on one component gives rise to an organization which becomes too rigid to concentrate on the solution of the counter-problem; and a successful solution of one component tends to eliminate the need for the organization in its contemporary form.<sup>24</sup> In any event, the greater the success of the system with one component, the greater will be its need to solve the other, and the less its likelihood of success.

With respect to relationship no. 3: the structure of an educational system is determined by an almost infinite number and variety of

competing pressures such that it represents a type of balance, a manifestation of a structural *détente*, among these pressures.<sup>25</sup> For example, one must consider the effects of the level and trajectory of industrialization processes, the degree of cultural homogeneity, the degree of political centralization and coordination, etc. But of special importance is the structure of social stratification, with reference to the effects of many of its properties, such as ethnic composition, distribution of power within its main hierarchies, control of recruitment to key occupations, etc. One of these many properties is its degree of status rigidity, as discussed above.

With respect to relationship no. 4: the effects of such variation in the structure of educational systems on the degree to which a society can handle the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma successfully is one of the main concerns of the next section of this paper, where it will be examined more fully.

With respect to relationship no. 5: variations in social stratification not only affect the structural emphasis of the dilemma (relationship no. 1) and the structure of an educational system (relationship no. 3), and hence, *indirectly*, the degree to which the system can resolve the dilemma successfully; but they also *directly* affect the degree to which the resolution is successful. It is important to stress in this connection that educational systems are not the only source of attempts to solve the dilemma inherent in the functional subproblem of the regulation of ambition. They may be the most important source, but, as was suggested above, systems of social stratification also provide their own structural mechanisms for the attempted resolution of this dilemma. The entire task is never assigned solely to an educational system. For example, the degree to which the dilemma can be resolved also depends on the number of mobility routes available, the number of evaluational criteria which underpin the status hierarchy, the number and variety of occupational situses available at a given echelon, etc. Thus, to trace the effects of variations in the structure of educational systems and in the structure of the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma on the likelihood that the dilemma will be resolved successfully may not be sufficient to explain a large portion of the total variance in successful resolution. It will be necessary always to examine the many direct effects of social stratification as well. But this is not to argue that the effects of any other property cannot be traced.

With respect to relationship no. 6: another of the main concerns of this paper is how the structure of educational systems is affected by

the structural emphasis of the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma. It will be considered briefly in Section IV.<sup>26</sup>

Two subsidiary points should still be noted, and then eliminated from further consideration. First, each variable in the diagram above is determined by many other variables in addition to the ones under consideration here. This is implicit in the discussion thus far. It should be made explicit, however, that this paper is not concerned with explanations of the maximum amount of variance in any of these variables. It is concerned only with tracing the contributions that certain variables make to such explanations. Second, as is the case with almost all propositions in sociology, these relationships are likely to be reciprocal. Thus they could be examined in terms of their feedback and looping effects. For example, it is obvious that the degree to which a society resolves the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma successfully will affect the structure of its stratification system, which helped to generate and to define the dilemma in the first place. Such reciprocities are important, but they are beyond the scope of this paper.

### III. VARIATIONS IN THE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS AND DEGREE OF SUCCESS IN HANDLING THE WARMING UP : COOLING-OUT DILEMMA

#### *Effects of Variations in Selected Dimensions of the Typology for the Classification of Educational Systems*

The effects of variations in selected properties of educational systems on the relative ease or difficulty a system is likely to encounter in its attempts to resolve the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma involve two sets of problems. One is that variation in a given dimension does not affect each component of the dilemma in the same way. In fact, it is often likely to have opposite effects. Another is that the way in which the lower social classes are affected is often likely to differ from the way in which the upper social classes are affected. What is effective for the lower social classes is likely to be ineffective for the upper social classes, and vice versa, for most of the dimensions in question. Thus the degree to which variation in a particular dimension or in a set of dimensions contributes to the success of an attempt to resolve the dilemma depends on both the distribution of a society's population among its social classes and the degree to which its stratification system is characterized by status rigidity. Success is not a function only of the

structure of the educational system. It follows, however, that the first task in the consideration of these processes is to trace the hypothetical effects of variations in each dimension on both the lower and the upper social classes. These can be summarized as in *Table 2*.

TABLE 2

*Hypothetical effects of variations in the main dimensions of educational systems on the lower and the upper social classes*

The main dimensions of an educational system	Position of index	The components of the dilemma					
		Warming-up		Cooling-out		Lower social classes	Upper social classes
		Lower social classes	Upper social classes	Lower social classes	Upper social classes		
1 Degree of centralization and standardization	High	= 1	= 1	+ 1	- 1		
	Low	- 2	+ 2	= 2	= 2		
2 Degree of early formal specialization and differentiation	High	- 2	+ 1	+ 1	- 2		
	Low	= 1	= 2	- 2	+ 1		
3 Ideology of implementation of selection	Sponsorship/ Elitist	- 2	+ 1	+ 1	- 2		
	Contest/ Egalitarian	= 1	= 2	= 2	= 1		
4 Ideology of legitimization of selection	Communistic	+ 1	- 4	+ 1	- 1		
	Paternalistic	- 3	+ 2	+ 2	- 3		
	Meritocratic	+ 2	- 3	+ 4	- 2		
	Aristocratic	- 4	+ 1	+ 3	- 4		

Key: (+) = relative ease; (-) = relative difficulty;  
 (=) = no difference: equally easy or equally difficult;  
 (1 - 4) = the higher the number, the greater the difficulty.

I shall now discuss each of these effects. However, I should like to stress in the strongest possible terms that this discussion constitutes only a preliminary attempt to work out the variety of forces and counter-forces which underpin a particular effect. Such a brief treatment must, of necessity, be incomplete. It is intended as an initial guideline for further research, including the formulation of alternative hypotheses.

1. *Degree of centralization and standardization of the educational programme and its administration:* Two dimensions were conceptualized with respect to how educational selection occurs. Although positions on the two dimensions are not necessarily interrelated, the effects of variation in the standardization of the educational programme are consistent with those of variation in the centralization of its co-ordination and administration. Therefore, to simplify the presentation of the argument, it is reasonable to combine them both into one dimension, the degree of centralization and standardization of the educational programme and its administration.

(a) In the first instance, the effects of variation in the composite dimension on attempts to resolve the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma are unduly obvious and easy to describe. Although too much centralization and standardization of an educational programme and its administration may be covered by the law of diminishing returns, it is generally accepted in sociology that the greater the centralization and standardization of processes of these kinds, the more effectively and efficiently can any organization conduct its affairs, and progress towards its goals, whatever they are. This applies to an educational system (cf. Jenks & Riesman 1968) and includes any attempts to resolve the dilemma in question. However, in so far as movements towards either greater or lesser centralization and standardization generate new patterns of responsibility, autonomy, and interdependence for the roles within an educational bureaucracy, such variation is likely to generate tension and conflict both within the system and between it and other institutions. Although this may reduce the degree to which the system can resolve its dilemma, as the new structure becomes more stable, the full effects of its new position with respect to centralization and standardization are likely to ensue.

(b) A high degree of centralization and standardization is likely to be more effective in cooling out the lower social classes than the upper social classes. Among the most important of the many reasons for this is that an official agency can be held responsible for the rejections. No matter how institutionalized the cooling-out process is, the personnel who are ultimately responsible for rejections are likely to be members of the upper social classes or their agents. They are the targets for all projections of bitterness over the experience of failure. The rejected student from the lower social

classes is thus offered a set of ready-made excuses for his failure, e.g. 'You can't break the system' or 'I was up against the Establishment'. A rejected student from the upper social classes is denied this luxury. He cannot say that he was a victim of 'class bias' when his own social class is responsible for his rejection. Moreover, for a student from the lower social classes to be rejected by a member of the upper social classes is consistent with the structure of interpersonal relationships that comprises the status hierarchy. It fits the general pattern of expectations concerning exchanges between status groups. The opposite is so with respect to a student from the upper social classes.

(c) A low degree of centralization and standardization is likely to be more effective in warming up the upper social classes than the lower social classes. Among the many reasons for this is that children from the lower social classes are less motivated and less able to participate in the formal activities of an educational system at an early age than are children from the upper social classes (Douglas 1964; Douglas *et al.* 1968). It takes them longer not only to develop to any given level their potential motivation and abilities, but also to utilize the materials and tools of learning, such as language skills, in a classroom situation.<sup>27</sup> In brief, children from the upper social classes, by virtue of their family and peer-group backgrounds, enter the formal educational system with a sizable head start. To the extent that the educational programme is not standardized for all social and geographical segments of the population, it is almost always the case that the programme will be richer for the upper social classes and poorer for the lower social classes. This augments the initial bias. However, when exposed to compensatory teaching and curricula organization, children from the lower social classes are able to develop, to an appreciable extent, from their lower baseline. But to the extent that the administration of the educational programme is not centralized and coordinated, it is difficult, if not impossible, to conduct such procedures.

- 2. Degree of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes:* Two dimensions were conceptualized with respect to when educational selection occurs. Although positions on the two dimensions are not necessarily interrelated, the effects of variation in the degree of lateral autonomy will serve only to reinforce those of variation in the degree

of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes. Therefore, for present purposes, it is not necessary to consider the independent effects of the former property. However, the effects of variations in the degree of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes depend entirely on the social class of the group in question. Variations do not affect all social classes in the same way for either the warming-up or the cooling-out process. Thus the effects of variation for this dimension must be examined for each social class.

(a) The greater the degree of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes, the easier is it likely to be to warm up the upper social classes and the more difficult the lower social classes. Among the most important of the many reasons for this is that the sooner initial selections are made, the easier will it be to reinforce the initial enthusiasms and abilities of children from the upper social classes, and the more difficult to overcome the initial retardation of children from the lower social classes. Furthermore, when children from the lower social classes mix with those from the upper social classes, the former are likely to acquire the qualities of the latter, and the latter the qualities of the former. With respect to the warming-up process, this benefits the lower social classes and impedes the upper. Thus the sooner initial selections are made, the less liable are children from the lower social classes to take advantage of this opportunity.

(b) In contradistinction, the greater the degree of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes, the easier is it likely to be to cool out the lower social classes and the more difficult the upper social classes. Again, there are many reasons for this. The most important is that to cool out a member of the lower social classes is likely to involve his eventual non-mobility, whereas to cool out a member of the upper social classes is likely to involve his eventual downward mobility. With respect to the lower social classes, the earlier the initial rejections, the less likely are they to have been warmed up, and thus the more likely are they to experience their failure as self-confirming and appropriate. Further, the earlier the initial rejections, the longer the period within the system prior to entry into the labour market; thus the longer the time during which those who will be non-mobile from the lower social classes can acquire and reinforce their collective identity as societal subordinates. With respect to the upper social classes, the earlier the initial rejections, the less likely are they to have anticipated their eventual

downward mobility, and, through a process of self-selection, to have begun a process of anticipatory socialization for the lower social classes. Further, the fewer will have been their opportunities to develop in a natural and spontaneous way friendships which cut across social-class boundaries, and which might compensate for the ones they are liable to lose. Whereas a lengthy period between early initial rejections and entry into the labour market may assist the cooling-out process for the lower social classes, it is likely to have the opposite effect for the upper social classes. It highlights in formal terms the eventual status discontinuities of the family of orientation, and, in general, subjects the children to cross-pressure between parents and peers.

(c) The less the degree of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes, the easier is it likely to be to cool out the upper social classes, and the more difficult the lower social classes. This is the converse of the proposition examined above, but is also supported by independent factors. Although the converse of the proposition concerning the warming-up process is not likely to hold, this one is.

The preceding discussion concerns the early phases of the selection process in which an attempt to resolve the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma depends on the differential effects of variations in the degree of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes upon the lower and the upper social classes. However, at later phases of the selection process, variations in this dimension present a further problem which does not involve social-class differences. Ideally, the cooling-out process should be effective through all routes in the system, i.e. ambitions and achievement potentials should be commensurate at all levels.<sup>28</sup> Yet it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to accomplish an effective cooling-out process through a certain range of routes. This range is distinguished by its origins in initial selections and its terminations in eventual rejections at various levels prior to final selection at the apex.<sup>29</sup> In these routes people will have experienced an initial sponsorship of their ambitions and an official selection for an eventual position in the upper social classes; but they will also experience a subsequent rejection for which they are unlikely to have been prepared. Such inconsistency does not make for an effective regulation of ambition. The greater the degree of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes within a system, the more likely is it to be characterized by these types of middle-range route.

All systems with a high degree of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes have a built-in bias towards the apex. In effect, whether for reasons of ideology or limited resources, they are concerned primarily with the creation of an elite. Those who are selected initially and continuously, and who eventually enter the labour market through the apex, receive careful grooming during the entire process. Those who are rejected initially in such a system often receive considerable attention prior to their entry into the labour market; they comprise a large segment of the population, and to cool them out is always essential. Both groups of people are likely to undergo effective cooling-out experiences. The first group will be cooled out at a high level of potential achievement, and the second at a lower level. Both are likely to have ambitions which are commensurate with their achievement potentials and, the evidence suggests, with their eventual achievements.

In contrast, the middle-range routes are likely to be neglected. These routes function primarily to generate the groups to be selected at the next stage of the process. They are a sieve through which the most highly motivated and highly trained elite will filter. They do not function primarily to train those who utilize them to enter the labour market. Those who do enter the labour market in this way are likely to have comparatively low achievement potentials. Their training will have consisted primarily of preparation for the next phase of formal education, and not for occupational roles that are available to them. In this respect they may be less well trained than if they had been rejected initially and received direct vocational instruction. In any case, they will enter the labour market with ambitions that were initially sponsored, combined with comparatively low achievement potentials. Although they do experience a subsequent official rejection, this is a symbol that the system has defined their identities in inconsistent ways. First, they are encouraged to identify themselves as potential members of an elite, and then they are rejected as unsuitable. If the system is felt to be in error, the problem arises whether the error was manifested in the initial selection or in the subsequent termination. In the event of the latter, they are left with a structured discrepancy between their expectations and their achievement potentials, and, the evidence suggests, their eventual achievements. But in either case they are left with ambiguous and ambivalent self-expectations, and without institutional support for their self-identifications.

Such ineffective cooling-out routes are also found at later phases in

the selection process. They exist within the matrix of institutions of further and higher education, and are close to the elite apex itself. The apex of an educational system is usually represented by one or two universities which, even in very large complex societies, represent a maximum achievement potential with respect to both economic and status goals, as well as to a wide range of direct occupational goals. To graduate from the apex institutions is to receive very strong sponsorship with respect to a large number and variety of goals. Expectations and achievement potentials are likely to be high, and these potentials are likely to be realized subsequently. However, there are likely to be many other institutions of further and higher education. The achievement potentials they provide are likely to be almost as high, if not as high, as those provided by the apex institutions, but not with respect to as large a number and variety of goals. From the point of view of the population generally, selection into any one of these institutions appears to represent a success; but the closer one gets to the apex, the more one is aware that the apex is unique. Especially important in this connection is that many of these institutions provide achievement potentials with respect to economic and occupational goals which are commensurate with those provided by the apex institutions. But they are seldom able at the same time to provide commensurate achievement potentials with respect to status goals. For example, a graduate from an apex university and a graduate from another university are both able to become engineers, but the apex graduate is likely to be employed by the most prestigious firm and the other graduate is not. In other words, educational routes which culminate in graduation from institutions of further and higher education other than the apex institutions are likely to be effective in the cooling-out process with respect to some goals but ineffective with respect to others. They are especially likely to be ineffective with respect to status goals.

In sum, systems with a high degree of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes will be effective in the cooling-out process with respect to those who are rejected initially and with respect to those who are subsequently selected into an elite. But they are especially likely to be ineffective with respect to a particular segment of the population. The people in this segment are likely to enter the labour market with a discrepancy between their levels of normative expectations and their levels of achievement potentials, and eventually to develop a discrepancy between their expectations and their actual achievements. They are likely to be more ineffectively cooled

out than any of those who might enter the labour market through a system characterized by a low degree of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes. This segment epitomizes and personifies the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma at its most severe.

*3. Ideologies of implementation: sponsorship or contest, and elitist or egalitarian:* Analysis of the effects of variations in ideologies involves several problems.<sup>30</sup> One of the most important in terms of the present paper is that variations in ideologies are not necessarily consistent with variations in their analogous structural properties. This implies that variations in ideologies may have an effect on the attempted resolutions of the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma which is independent of the effect of variations in the analogous structural property. Such independent effects are likely to be either facilitating or impeding, and are not necessarily determinant. In either case, however, it is important to know their aetiological contributions.

One reason why it is essential to distinguish between structure and ideology is that variations in an ideology of implementation concerning how educational selection *should* be organized are unlikely to have the same pattern of effects as variations in how it is *actually* organized. In other words, the effects of a sponsorship ideology do not correspond with those of a high degree of centralization and standardization of the selection process, and the effects of a contest ideology with those of a low degree. Alternatively, the effects of variations in an ideology of implementation concerning when selections should occur are likely to correspond with the effects of variations as to when they actually occur. In other words, the effects of an elitist ideology correspond with those of a high degree of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes, and the effects of an egalitarian ideology correspond with those of a low degree. The fact that the effects of variations in an ideology may not correspond with the effects of variations in its structural analogue does not raise new problems for this analysis. But it does highlight the need to consider all dimensions of the structure of educational systems before ranking them in terms of their ability to resolve the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma. Although the system referents of sponsorship and contest ideologies differ from those of elitist and egalitarian ideologies, I will argue that the effects of a sponsorship ideology are the same as those of an elitist ideology, and that the effects of a contest ideology are the same as those of an egalitarian one. Consequently, for purposes of presentation, these two dimensions can be

combined into one: sponsorship and elitist ideologies on the one hand, and contest and egalitarian ideologies on the other.<sup>31</sup>

The basic hypotheses are that whereas sponsorship and elitist ideologies are likely to facilitate the warming-up of students from the upper social classes and the cooling-out of those from the lower social classes, and to impede the warming-up of students from the lower social classes and the cooling-out of those from the upper social classes, contest and egalitarian ideologies are likely to have the opposite pattern of effects. Each component of the dilemma should be examined separately.

With respect to the *warming-up* component of the dilemma, one must first consider to what extent and intensity the general achievement orientations and mobility orientations of the young are dependent primarily upon their early educational experiences. In an educational system with sponsorship and elitist ideologies, the development of achievement and mobility orientations is more likely to follow than to precede some sign of educational success. Educational achievements, which are the first phase of mobility, are therefore more likely to create achievement orientations and mobility orientations than to be created by them. This is not to argue that variations in initial ambition are not important in determining initial educational achievements. But it is to stress that, owing to the constraints of sponsorship and elitist ideologies, ambition is not a totally legitimate personal quality until some sign of educational achievement has been recognized within the formal boundaries of the system and through an appropriate communication with some representative of its authority structure. In other words, mobility orientations must be sponsored in order that they may be assessed as legitimate by the authorities, and in order that they may be allowed to develop to their fullest strength and extent.

Some examples of how sponsored educational achievements and, subsequently, sponsored social mobility are likely to instigate mobility orientations may serve to illustrate this point.<sup>32</sup> Note a middle-class schoolteacher who recognizes the abilities of a boy from the lowest social class, and then encourages him to work hard and to prepare for further and higher education—long before either he himself or his family is motivated in this direction, or is aware of the possibility. Or, at a very different level, consider the behaviour of students in their last year at university who might wish to work for a higher degree. They tend to wait for their tutors to suggest that they are able to handle the work before they themselves consider the matter. It is common for

them to manifest an over-dependence on members of staff to handle the details of their applications to graduate schools.

In contrast, in an educational system with contest and egalitarian ideologies, the development of achievement and mobility orientations is more likely to precede than to follow an early educational success. These orientations are more likely to depend upon properties of family and neighbourhood than upon initial experience within one formal educational system. Ambition is legitimate prior to formal and appropriate signs of educational achievements. In fact, ambition is more likely to create than to be created by them. One example of how contest and egalitarian ideologies affect mobility orientation is the way in which ambitious students strive to bring themselves to the attention of their teachers by persistent extra reading assignments, etc. They are also likely to initiate their own admission to graduate school with relatively little encouragement and assistance from their teachers.

The evidence from all industrial societies suggests that, in order to develop their achievement and mobility orientations, children from the lower social classes are more dependent upon a sponsorship experience than are children from the upper social classes. In other words, with respect to the warming-up problem, the lower social classes are more difficult than are the upper social classes. The effects of status rigidity may intensify this difference, but they do not alter it. Hence, all industrial societies use some form of personal and institutional sponsorship for their mobility processes, and have some element of a sponsorship ideology. However, in a system *characterized* by sponsorship and elitist ideologies, both the mobility orientations and subsequently the mobility itself are more likely to await a relatively formal judgement from the educational authorities. In a system characterized by contest and egalitarian ideologies, although a potentially mobile student must struggle to acquire a sponsor and to convince him of his worth, formal sponsorship is required not so much to foster his ambition as to help him to find a means to satisfy it. Ambition is more likely to be the price of sponsorship than the purchase. However, it will be harder to warm up the lower social classes than the upper social classes under either set of ideologies.

The hypotheses concerning the effects of ideologies of implementation are as follows:

- (a) A combination of contest and egalitarian ideologies is more likely than one of sponsorship and elitist ideologies to facilitate the

warming-up of the lower social classes, but to impede that of the upper social classes. Among the most important reasons for this relationship is that a combination of contest and egalitarian ideologies is premised on the assumption that choices of one group by another are likely to be imperfect, biased, and inefficient, and that they should be discouraged as legitimate procedure. In so far as those who 'make it', rather than those who should be chosen, are regarded as the 'best', a premium is placed on ambition from the very start. And when such personal qualities are highly regarded relative to ascribed characteristics, the lower social classes are normatively encouraged to develop mobility orientations from their earliest phases in the educational system. In contrast, under conditions of a sponsorship and elitist ideology it is less appropriate for the lower social classes than for the upper social classes to nourish their ambitions prior to formal assessments. In other words, the children of the upper social classes are permitted to behave in ways that are consistent with their location in the status hierarchy, whereas the children of the lower social classes are not.<sup>33</sup> This early fostering of ambition in family and peer-group settings will favour the selection of children from the upper social classes as opposed to those from the lower social classes.

(b) It should also be stressed that whereas a combination of sponsorship and elitist ideologies is likely to be much more effective in warming up the upper social classes than the lower social classes, a combination of contest and egalitarian ideologies is likely to be about as effective in warming up the one as the other. Although the children of the upper social classes may be more easily warmed up than those of the lower social classes, contest and egalitarian ideologies are not likely either to offset or to augment this difference.

With respect to the *cooling-out* component of the dilemma, one must first consider the extent to which a person's ambition, once it has been developed and fostered initially, can then be reduced and maintained at appropriately low levels. The evidence suggests that such a task is never easy, and may even be impossible (Dusenbury 1949; Homans 1961). However, the reduction of ambition might be manifested in a person's decathexis of occupational, economic, and status goals, and possibly in a new cathexis of alternative goals, coupled with a neutralization of existing normative expectations. In addition, there is the problem that whereas the lower social classes are more difficult

than the upper social classes with respect to the warming-up component of the dilemma, the reverse is true with respect to the cooling-out processes. As outlined above in the discussion of specialization and differentiation of routes, to cool out a member of the upper social classes is likely to involve his eventual downward mobility, which is always a difficult process; but to cool out a member of the lower social classes is likely to involve his eventual non-mobility, which, depending on the phase at which it occurs, is likely to be an unexceptional experience of maturation.

The problem remains whether such a process is likely to be more responsive to a combination of sponsorship and elitist ideologies than to one of contest and egalitarian ideologies. In other words, whether decathexis, recathexis, and neutralization of goals and expectations would be facilitated through an ideology that implies, for example, that the system should employ a more or less formal assessment by the authorities of a pupil's present merit and future potentials; or, conversely, through one that implies, for example, that the system should employ a more or less informally organized and open competition by which a pupil might slowly come to assess himself relative to others.

(a) A combination of contest and egalitarian ideologies is more likely than one of sponsorship and elitist ideologies to facilitate the cooling-out of the upper social classes, and to impede that of the lower social classes.<sup>34</sup> Among the most important reasons for this relationship is that in so far as the combination of sponsorship and elitist ideologies is more likely than one of contest and egalitarian ideologies to facilitate the warming-up of the upper social classes, and in so far as a more effective warming-up process implies a correspondingly more difficult cooling-out process, it follows that a combination of sponsorship and elitist ideologies is likely to be less effective than one of contest and egalitarian ideologies for cooling out the upper social classes. Similarly, it follows that in so far as a combination of contest and egalitarian ideologies is more likely than one of sponsorship and elitist ideologies to facilitate the warming-up of the lower social classes, the former combination will be less effective than the latter with respect to the upper social classes. Another reason is that ideologies of implementation contain elements pertaining both to the warming-up and to the cooling-out process. An ideology of implementation is more likely to facilitate either set of processes when its sets of

elements are consistent with the other normative orientations of the people involved. As suggested in the above discussion of warming-up processes, the most important of these normative orientations concerns attitudes towards authority. With respect to the cooling-out process, elements of sponsorship and elitist ideologies are consistent with receptive normative orientations towards authority, and elements of contest and egalitarian ideologies are consistent with rejective normative orientations (although the reverse is true with respect to warming up). The lower social classes are likely to have receptive normative orientations towards authority and the upper social classes rejective ones (Hopper 1965). Thus, with respect to the cooling-out process, sponsorship and elitist ideologies are consistent with the normative orientations towards authority of the lower social classes, and contest and egalitarian ideologies are consistent with those of the upper social classes. It follows that, in so far as this kind of consistency facilitates the cooling-out process, sponsorship and elitist ideologies will facilitate the cooling-out of the lower social classes, and impede that of the upper social classes. The opposite will be true for contest and egalitarian ideologies.

(b) In conclusion, it is noteworthy that whereas a combination of sponsorship and elitist ideologies is likely to be much more effective in cooling out the lower social classes than the upper social classes, a combination of contest and egalitarian ideologies is likely to be about as effective in cooling out the one as the other. Although the children of the lower social classes may be easier to cool out than those of the upper social classes, contest and egalitarian ideologies are not likely either to offset or to augment this difference.

4. *Ideologies of legitimization: communistic, paternalistic, meritocratic, and aristocratic:* In my earlier article on educational systems I suggested that one of the ways in which most stratified societies have attempted to cope with various functional problems inherent in their stratification

‘... is to develop fairly explicit ideologies which define the types of people whom the society values most highly and which justify why more power is given to them than to others. These may be called “ideologies of legitimization”. Since educational systems in stratified industrial societies are mechanisms of selection and allocation, such societies are likely to have explicit ideologies of legitimization

concerning educational selection. These ideologies translate questions concerning the distribution of power into questions concerning the distribution of educational suitability. They define who should be selected for higher training and explain why some people should be rejected when others are selected' (Hopper 1968a:35-6).

Four ideologies purporting to answer these questions were conceptualized: communistic, paternalistic, meritocratic, and aristocratic.

As was the case with the previous two dimensions, the effects of variations in the ideologies of legitimization depend entirely on the social class of the groups in question. Variations do not affect all social classes in the same way for either component process of the dilemma. Thus the effects of variations in ideologies of legitimization must be examined for each social class. It should be stressed, however, that many of the following hypotheses are almost self-evident. In so far as the ideologies of legitimization of educational selection were developed *in order* to help to cope with both components of the warming-up: cooling-out dilemma, their effects on the various social classes become clear by definition.

(a) With respect to warming up the lower social classes, the ideologies of legitimization can be ranked in order of their likely effectiveness: communistic, meritocratic, paternalistic, and aristocratic. With respect to the upper social classes, the converse ranking is likely to apply: aristocratic, paternalistic, meritocratic, and communistic. The extreme differences are represented by aristocratic and communistic ideologies. Although the differences between paternalistic and meritocratic ideologies are marked, they are not as great.

It is equally clear, almost by definition, that an aristocratic ideology is likely to help to warm up the upper social classes and to impede the lower social classes. A communistic ideology is likely to help to warm up the lower social classes and to impede the upper social classes. These differences are likely to be extreme. A paternalistic ideology is likely to help to warm up the upper social classes and to impede the lower social classes, but the difference is unlikely to be as great as in the cases of communistic and aristocratic ideologies. Although a paternalistic ideology shares collectivistic elements with a communistic ideology, when in combination with the particularism of the former as opposed to the universalism of the latter, collectivism is likely to discourage the ambitions of the lower social classes. Finally, a meritocratic ideology is as likely to

help to warm up the lower social classes as it is the upper social classes.

In sum, although communistic and aristocratic ideologies are likely to have the most helpful effect on the lower and the upper social classes, respectively, their inherent polarities are likely to impede the warming-up of the population generally. Meritocratic and paternalistic ideologies have less marked effects on either the lower or the upper social classes, but their balance is likely to reach a larger proportion of the population.

(b) With respect to the cooling-out of the lower social classes, the ideologies can be ranked in terms of their likely effectiveness: communistic, paternalistic, aristocratic, and meritocratic. A meritocratic ideology is likely to be less effective than an aristocratic ideology in this respect in so far as it offers no legitimate excuses for failure. At least an aristocratic ideology contains elements of particularism which can be used to support a claim of 'bias'. A meritocratic ideology not only denies an excuse for failure, but encourages an individual to accept full responsibility for it. With respect to the cooling-out of the upper social classes, the ideologies can be ranked as follows: communistic, meritocratic, paternalistic, and aristocratic. I rank them in this order for two reasons. In so far as communistic and meritocratic ideologies are less likely than paternalistic and aristocratic ones to warm up the upper social classes effectively, they also make it easier to cool them out. The collectivistic elements of a communistic ideology are more helpful than the individualism of an aristocratic ideology, but the universalism of a meritocratic ideology, as opposed to the particularism of a paternalistic one, at least offers an explanation of failure, no matter how painful. Each ideology is likely to help to cool out a member of the lower social classes more effectively than a member of the upper social classes. The possibility of downward mobility from the upper social classes always presents a problem, but no ideology of legitimization is designed to justify it. These ideologies are developed primarily to legitimize the continuity of the stratification system, and to explain upward social mobility in a way that helps to satisfy and to stabilize the non-mobile from the lower social classes. Because the downwardly mobile from the upper social classes are ordinarily few and inconspicuous, ideologies to justify their fall have not as a rule developed.

In sum, a communistic ideology is likely to be the most helpful with respect to the cooling-out of members of both the upper and the lower social classes, but it is better with respect to the lower than to the upper. An aristocratic ideology is likely to be the least effective in the cooling-out of the upper social classes. It is, however, decidedly better with respect to the lower social classes, but nonetheless not very effective. The differences between paternalistic and meritocratic ideologies are more difficult to summarize. A meritocratic ideology is the least helpful with respect to the lower social classes, and is so much worse with them than with the upper social classes that its inherent polarity is likely to make it the least helpful for the population generally.

*5. The effects of variations in positions on combinations of the dimensions:* In terms of the typology for the classification of educational systems, as outlined above, it has been shown that a very large number of types of educational system exist. When the dimensions of this typology are treated as interval or ordinal levels of measurement, an even larger number of systems can be specified. It has also been suggested that variation in each dimension has certain effects on the likelihood that an educational system will be able to resolve its warming-up : cooling-out dilemma successfully. It follows that when all dimensions are considered simultaneously, each system will have its own propensity towards the successful resolution of the warming-up: cooling-out dilemma. If each property of the system has the same kind of effect, it is relatively easy to predict this propensity.

It is more difficult when the properties of a system have inconsistent and even conflicting effects. For example, consider a system characterized by a high degree of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes as well as by a communistic ideology of legitimization: the former is likely to be effective in warming up the upper social classes and ineffective for the lower; the latter is likely to be effective in warming up the lower social classes and ineffective for the upper. Further in this connection, such a system would be likely to generate the middle-range routes which produce people who are notoriously difficult to cool out at levels of achievement which are neither very low nor very high; but a communistic ideology would be more likely than the other types to be helpful in cooling out this segment.

The question arises whether the effects of the route structure are more or less determinant than those of the ideology of legitimi-

zation. The answer to such problems cannot be formulated on an *a priori* basis. It requires empirical research. But it can be stressed that the propensity of each educational system for the successful solution of the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma will depend on its full combination of structural properties, and will, therefore, have both consistent and inconsistent, as well as conflicting and coordinated, effects.

*The Contribution of Variations in the Structure of Educational Systems to the Successful Resolution of the Warming-up : Cooling-out Dilemma*

I have taken pains to stress that no society can ever resolve its warming-up : cooling-out dilemma with complete success. The way in which any society organizes its attempts to do so is a source of tension, conflict, and pressure for change. There will always be a weak link in the structure, a source of alternative perspectives and competing claims. It is, therefore, the attempt that counts, and how well it succeeds in balancing the competing demands of the society.

In the first instance one might think that the system's degree of success will be a simple function of matching the weaknesses of one dimension of educational structure with the strength of another. But this will not always have the desired effect. For example, it is likely that the inconsistent pressures will generate conflict and tension both within the system and between the system and other institutions. Competing interest groups both within and between are likely to align themselves along these axes of strain. Consider the case of the Soviet Union under conditions of relatively recent economic and political stress. Economic resources press towards a high degree of early formal specialization and differentiation, whereas egalitarian ideology of implementation presses for a low degree. Communistic ideology of legitimization must try to warm up those who are disadvantaged by the complex route structure and try to cool out those who are rejected into the middle of the economic and status hierarchies. In such a system the pressures of circumstances create continual strains towards deviation from, and non-conformity to, ideological demands. The legitimacy of the system is challenged. Apart from how such structural fragmentation generates latent conflicts among people in terms of personality differences (e.g. to be simplistic—radicals *v.* conservatives, idealists *v.* pragmatists), administrators and teachers and parents and civil servants are likely to be at odds. Clearly, this

account is too simple, and might be applied to any society in recent years. But it is equally clear that, to the extent that all the dimensions of the system are not considered simultaneously, it is extremely difficult to alter any one of them.

It follows that the degree to which the dilemma can be resolved successfully depends in large part on the matching of the structure of the educational system with the structure of the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma. Recall the hypotheses set out above: that when status rigidity is high, it is likely to be easier for a society to warm up the upper social classes and to cool out the lower social classes, and more difficult to warm up the lower social classes and to cool out the upper social classes; and that when status rigidity is low, the opposite is likely to obtain. In this respect, it is essential to know the distribution of the population among a society's social classes and its patterns and rates of social mobility and non-mobility, which are not always constant. Variation in such factors will then determine the balance and elasticity of the dilemma at a given time. Its successful resolution will depend on how well a society can design an educational system that can cope with these conflicting demands.

Because the structure of an educational system is not a function only of the structure of the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma, this becomes an extraordinarily difficult task. For example, the greater the status rigidity, the greater the power of the upper social classes relative to that of the lower social classes. This is nowhere more apparent than in patterns of parental control in educational systems, and can be observed too readily in too many areas to require documentation here. Hence, to design or to alter a system in order to make it more effective in its attempt to resolve the conflicting demands of the dilemma is likely to require that the upper social classes surrender their relative power, at least in the short run. For obvious reasons, this is not easily achieved, even if the national needs are paramount.

In conclusion, an ideal model can be suggested for conditions of high and low status rigidity in conjunction with a given and fixed distribution of the population among the society's social classes. The preceding argument suggests that, to the extent that status rigidity is *high*, the ideal system should tend towards:

- high degree of centralization and standardization of the educational programme and its administration

- low degree of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes
- contest and egalitarian ideologies of implementation
- meritocratic ideology of legitimization;

and, to the extent that status rigidity is *low*, the ideal system should tend towards:

- high degree of centralization and standardization of the educational programme and its administration
- high degree of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes
- sponsorship and elitist ideologies of implementation
- paternalistic ideology of legitimization.

It should be stressed that these models are based on tendencies towards a particular pole of each dimension, and not on precise locations. In fact, extremes may encourage diminishing returns. In sum, to the extent that educational systems under conditions of high and low status rigidity deviate from these two models, respectively, they will tend to cope less successfully with the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma, in which case the societies will experience the consequences of their system's lack of success. Whether additional organizations are developed to absorb the slack, or whether change in the educational systems occurs, depends on many other factors.

It is perhaps needless to add: the likelihood that such combinations of properties will be associated with high and low status rigidity, respectively, are slight.

#### IV. EFFECTS OF VARIATIONS IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE WARMING-UP : COOLING-OUT DILEMMA ON THE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

All else being equal, an educational system is likely to be structured in such a way as to maximize the degree to which the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma can be resolved successfully. Because the structure of an educational system is affected by so many additional factors, it is very hard to discern this relationship empirically. However, some aspects of it might be illustrated.

Consider the cases of England and the United States (Hopper

1968a). In the 1940s England could have been identified as a society with relatively high status rigidity, and with an educational system which manifested:

- a moderate degree of centralization and standardization
- a high degree of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes
- sponsorship and elitist ideologies of implementation
- a primarily paternalistic ideology of legitimization.

At the same time, the United States could have been identified as having a relatively low degree of status rigidity, and an educational system which manifested:

- a low degree of centralization and standardization
- a low degree of early formal specialization and differentiation of routes
- contest and egalitarian ideologies of implementation
- a primarily meritocratic ideology of legitimization.

Although the stratification systems of the two countries have changed in many ways, they have probably not altered in their respective degrees and patterns of status rigidity, at least not in dramatic or obvious ways. The basic structure of their warming-up : cooling-out dilemma has remained more or less the same. In so far as the preceding arguments have been correct, if the structure of the dilemma has had an effect on the structure of the two respective systems, then in England the educational system should have developed towards:

- *greater* centralization and standardization
- *less* early formal specialization and differentiation of routes
- contest and egalitarian ideologies of implementation
- a meritocratic ideology of legitimization;

and in the United States the educational system should have developed towards:

- *greater* centralization and standardization
- *greater* early formal specialization and differentiation of routes
- sponsorship and elitist ideologies of implementation
- a paternalistic ideology of legitimization.

It is my contention that such patterns of change can be seen with ease in both England and the United States. To document these

patterns is beyond the scope of the present paper. To be sure, more careful and detailed study of the evidence is necessary. But it would seem that, at least in these respects, patterns of one-way partial convergence have occurred between the two countries (see Dunning & Hopper 1966). For example, England is now developing the familiar American complex system of further and higher education combined with its more simple, comprehensive system of elementary and secondary schooling (Beard 1970). In this connection, as formal selection at an early age is reduced, England is beginning also to develop a system of professional counselling in schools, which has been an established fixture of secondary schools in the United States since the early 1950s. In contrast, the United States is developing more selective secondary schooling, including private institutions as well as more elaborate techniques of streaming and setting. Vocational and technical training in secondary schools is also emerging as a serious alternative to non-selective pre-university comprehensive schools.

These highly speculative notes should be joined by several qualifications. I have not considered here in any detail the effects of industrialization on the patterns of status rigidity, and its attendant consequences for the structure of the dilemma. Nor have I mentioned the problem of the blacks in the United States. The changing distributions of population among the social classes in each country have also been ignored. In sum, these patterns might well be traced to many other forces, and many counter-pressure have not been examined. But the patterns are consistent with the hypothesis that the structure of the warming-up : cooling-out dilemma is likely to influence in no small way the structure of an educational system.

**V. CONCLUSION: A SET OF REVISED HYPOTHESES CONCERNING  
SOME OF THE PERSONAL AND INTERPERSONAL CONSEQUENCES  
OF PATTERNS OF MOBILITY AND NON-MOBILITY  
IN ENGLAND AND USA**

I have considered the ways in which variations in the structure of educational systems are related to the success with which a society can resolve its warming-up : cooling-out dilemma. I suggested that warming-up and cooling-out processes pertain to career-training and status-training, as well as to mobility-training. However, I have

focused the discussion primarily on the first two sets of experiences, and dealt with mobility-training only by implication. If more time and space were available, the argument could easily be extended to cover mobility-training: an inspection of the four conditions which both Professor Turner and I have hypothesized to be pathogenic suggests that only the last two (interpersonal isolation and loss of support, and difficulties in working out a personal value system) are relevant primarily to the experiences of the upwardly mobile; the first two (discrepancies between a level of normative expectations and a level of achievement, and competition for the most desirable occupations) are as relevant to the experiences of maturation and career progressions generally as they are to those of upward mobility.

It follows that, in my decision to limit the discussion primarily to career-training and status-training experiences, I have decided also to concentrate on the two pathogenic conditions that are relevant to both upward mobility and non-mobility. Again, if more time and space were available, the argument could be extended to cover the other two conditions. This emphasis is appropriate to the question whether upward mobility is more likely than non-mobility to be pathogenic in one society than it is in another. The neglected topic of non-mobility becomes crucial for such a comparison, especially in a paper concerned primarily with the effects of variations in the structure of educational systems.

I mentioned in the first section of this paper that the problem of mobility and non-mobility could not be considered adequately without first discussing the patterns of status rigidity in the society concerned. A comparison of mobility and non-mobility experiences in England with those in the United States would, therefore, involve a comparison of these societies with respect to status rigidity. Further, this task would require an analysis of patterns of status incongruence. Because these cannot be attempted here, any discussion of the effects of variations in educational systems on the consequences of mobility and non-mobility must be incomplete. I hope only to illustrate the contribution that variations in the structure of educational systems might make to these relationships.

In so far as an educational system fails to meet the tasks implicated in the structure of its warming-up : cooling-out dilemma, both the mobile and the non-mobile are likely to encounter pathogenic conditions. England is more likely than the United States to meet the cooling-out tasks effectively at *high* and at *low* levels of achievement,

but less likely to do so at *middle* levels of achievement. England is more likely than the United States to meet the warming-up tasks effectively at *high* levels of achievement, but less likely to do so at *middle* and *low* levels of achievement. These strengths and weaknesses are manifest in experiences characteristic of the routes through the respective systems.

In conclusion, a selection of the set of hypotheses pertaining to a comparison of England and the United States with respect to the pathogenic quality of patterns of mobility and non-mobility, especially as affected by their respective educational systems, is as follows:

- (i) The non-mobile from the lower social classes in England who use initial rejection routes are less likely than their counterparts in the United States to encounter pathogenic conditions.
- (ii) Both the upwardly mobile from the lower social classes and the non-mobile from the upper social classes in England who use those routes characterized by initial selection followed by selection through the apex of the system are also less likely than their counterparts in the United States to encounter pathogenic conditions.
- (iii) Both the upwardly mobile from the lower social classes and the non-mobile from the lower social classes who use the middle-range routes in England are more likely to encounter pathogenic conditions than are their counterparts in the United States. These are the routes that begin with initial selection but terminate with subsequent rejection at various levels prior to the apex. They are especially likely to be ineffective in both warming-up and cooling-out experiences with respect to career-, status-, and mobility-training. Such routes are an integral part of the educational system in England, but a more nominal part of the American system.
- (iv) Upward mobility from the lower social classes through initial rejection routes in England is more likely to be pathogenic than is its analogous pattern in the United States. Upward mobility from the lower social classes in England represents a more serious problem than in the United States. Most of the upward mobility from these social classes occurs through initial rejection routes, and not through initial selection routes, as is usually but incorrectly assumed. These routes provide almost no mobility-training experiences. Their career-training and status-training experiences are for the lower social classes, and are inappropriate for those who

become upwardly mobile despite having been rejected initially (and in effect incorrectly).

(v) Downward mobility in England is more likely to be pathogenic than it is in the United States.

## *Notes*

- 1 The article had a mixed critical reception, but it has been recognized as one of the few sociological attempts in the field of the comparative study of educational systems to go beyond mere description. The article has now been reprinted in several readers, often under other titles, and has become a standard reference.
- 2 Even a cursory inspection of the literature shows that very few researchers fail to mention Turner's work.
- 3 This article has also had a critical reception. As I understand them, the main objections concern my decision not to consider criteria pertaining to variations in the organization and ideology of curricula. (Some of these have been formalized by Ioan Davies (1970).) At the time, most serious evidence showed that educational curricula are highly ideological in intent and emphasis in all industrial societies, and that variations among societies in this respect were not as great as one would have thought. Moreover, it is very difficult to compare, for example, children's giving of the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag in the United States with the saying of prayers in England. And a brief inspection of children's arithmetic texts from various societies indicates that buying and selling apples in England and the United States is difficult to distinguish from meeting productivity schedules in the USSR. However, it would be very welcome if such comparisons were systematized. Much more important and precise criticisms have been made by a former student of mine, Dennis Smith, who is now a lecturer in the Sociology Department of the University of Leicester. He has devised additional criteria and refined my own. Our paper should be available shortly. However, it is true that at present my approach to the sociology of education differs from that of Basil Bernstein and his colleagues, who voiced various objections in an informal way. I believe that our apparent differences can be traced to a simple point: we are concerned with different aspects of this empirical problem area. Moreover, where and when I am concerned with those aspects that they see as problematic, I find their work not only invaluable but also unique.
- 4 Many of the revised hypotheses that result from this perspective are the basis of my empirical study of some personal and interpersonal

consequences of social mobility among men who are now around thirty-five years of age. These are members of the age cohort who first experienced the restructured educational system in England that followed the 1944 Education Act. It is impossible in one paper to convey the theory that underpins this empirical study, its method, and the results. I have opted for a portion of the theory, but I hope that some empirical illustrations will be appropriate during discussion. Several research assistants at the London School of Economics have been especially helpful in the analysis of data relevant to the present paper: Adam Pearce, Peter Stone, Carol Hewlet, Liz Atkins, and Lin Hoblyn Clark.

- 5 Professor Turner was concerned only with the implications of his typology, and did not intend this portion of his article to be a comprehensive statement. In more recent work he has developed some parts of the thesis, but not others; for example, see Turner (1964). However, his few cryptic paragraphs are so suggestive a starting-point for more detailed work that I have taken the liberty to expand his thesis slightly – but only in order to draw out its full implications and to clarify its theoretical structure. In conversation and correspondence, Professor Turner has accepted my formulation of his position as expressed in his article.
- 6 It is important to recognize the distinction between the concepts of 'pathogenic' and 'pathological'. I would also stress that the conditions outlined in the text can be formulated in a more sophisticated way, and integrated into a theory of various personal and interpersonal characteristics. I have tried to do this in the study of social mobility mentioned in note 4. This material is too lengthy to include here. Further, anxiety takes many manifest forms; in a sense, these forms represent different 'types' of anxiety. Some are more aptly described, from a sociologist's point of view, as 'pathological feeling states', e.g. anomia, relative deprivation, etc. It is with such forms of anxiety that I am primarily concerned. It should be noted that most researchers in this field recognize that until longitudinal studies have been undertaken, any relationship between mobility and anxiety is likely to be partly spurious, no matter how many structural conditions are controlled. Consequently, the aim is always to isolate structural conditions under which the likelihood that anxiety will develop is maximized, particularly if predispositions to anxiety already exist. See Hopper & Pearce (1972).
- 7 For a fuller discussion of this issue, see my 'Notes on Stratification, Education and Mobility in Industrial Societies', in Hopper (1971).
- 8 Nonetheless, to understand why Turner's work is uninformed by such considerations of social structure requires comment. The concept of status rigidity refers to various properties of the status hierarchy, its

composition, and its relationship to other hierarchies of power. In turn, the notion of status hierarchy refers to the fact that social honour is one kind of power resource, and that groups of people are ranked according to the amount of status power they have to control their own and other people's life-chances and participation in various spheres of interest and activity. This perspective is virtually absent from American sociology, in which status is usually regarded as a ranking based on a system of values and norms, and is treated as the values, norms, and other aspects of the life-style manifested by a given family or set of families. Although this view might lead to useful methods of measurement of status power, it renders impotent the concept of 'status as a power resource', and relegates the phenomenon to variations in attitudes and beliefs, etc., which might, for example, affect performance and interest in education. It is not surprising, then, that as one of the most prominent American sociologists writing on stratification and mobility, Turner should exclude from his work what is essentially a European perspective. I tried to make this point in a review of *Class, Status and Power*; see Hopper (1968b). See also Hopper (1971).

- 9 Various texts are available for the United States. With respect to England, see Olive Banks (1968).
- 10 Please note that I use the concept of 'functional problem' and not 'functional prerequisites'. I wish to avoid at the outset the usual and largely correct criticisms which are made of the various forms of classical functional analysis. To identify a functional problem is not at the same time to identify the functional alternatives that might cope with it; nor is it to identify the specific forms of social organization that might arise at a given time and place; nor is it to explain why those forms and not others were developed. It must be stressed, therefore, that in this paper I am not primarily concerned with the many determinants of variations in the structure of educational systems. Nor do I argue that the systems which now exist in any society are necessarily the 'best' in any sense of the word. Nor do I approve of many of the features of these systems. In brief, the notion of 'functional problem' is used to connote a sense of struggle which probably can never be completely successful and which may often be closer to failure than to success.
- 11 Hopper (1971). The present paper offers a more extensive discussion.
- 12 See the discussion of status rigidity later in this paper.
- 13 Many sociologists recoil from making these kinds of statement, and from the sentiments which are manifest in the social organization which warrants such discussion. But our moral repugnance does not negate the evidence that such processes exist and are essential to the present structure of all industrial societies. For a preliminary dis-

cussion of normative expectations of authority and their association with social-class positions in England and the United States, see Hopper (1965).

- 14 Which is not to say that these two qualities are always related.
- 15 This is a sociological truism. But for support see Ted Robert Gurr (1970).
- 16 This too is a sociological truism. But for a useful review of the literature and a helpful discussion of many crucial issues, see Lavin (1965) and Goslin (1963).
- 17 Which leads to various kinds of direct and indirect control of education processes whenever educational institutions have been made responsible for recruitment and/or allocation processes.
- 18 As societies industrialize, their educational systems become the institutionalized source of the preparatory phase of almost all careers. In addition, they become the main source of opportunity for social mobility. All other channels for social mobility, and for careers in general, come to depend on the educational systems for the prior screening and preliminary training of candidates. For an early statement on this point see Sorokin (1964). It should be stressed, however, that educational systems do not become just 'mobility routes' – it is rather that they become a source of mobility in so far as they become a source of careers in general. See Hopper (1971).
- 19 For bibliography to support this statement see the recent studies of industrialization and convergence.
- 20 For example, consider the responsibilities of student union officers in England and in the United States compared with those of clerical workers or many middle managers.
- 21 'Cooling out' was introduced as a serious concept in sociology by Goffman (1952). For an application of the concept to certain routes within American higher education, see Clark (1960). I have tried to modify the concept to include not only adaptation to failure but also adaptation to success.
- 22 This dimension was conceptualized by Dennis Smith, whose work I mentioned earlier (see note 3).
- 23 As is usually the case in societies which are as stable as England, there exist ideologies which are essentially exploitable. For example, this element of an egalitarian ideology has been used to support the need to maintain rather than to abolish the public schools, e.g. that to keep them but to enrol more children from the working and lower-middle classes will benefit the society (see the recent report (1968) from the Public Schools Commission.)
- 24 For a discussion of such a problem see Selznick (1949).
- 25 For discussion of the determinants of the structure of educational

systems, see any of the well-known introductory texts. I prefer Banks (1968).

- 26 However, this relationship raises the possibility of a spurious explanation in connection with the effects of status rigidity. It has been shown that variations in status rigidity affect the structure of the dilemma. But it has also been shown that variations in the structure of status rigidity have only a minimal effect on the structure of an educational system (Hopper 1968a). If it is so that the structure of the dilemma is a prime determinant of the structure of an educational system, how can it be that there is so little relationship between variations in status rigidity and the structure of the system? The evidence suggests that, although variations in status rigidity are sometimes related to variations in the ideologies of educational selection and implementation, they are not necessarily related to variations in positions on the other dimension of the typology. Most important, variation in status rigidity is not related to the patterns of positions on all the dimensions. Thus, although variations in the degree of status rigidity have some direct effects on the structure of the system, the latter is determined by many other factors, only some of which are related to variations in status rigidity. (The structure is defined by a set of coordinating points on the various dimensions, including many which are considered in my typology.) In brief, the problem of spuriousness is only apparent, and not real. But this highlights the fact that, although the structured emphasis of the dilemma that a society assigns to its educational system may help to explain certain of its most essential and characteristic properties, one cannot thereby hope to explain a great deal of the variation.
- 27 For example, see the works of Basil Bernstein and his colleagues.
- 28 Of course, to the extent that routes are ineffective in the cooling-out process – that is, ambition remains high despite the negative assessment of the student by the educational system – some selection errors may subsequently be corrected by achievements which stem primarily from ambition, and, possibly, from undetected ‘natural talent’ in conjunction with ambition. Further, there is some evidence to suggest that the children of people who were ‘incorrectly’ rejected at the lower echelons of the system are likely to be among the most ambitious in their cohort; and, given the dependence of the system on high levels of ambition, it becomes especially difficult to discuss the functions and dysfunctions of existing methods of selection.
- 29 In very complex systems there are routes which, for example, begin with an initial rejection, are followed by a selection, and end with a later rejection. It is quite likely that a route that contains a phase which is characterized by a rejection followed by a selection will offer special difficulties for the cooling-out process.

- 30 To discern the hypothetical effects of variations in an ideology on social organization, and, more specifically, on social action, is extraordinarily difficult. For one reason, such a task involves the prior solution, at least in assumptive terms, of the classical philosophical questions concerning the issues, for example, of nominalism *v.* realism, and idealism *v.* materialism. However, at this stage in the present study it is in order to sidestep some of these issues. My position is that variations in ideology are almost always necessary but never sufficient to *explain* variations in social organization or in social action. They help to coordinate random predispositions towards action, to stabilize existing social organization, and to justify structural changes. Most important is that they limit the perception of alternatives in such a way that other properties of interpersonal relationships and their contexts, both human and non-human, have relatively consistent effects. In brief, variations in ideologies either facilitate or impede the effects of interaction systems. Nonetheless, to facilitate or to impede constitutes a causal process, and, therefore, the effects of ideologies warrant analysis as independent forces.
- 31 This is certainly not always the case. They are combined here only for purposes of simplification. More detailed analysis would demand that each variation in a combination be examined separately.
- 32 I make these assertions on the basis of personal experience and observation in English and American schools and universities, and also from my experience with American students who come to England to study, as well as with their German, French, and Italian counterparts.
- 33 This is one aspect of the process of elite self-perpetuation discussed by C. Wright Mills (1957). With respect to educational selection it is now notorious that selection methods weighted towards personal recommendations of teachers favour the middle-class child relative to the working-class child more than do impersonal tests.
- 34 This raises the point that one should not be too quick to see a sponsorship ideology rather than a contest ideology as a source of legitimization for the existing status hierarchy. A contest ideology may also be used, and to even better effect. Selection procedures become normatively depersonalized under a contest ideology; and it is relatively more difficult for members of the lower social classes to feel and believe that they did not have a 'fair chance'. But this does not mean that most of them will acquiesce in the judgement.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to Joan Raphael, London School of Economics, and Professor Joseph Kahl, Cornell University, for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

## References

- BANKS, OLIVE. 1968. *The Sociology of Education*. London: Batsford.
- BEARD, ROGER. 1970. Today, a Degree is just 'Passing the 21-Plus'. *New Statesman*, 20 February.
- CLARK, B. R. 1960. The 'Cooling-out' Function in Higher Education. *American Journal of Sociology* 65: 569-76.
- 1964. The Sociology of Education. In R. E. L. Faris (ed.), *Handbook of Modern Sociology*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- COLEMAN, JAMES S. (ed.) 1965. *Education and Political Development*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- DAVIES, D. IOAN. 1970. The Management of Knowledge: A Critique of the Use of Typologies in Educational Sociology. *Sociology* 4 (1). Reprinted in M. F. D. Young (ed.), *Knowledge and Control*. London & New York: Collier-Macmillan, 1971, pp. 267-88.
- DECHARMS, RICHARD. 1968. *Personal Causation*. New York & London: Academic Press.
- DOUGLAS, J. W. B. 1964. *The Home and the School*. London: MacGibbon & Kee.
- DOUGLAS, J. W. B., ROSS, J. M. & SIMPSON, H. R. 1968. *All Our Future*. London: Peter Davies.
- DUNNING, E. G. & HOPPER, E. I. 1966. Industrialization and the Problem of Convergence: A Critical Note. *Sociological Review* 14 (2).
- DUSENBURY, J. F. 1949. *Income, Saving and the Theory of Consumer Behavior*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- GOFFMAN, E. 1952. Cooling the Mark out: Some Aspects of Adaptation to Failure. *Psychiatry* 15: 451-63.
- GOSLIN, DAVID A. 1963. *The Search for Ability*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- GURR, TED ROBERT. 1970. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- HOMANS, GEORGE C. 1961. *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- HOPPER, EARL. 1965. Some Effects of Variation in Supervisory Styles: A Sociological Analysis. *British Journal of Sociology* 16 (3).

- 1968a. A Typology for the Classification of Educational Systems. *Sociology* 2 (1): 29-46.
- 1968b. Review of *Class, Status and Power*. *British Journal of Sociology* 19 (2): 214-15.
- (ed.) 1971. *Readings in the Theory of Educational Systems*. London: Hutchinson.
- HOPPER, EARL & PEARCE, A. 1972. Relative Deprivation, Occupational Status, and Occupational 'Situs': The Theoretical and Empirical Application of a Neglected Concept. In Hopper & Pearce, *Sociology of the Work Place*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- JENKS, C. & RIESMAN, D. 1968. *The Academic Revolution*. New York: Doubleday.
- KAHL, JOSEPH A. 1968. *The Measurement of Modernium: A Study of Values in Brazil and Mexico*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- LAVIN, DAVID E. 1965. *The Prediction of Academic Performance*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- MILLS, C. WRIGHT. 1957. *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- PUBLIC SCHOOLS COMMISSION. 1968. *1st Report* (Chairman: Sir J. Newsom). London: HMSO.
- SELZNICK, PHILIP. 1949. *TVA and the Grass Roots*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- SOROKIN, P. 1964. *Social and Cultural Mobility*. London & New York: Collier-MacMillan. (First published 1929.)
- TURNER, RALPH H. 1960. Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System. *American Sociological Review* 25 (5): 855-67.
- 1964. *The Social Context of Ambition*. San Francisco: Chandler Press.



Taylor & Francis  
Taylor & Francis Group  
<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

PIERRE BOURDIEU

## *Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction*

---

The specific role of the sociology of education is assumed once it has established itself as the science of the relations between cultural reproduction and social reproduction. This occurs when it endeavours to determine the contribution made by the educational system to the reproduction of the structure of power relationships and symbolic relationships between classes, by contributing to the reproduction of the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among these classes. The science of the reproduction of structures, understood as a system of objective relations which impart their relational properties to individuals whom they pre-exist and survive, has nothing in common with the analytical recording of relations existing within a given population, be it a question of the relations between the academic success of children and the social position of their family or of the relations between the positions filled by children and their parents. The substantialist mode of thought which stops short at directly accessible elements, that is to say individuals, claims a certain fidelity to reality by disregarding the structure of relations whence these elements derive all their sociologically relevant determinations, and thus finds itself having to analyse intra- or inter-generational mobility processes to the detriment of the study of mechanisms which tend to ensure the reproduction of the structure of relations between classes; it is unaware that the controlled mobility of a limited category of individuals, carefully selected and modified by and for individual ascent, is not incompatible with the permanence of structures, and that it is even capable of contributing to social stability in the only way conceivable in societies based upon democratic ideals and thereby may help to perpetuate the structure of class relations.

Any break with substantialist atomism, even if it does not mean going as far as certain structuralists and seeing agents as the simple 'supports' of structures invested with the mysterious power of

determining other structures, implies taking as our theme the process of education. This means that our object becomes the production of the habitus, that system of dispositions which acts as a mediation between structures and practice; more specifically, it becomes necessary to study the laws that determine the tendency of structures to reproduce themselves by producing agents endowed with the system of predispositions which is capable of engendering practices adapted to the structures and thereby contributing to the reproduction of the structures. If it is conceived within a theoretical framework such as this, the sociology of educational institutions and, in particular, of institutions of higher education, is capable of making a decisive contribution to the science of the structural dynamics of class relations, which is an often neglected aspect of the sociology of power. Indeed, among all the solutions put forward throughout history to the problem of the transmission of power and privileges, there surely does not exist one that is better concealed, and therefore better adapted to societies which tend to refuse the most patent forms of the hereditary transmission of power and privileges, than that solution which the educational system provides by contributing to the reproduction of the structure of class relations and by concealing, by an apparently neutral attitude, the fact that it fills this function.

**THE ROLE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE  
REPRODUCTION OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE  
DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL CAPITAL**

By traditionally defining the educational system as the group of institutional or routine mechanisms by means of which is operated what Durkheim calls 'the conservation of a culture inherited from the past', i.e. the transmission from generation to generation of accumulated information, classical theories tend to dissociate the function of cultural reproduction proper to all educational systems from their function of social reproduction. Transposing, as they do, the representation of culture and of cultural transmission, commonly accepted by the ethnologists, to the case of societies divided into classes, these theories are based upon the implicit assumption that the different pedagogic actions which are carried out within the framework of the social structure, that is to say, those which are carried out by families from the different social classes as well as that which is practised by the school, work together in a harmonious way to transmit a cultural heritage

which is considered as being the undivided property of the whole society.

In fact the statistics of theatre, concert, and, above all, museum attendance (since, in the last case, the effect of economic obstacles is more or less nil) are sufficient reminder that the inheritance of cultural wealth which has been accumulated and bequeathed by previous generations only really belongs (although it is *theoretically* offered to everyone) to those endowed with the means of appropriating it for themselves. In view of the fact that the apprehension and possession of cultural goods as symbolic goods (along with the symbolic satisfactions which accompany an appropriation of this kind) are possible only for those who hold the code making it possible to decipher them or, in other words, that the appropriation of symbolic goods presupposes the possession of the instruments of appropriation, it is sufficient to give free play to the laws of cultural transmission for cultural capital to be added to cultural capital and for the structure of the distribution of cultural capital between social classes to be thereby reproduced. By this is meant the structure of the distribution of instruments for the appropriation of symbolic wealth socially designated as worthy of being sought and possessed.

In order to be persuaded of the truth of this, it must first be seen that the structure of the distribution of classes or sections ("fractions") of a class according to the extent to which they are consumers of culture corresponds, with a few slight differences such as the fact that heads of industry and commerce occupy a lower position than do higher office staff, professionals, and even intermediate office staff, to the structure of distribution according to the hierarchy of economic capital and power (see *Table 1*).<sup>1</sup>

The different classes or sections of a class are organized around three major positions: the lower position, occupied by the agricultural professions, workers, and small tradespeople, which are, in fact, categories excluded from participation in 'high' culture; the intermediate position, occupied on the one hand by the heads and employees of industry and business and, on the other hand, by the intermediate office staff (who are just about as removed from the two other categories as these categories are from the lower categories); and, lastly, the higher position, which is occupied by higher office staff and professionals.

The same structure is to be seen each time an assessment is made of cultural habits and, in particular, of those that demand a cultured

TABLE I  
*Expenditure on culture<sup>2</sup>*

<i>Annual budget coefficients</i>	<i>Agricultural workers</i>	<i>Farmers</i>	<i>Workers</i>	<i>Small tradespeople</i>	<i>White-collar workers</i>	<i>Intermediate office staff</i>	<i>Heads of industry and commerce</i>	<i>Professionals and higher office staff</i>
Durable goods	0·6	0·5	0·8	0·8	1·4	2·8	1·5	3·6
Other expenditure	1·6	1·9	2·2	2·2	3·2	3·6	3·3	6·2

disposition, such as reading, and theatre, concert, art-cinema, and museum attendance. In such cases, the only distortions are those that introduce the use of different principles of classification (*Table 2*).

Although statistics based like these upon the statements of those being questioned and not upon direct observation tend to overestimate the extent to which an activity is practised by reason of the propensity of the persons questioned to align themselves, at least when talking, to the activity that is recognized as legitimate, they do make it possible to make out the real structure of the distribution of cultural capital. In order to achieve this, it is sufficient to note that the statistics for

TABLE 2  
*Cultural activities of different occupational categories*

<i>Purchasers of books during last month<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>Readers of books<sup>4</sup></i>	<i>Regular theatre, concert, cinema attendance in the Parisian region<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>Have been to the theatre at least once in year 1964<sup>c</sup> (all of France)</i>
Farmers 14	Farmers, agricultural workers 15·5	Farmers 18	
Workers 22	Workers 33	Workers 21 8 70 17	
Heads of industry & commerce 31	White-collar workers 53·5	Trades-people & craftsmen 46 14 71 22	
White-collar workers, intermediate office staff 39	Craftsmen & tradespeople, intermediate office staff 51·5	White-collar workers, intermediate office staff 47 22 80 32	
Professionals, higher office staff 50	Heads of industry, professionals, higher office staff 72	Heads of industry, professionals, higher office staff 65 33 81 63	

the purchase of books omit all distinction between small self-employed craftsmen and tradespeople, whose activities are known to be very similar to those of the workers, and industrial and business management, whose cultural consumption is close to that of intermediate office staff; it is also to be noticed that the statistics for the readers of

books (books which have been purchased, but doubtless also books which have been borrowed or read in libraries, which explains the movement of the structure towards the upper part) group together small self-employed craftsmen and tradespeople, who seldom practise a cultural activity, and intermediate office staff, who practise cultural activities to a greater extent than do white-collar workers.

Although they remain relatively disparate, the categories made use of in terms of level of education make possible a more direct comparison, and all throw light upon the existence of an extremely pronounced relationship between the different 'legitimate' activities and the level of education (*Table 3*).

If, of all cultural activities, cinema attendance in its common form is the one that is least closely linked to level of education, as opposed to concert-going, which is a rarer activity than reading or theatre-going, the fact remains that, as is shown by the statistics for art-cinema attendance, the cinema has a tendency to acquire the power of *social distinction* that belongs to traditionally approved arts.

The greater reliability of the survey carried out by the Centre of European Sociology (Centre de Sociologie Européenne) of the European museum public is due to the fact that it was based upon the degree of effective practice and not on the statements of those being questioned. It makes it possible, moreover, to construct the system of social conditions for the production of the 'consumers' of cultural goods considered as the most worthy of being consumed, i.e. the mechanisms of reproduction of the structure of the distribution of cultural capital which is seen in the structure of the distribution of the consumers of the museum, the theatre, the concert, the art cinema, and, more generally, of all the symbolic wealth that constitutes 'legitimate' culture. Museum attendance, which increases to a large extent as the level of education rises, is almost exclusively to be found among the privileged classes. The proportions of the different socio-professional categories figuring in the public of the French museums are almost exactly the inverse ratio of their proportions in the overall population. Given that the typical visitor to French museums holds academic qualifications (since 55 per cent of visitors have at least the *baccalauréat*, the French school-leaving certificate), it is not surprising that the structure of the public distributed according to social category is very similar to the structure of the population of the students of the French faculties distributed according to social origin: the proportion of farmers is 1 per cent, that of workers 4 per cent, that of skilled

TABLE 3  
*Cultural activities and level of education*

		Readers of books <sup>4</sup>			Regular attendance at:			Have been to the theatre:		
		Theatre <sup>5</sup>	Concert <sup>6</sup>	Cinema <sup>6</sup>	Theatre <sup>5</sup>	Concert <sup>6</sup>	Cinema <sup>6</sup>	Art cinema	once in 1964	at least 4 times or more
Primary	15	28			18	7	62	3	15	2
Primary, Higher, Commercial & technical		60			41	15	76		24	5
Secondary	44	80	Secondary & Higher	57	25	79	15	38	38	12
Higher	64		Higher	69	43	88	32	49	21	

workers and tradesmen is 5 per cent, that of white-collar workers and intermediate office staff is 23 per cent (of whom 5 per cent are primary-school teachers), and the proportion of the upper classes is 45 per cent. If, for the rate of attendance of the different categories of visitors in the whole of the museum public, we substitute the probability of their going into a museum, it will be seen (in *Table 4*) that, once the level of education is established, knowledge of the sex or socio-professional category of the visitors generally provides only a small amount of additional information (although it may be noted in passing that, when the level of education is the same, teachers and art specialists practise this activity to a distinctly greater extent than do other categories and, particularly, other sections of the dominant classes).

**TABLE 4**  
*Annual attendance rates for the French museums according  
 to occupational categories<sup>7</sup>*  
*(mathematical expectation of visits over a period of a year  
 expressed as a percentage)*

	<i>Without diploma</i>	<i>Certificate of primary studies</i>	<i>Certificate of secondary studies</i>	<i>Bacca- laureat</i>	<i>Licence (=BA, BSc) and beyond</i>	<i>Total</i>
Farmers	0·2	0·4	20·4			0·5
Workers	0·3	1·3	21·3			1
Craftsmen & tradespeople	1·9	2·8	30·7	59·4		4·9
White-collar workers, intermediate office staff		2·8	19·9	73·6		9·8
Higher office staff, heads of industry, professionals		2·0	12·3	64·4	77·6	43·3
Teachers, art specialists			(68·1)	153·7	(163·8)	151·5
Total	1	2·3	24	70·1	80·1	6·2
Men	1	2·3	24·4	64·5	65·1	6·1
Women	1·1	2·3	23·2	87·9	122·8	6·3

In short, all of the relations observed between museum attendance and such variables as class or section of a class, age, income, or residence come down, more or less, to the relation between the level of education and attendance. The existence of such a powerful and exclusive relationship between the level of education and cultural

practice should not conceal the fact that, in view of the implicit presuppositions that govern it, the action of the educational system can attain full effectiveness only to the extent that it bears upon individuals who have been previously granted a certain familiarity with the world of art by their family upbringing. Indeed, it would seem that the action of the school, whose effect is unequal (if only from the point of view of duration) among children from different social classes, and whose success varies considerably among those upon whom it has an effect, tends to reinforce and to consecrate by its sanctions the initial inequalities. As may be seen in the fact that the proportion of those who have received from their families an early initiation into art increases to a very marked extent along with the level of education, what is measured by means of the level of education is nothing other than the accumulation of the effects of training acquired within the family and the academic apprenticeships which themselves presupposed this previous training.

If this is the case, the main reasons are, first, that the appropriation of works of art depends in its intensity, its modality, and its very existence upon the mastery that the spectator has of the available instruments of appropriation and, more specifically, of the generic and particular code of the work or, if it is preferred, of the peculiarly artistic lines of interpretation that are directly appropriate to each particular work and are the necessary condition for the deciphering of the work;<sup>8</sup> second, that, in the specific case of works of 'high' culture, mastery of the code cannot be totally acquired by means of the simple and diffuse apprenticeships provided by daily existence but presupposes an education methodically organized by an institution specially equipped for this purpose. It is to be noted, however, that the yield of pedagogic communication, entrusted, among other functions, with the responsibility of transmitting the code of works of 'high' culture, along with the code according to which this transmission is carried out, is itself a function of the cultural competence that the receiver owes to his family upbringing, which is more or less close to the 'high' culture transmitted by the colleges and to the linguistic and cultural models according to which this transmission is carried out. In view of the fact that reception of the pictorial message and the institutionally organized acquisition of cultural competence, which is the condition for the reception of this message, are subject to the same laws, it is not surprising that it is difficult to break the circle in which cultural capital is added to cultural capital. The museum that

demarcates its public and legitimizes its social quality by the mere effect of its 'level of emission',<sup>9</sup> i.e. by the simple fact that it presupposes the possession of the fairly complex, and therefore fairly rare, cultural code which is necessary in order to decipher the works exhibited, may be seen as the limit towards which an educational action is directed (it might be possible to use the words 'pedagogic action' here were it not for the fact that it is rather, in this case, a non-pedagogic action), implicitly requiring of those on whom it bears that they possess the conditions necessary to its full productivity.

The educational system reproduces all the more perfectly the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among classes (and sections of a class) in that the culture which it transmits is closer to the dominant culture and that the mode of inculcation to which it has recourse is less removed from the mode of inculcation practised by the family. Inasmuch as it operates in and through a relationship of communication, pedagogic action directed at inculcating the dominant culture can in fact escape (even if it is only in part) the general laws of cultural transmission, according to which the appropriation of the proposed culture (and, consequently, the success of the apprenticeship which is crowned by academic qualifications) depends upon the previous possession of the instruments of appropriation, to the extent and only to the extent that it explicitly and deliberately hands over, in the pedagogic communication itself, those instruments which are indispensable to the success of the communication and which, in a society divided into classes, are very unequally distributed among children from the different social classes. An educational system which puts into practice an implicit pedagogic action, requiring initial familiarity with the dominant culture, and which proceeds by imperceptible familiarization, offers information and training which can be received and acquired only by subjects endowed with the system of predispositions that is the condition for the success of the transmission and of the inculcation of the culture. By doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the educational system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give. This consists mainly of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture.

In short, an institution officially entrusted with the transmission of the instruments of appropriation of the dominant culture which

neglects methodically to transmit the instruments indispensable to the success of its undertaking is bound to become the monopoly of those social classes capable of transmitting by their own means, that is to say by that diffuse and implicit continuous educational action which operates within cultured families (often unknown to those responsible for it and to those who are subjected to it), the instruments necessary for the reception of its message, and thereby to confirm their monopoly of the instruments of appropriation of the dominant culture and thus their monopoly of that culture.<sup>10</sup> The closer that educational action gets to that limit, the more the value that the educational system attributes to the products of the educational work carried out by families of the different social classes is directly a function of the value as cultural capital which is attributed, on a market dominated by the products of the educational work of the families of the dominant classes, to the linguistic and cultural competence which the different classes or sections of a class are in a position to transmit, mainly in terms of the culture that they possess and of the time that they are able to devote to its explicit or implicit transmission. That is to say that the transmission of this competence is in direct relation to the distance between the linguistic and cultural competence implicitly demanded by the educational transmission of educational culture (which is itself quite unevenly removed from the dominant culture) and the linguistic and cultural competence inculcated by primary education in the different social classes.

The laws of the educational market may be read in the statistics which establish that, from the moment of entering into secondary education right up to the *grandes écoles*, the hierarchy of the educational establishments and even, within these establishments, the hierarchy of the sections and of the fields of study arranged according to their prestige and to the educational value they impart to their public, correspond exactly to the hierarchy of the institutions (see Appendix to this paper, *Table II* and *Figure I*) according to the social structure of their public, on account of the fact that those classes or sections of a class which are richest in cultural capital become more and more over-represented as there is an increase in the rarity and hence in the educational value and social yield of academic qualifications. If such is the case, the reason is that, by virtue of the small real autonomy of an educational system which is incapable of affirming the specificity of its principles of evaluation and of its own mode of production of cultured dispositions, the relationship between the

pedagogic actions carried out by the dominated classes and by the dominant classes may be understood by analogy with the relationship which is set up, in the economic field, between modes of production of different epochs when for example, in a dualist economy, the products of a traditional local craft industry are submitted to the laws of a market dominated by the chain-produced products of a highly developed industry: the symbolic products of the educational work of the different social classes, i.e. apart from knowledge and know-how, styles of being, of speaking, or of doing, have less value on the educational market and, more widely, on the symbolic market (in matrimonial exchanges, for instance) and on the economic market (at least to the extent that its sanctions depend upon academic ratification) in that the mode of symbolic production of which they are the product is more removed from the dominant mode of production or, in other words, from the educational norms of those social classes capable of imposing the domination of criteria of evaluation which are the most favourable to their products. It is in terms of this logic that must be understood the prominent value accorded by the French educational system to such subtle modalities in the relationship to culture and language as affluence, elegance, naturalness, or distinction, all of which are ways of making use of the symbolic products whose role of representing excellence in the field of culture (to the detriment of the dispositions produced by the school and paradoxically devalued, by the school itself, as being 'academic') is due to the fact that they belong only to those who have acquired culture or, at least, the dispositions necessary for the acquisition of academic culture, by means of familiarization, i.e. imperceptible apprenticeships from the family upbringing, which is the mode of acquisition of the instruments of appropriation of the dominant culture of which the dominant classes hold the monopoly.

The sanctions of the academic market owe their specific effectiveness to the fact that they are brought to bear with every appearance of legitimacy: it is, in fact, as though the agents proportioned the investments that are placed in production for the academic market—investments of time and enthusiasm for education on the part of the pupils, investments of time, effort, and money on the part of families—to the profits which they may hope to obtain, over a more or less long term, on this market, as though the price that they attribute to the sanctions of the academic market were in direct relation to the price attributed to them by the sanctions of this market and to the

extent to which their economic and symbolic value depends on the value which they are recognized to possess by the academic market. It follows from this that the negative predispositions towards the school which result in the self-elimination of most children from the most culturally unfavoured classes and sections of a class—such as self-depreciation, devaluation of the school and its sanctions, or a resigned attitude to failure and exclusion—must be understood as an anticipation, based upon the unconscious estimation of the objective probabilities of success possessed by the whole category, of the sanctions objectively reserved by the school for those classes or sections of a class deprived of cultural capital. Owing to the fact that it is the product of the internalization of value that the academic market (anticipating by its formally neutral sanctions the sanctions of the symbolic or economic market) confers upon the products of the family upbringing of the different social classes, and of the value which, by their objective sanctions, the economic and symbolic markets confer upon the products of educational action according to the social class from which they originate, the system of dispositions towards the school, understood as a propensity to consent to the investments in time, effort, and money necessary to conserve or increase cultural capital, tends to redouble the symbolic and economic effects of the uneven distribution of cultural capital, all the while concealing it and, at the same time, legitimating it. The functionalist sociologists who announce the brave new world when, at the conclusion of a longitudinal study of academic and social careers, they discover that, as though by a pre-established harmony, individuals have hoped for nothing that they have not obtained and obtained nothing that they have not hoped for, are simply the least forgivable victims of the ideological effect which is produced by the school when it cuts off from their social conditions of production all predispositions regarding the school such as ‘expectations’, ‘aspirations’, ‘inclinations’, or ‘desire’, and thus tends to cover up the fact that objective conditions—and in the individual case, the laws of the academic market—determine aspirations by determining the extent to which they can be satisfied.

This is only one of the mechanisms by which the academic market succeeds in imposing upon those very persons who are its victims recognition of the existence of its sanctions by concealing from them the objective truth of the mechanisms and social motives that determine them. To the extent to which it is enough for it to be allowed to run its own course, that is to say to give free play to the laws of cultural

transmission, in order to ensure the reproduction of the structure of distribution of cultural capital, the educational system which merely records immediate or deferred self-elimination (in the form of the self-relegation of children from the underprivileged classes to the lower educational streams) or encourages elimination simply by the effectiveness of a non-existent pedagogical practice (able to conceal behind patently obvious procedures of selection the action of mechanisms tending to ensure in an almost automatic way—that is to say, in a way which conforms to the laws governing all forms of cultural transmission—the exclusion of certain categories of recipients of the pedagogic message), this educational system masks more thoroughly than any other legitimization mechanism (imagine for example what would be the social effects of an arbitrary limitation of the public carried out in the name of ethnic or social criteria) the arbitrary nature of the actual demarcation of its public, thereby imposing more subtly the legitimacy of its products and of its hierarchies.

#### CULTURAL REPRODUCTION AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

By making social hierarchies and the reproduction of these hierarchies appear to be based upon the hierarchy of 'gifts', merits, or skills established and ratified by its sanctions, or, in a word, by converting social hierarchies into academic hierarchies, the educational system fulfils a function of legitimization which is more and more necessary to the perpetuation of the 'social order' as the evolution of the power relationship between classes tends more completely to exclude the imposition of a hierarchy based upon the crude and ruthless affirmation of the power relationship. But does the continual increase, in most highly industrialized societies, in the proportion of the members of the ruling classes who have passed through the university system and the best universities lead one to conclude that the transmission of cultural capital is tending to be substituted purely and simply for the transmission of economic capital and ownership of the means of production in the system of mechanisms of reproduction of the structure of class relationships?

Apart from the fact that the increase in the proportion of holders of the most prestigious academic qualifications among the members of the ruling classes may mean only that the need to call upon academic approval in order to legitimate the transmission of power

and of privileges is being more and more felt, the effect is as though the cultural and educational mechanisms of transmission had merely strengthened or taken over from the traditional mechanisms such as the hereditary transmissions of economic capital, of a name, or of capital in terms of social relations; it is, in fact, as if the investments placed in the academic career of children had been integrated into *the system of strategies of reproduction*, which strategies are more or less compatible and more or less profitable depending on the type of capital to be transmitted, and by which each generation endeavours to transmit to the following generation the advantages it holds. Considering that, on the one hand, the ruling classes have at their disposal a much larger cultural capital than the other classes, even among those who constitute what are, relatively, the least well-off sections of the ruling classes and who, as has been seen, still practise cultural activities to at least as great an extent as the most favoured sections of the middle class, and considering that, on the other hand, they also have at their disposal the means of ensuring for this capital the best academic placing for its investment (that is to say the best establishments and the best departments), their academic investments cannot fail to be extremely profitable, and the segregation that is established right at the beginning of secondary education among students from different establishments and different departments cannot help but be reinforced the further one gets into the academic course by reason of the continual increase in the differences resulting from the fact that the most culturally privileged find their way into institutions capable of reinforcing their advantage. Institutions of higher education which ensure or legitimate access to the ruling classes, and, in particular, the *grandes écoles* (among which must be counted the *internat de médecine*) are therefore to all intents and purposes the monopoly of the ruling classes. The objective mechanisms which enable the ruling classes to keep the monopoly of the most prestigious educational establishments, while continually appearing at least to put the chance of possessing that monopoly into the hands of every generation, are concealed beneath the cloak of a perfectly democratic method of selection which takes into account only merit and talent, and these mechanisms are of a kind which converts to the virtues of the system the members of the dominated classes whom they eliminate in the same way as they convert those whom they elect, and which ensures that those who are 'miraculously elected' may experience as 'miracu-

lous' an exceptional destiny which is the best testimony of academic democracy.

Owing to the fact, first, that the academic market tends to sanction and to reproduce the distribution of cultural capital by proportioning academic success to the amount of cultural capital bequeathed by the family (as is shown, for example, by the fact that, among the pupils of the *grandes écoles*, a very pronounced correlation may be observed between academic success and the family's cultural capital measured by the academic level of the forbears over two generations on both sides of the family), and, second, because the most privileged sections of the dominant classes from the point of view of economic capital and power are not necessarily the most well-off in terms of cultural capital, it may be expected that the hierarchy of values attributed by the academic market to the products of the educational work of the families of the different sections will not correspond very closely to the hierarchy of these sections with regard to economic capital and power. Should it be concluded from this that the relative autonomy of the mechanisms of reproduction of the structure of cultural capital in relation to the mechanisms ensuring the reproduction of economic capital is of a kind to cause a profound transformation, if not in the structure of class relationships (despite the fact that the most culturally privileged sections of the middle class such as the sons of primary school and secondary school teachers are able triumphantly to hold their own on the academic market against the least culturally privileged sections of the upper class), at least in the structure of relationships between the sections of the dominant classes?

The structure of the distribution of cultural capital among the different sections of the dominant classes may be constructed on the basis of the collection of convergent indices brought together in the following conspectus (see *Table 5*).<sup>11</sup>

With the exception of a few inversions in which is expressed the action of secondary variables such as place of residence, along with the objective possibilities of cultural practice which are closely linked to it, and income,<sup>12</sup> along with the possibilities which it offers, it can be seen that the different sections are organized according to a single hierarchy with the differentiation of the cultural capital possessed in terms of the kind of training received being shown above all in the fact that engineers give proof of a greater interest in music (and in other leisure activities demanding the application of logical skills, such as bridge and chess) than in literary activities (reading of *Le Figaro*

TABLE 5  
*The distribution of cultural capital among different sections of the dominant classes*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Teachers	Public admin.	Professionals	Engineers	Managers	Heads of industry	Heads of commerce
Readers of <i>Le Monde</i> (penetration index per 1000)	410	235	210	145	151	82	49
Readers of <i>Le Figaro Littéraire</i> (ditto)	168	132	131	68	100	64	24
Readers of non-professional books 15 hrs and more per week	21	18	18	16	16	10	10
Theatre-goers (at least once every 2 or 3 months)	38	29	29	28	34	16	20
Listeners to classical music	83	89	86	89	89	75	73
Visitors to museums and exhibitions	75	66	68	58	69	47	52
Visitors to art galleries	58	54	57	45	47	37	34
Possessors of FM radio	59	54	57	56	53	48	48
Non-possessors of television	46	30	28	33	28	14	24

*Littéraire* or theatre-going). If the proportion of individuals who do not possess television (and who are distinguished from the possessors of that instrument by the fact that they go in more often for activities commonly held to be the expression of an authentically 'cultured' or refined disposition)<sup>13</sup> varies according to the same law, it is because a refusal to indulge in this activity, which is suspected of being 'vulgar' by reasons of its wide availability (*divulgation*), is one of the least expensive ways of expressing cultural pretensions (see *Table 6*).<sup>14</sup>

These indicators probably tend to minimize to a large extent the divergences between the different sections of the dominant classes. Indeed, most cultural consumer goods also imply an economic cost, theatre-going, for instance, depending not only on the level of education (in a population of executive personnel it ranges from 41 per cent

TABLE 6

*Reading habits, occupational categories, and levels of education*<sup>15</sup>

	<i>Top civil Teachers</i>	<i>servants</i>	<i>Profes- sionals</i>	<i>Engin- eers</i>	<i>Managers</i>	<i>Heads of industry</i>	<i>Heads of commerce</i>
Detective novels	25 (6)	29 (1)	27 (4)	28 (3)	29 (1)	27 (4)	25 (6)
Adventure stories	16 (7)	20 (3)	18 (6)	24 (1)	22 (2)	19 (4)	19 (4)
Historical accounts	44 (4)	47 (2)	49 (1)	47 (2)	44 (4)	36 (6)	27 (7)
Art books	28 (2)	20 (3)	31 (1)	19 (5)	20 (3)	17 (6)	14 (7)
Novels	64 (2)	68 (1)	59 (5)	62 (3)	63 (3)	45 (6)	42 (7)
Philosophy	20 (1)	13 (3)	12 (5)	13 (3)	15 (2)	10 (7)	12 (5)
Political essays	15 (1)	12 (2)	9 (4)	7 (5)	10 (3)	5 (6)	4 (7)
Economics	10 (1)	8 (3)	5 (6)	7 (5)	9 (2)	8 (3)	5 (6)
Sciences	15 (3)	14 (4)	18 (2)	21 (1)	9 (7)	10 (6)	11 (5)
	<i>University</i>	<i>Grande école</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Technical</i>	<i>Primary</i>		
Detective novels	28	27	27	32	24		
Adventure stories	17	14	22	27	17		
Historical accounts	47	49	42	41	25		
Art books	25	24	22	18	10		
Novels	65	54	62	60	35		
Philosophy	19	13	15	11	7		
Political essays	16	14	6	6	3		
Economics	12	19	5	3	4		
Sciences	18	27	11	10	6		

to 59 and 68 per cent between the primary, secondary, and higher levels) but also on income (i.e. 46 per cent for incomes less than 20 000 francs per year against 72 per cent for incomes more than 75 000 francs); furthermore, equipment such as FM radio or hi-fi sets may be used in very different ways (e.g. to listen to modern music or dance music), and the value accorded to these different utilizations may be just as disparate, by reference to the dominant hierarchy of possible uses, as the different kinds of reading or theatre; thus, as is shown in *Table 6*, the position of the different sections, arranged in a hierarchy in terms of the interest they place in the different kinds of reading, tends to draw nearer to their position in the hierarchy set up in terms of wealth in cultural capital the more that it is a question of reading-matter which depends more upon level of education and which is placed higher in the hierarchy of degrees of cultural legitimacy.

Everything seems to indicate that the choices concerning the theatre follow the same principle. Thus, what emerges from *Table 7*, which deserves much more extensive commentary, is that the over-representation of teachers (and of students)—which is shown by the divergence between their rate of attendance at each theatre and their average rate of attendance at theatres as a whole—in the public of different theatres is continually on the decrease, whereas the over-representation of the other sections (heads of firms, higher office staff, and professionals, unfortunately all mixed up together in the statistics) undergoes a parallel increase, when one passes from the avant-garde theatre, or theatre considered as such, to the classical theatre and, particularly, from the latter to the *théâtre de boulevard* which recruits between a third and a quarter of its public from among the least 'intellectual' sections of the dominant classes.<sup>16</sup>

With the exception of the liberal professions, who occupy, in this field too, a high position, the structure of the distribution of economic capital is symmetric and opposite to the structure of the distribution of cultural capital—that is to say, in order, heads of industry and of commerce, professionals, managers, engineers, and, lastly, civil servants and teachers (see *Table 8*).<sup>17</sup>

Analysis of the mobility between sections tends to show that the dominant principle of the hierarchy formed by the sections is the possession of economic capital—to the extent, at least, that it is very closely linked to the possession of power. Thus, examination of the intra-generational mobility of the individuals from the different sec-

TABLE 7  
*Theatre-going and occupational categories*

Theatre	Play	Workers	Trades-people, crafts-men	White-collar workers	Intermediate office staff	Students pupils	Teachers	Without profes-sionals	Others	Heads of firms, higher office staff, profes-sionals	Heads of firms, higher office staff, profes-sionals
Odéon	<i>La remise</i>	4	1	11	12	28	26	9	4	4	100
Montparnasse	<i>Sainte-Jeanne</i>	4	2	7	14	24	18	17	13	3	100
Vieux-Colombier	<i>Noces de sang</i>	3	1	4	16	39	15	10	11	1	100
TEP	<i>La locandiera</i>	6	3	13	11	33	13	10	8	2	100
TNP	<i>Romulus le Grand</i>	7	1	13	14	27	12	12	11	2	100
Athénée	<i>Le vicaire</i>	9	4	10	12	28	8	11	11	5	100
Odéon	<i>Taruffe</i>	3	2	2	9	41	12	20	9	3	100
Comédie-Française	<i>Cinna</i>	4	2	13	11	43	6	12	9	3	100
Comédie-Française	<i>Cyrano</i>	2	2	8	12	29	7	25	13	3	100
Théâtre de Paris	<i>Comment réussir dans les affaires</i>	3	1	5	14	11	12	23	26	7	100
Ambigu	<i>Charmante soirée</i>	3	1	9	11	6	7	22	34	6	100
Antoine	<i>Mary-Mary</i>	8	4	13	16	7	4	26	31	2	100
Michodière	<i>La preuve par quatre</i>	4	9	7	14	8	4	31	18	3	100
Ambassadeurs	<i>Photo-finish</i>	4	5	5	10	13	6	35	24	—	100
Variétés	<i>Un homme comblé</i>	5	6	5	17	7	3	33	22	3	100
Total		4	3	8	14	23	13	19	14	3	100

TABLE 8  
*Distribution of economic capital*

	<i>Heads of industry</i>	<i>Heads of commerce</i>	<i>Professionals</i>	<i>Managers</i>	<i>Engineers</i>	<i>Civil servants</i>	<i>Teachers</i>
Own their own residence <sup>18</sup>	70	70	54	40	44	38	51
Upper-category automobile	33	34	28	22	21	20	12
Holidays in hotel	32	26	23	21	17	17	15
Boat	13	14	14	12	10	8	8
Average income in thousands of francs	33	36	41	37	36	32	33
(Rate of non-declaration)	(24)	(28)	(27)	(13)	(9)	(8)	(6)

tions who are part of the *Who's Who* census reveals that the proportion of individuals who have moved towards the bottom of the hierarchy during their career, which is more or less nil among business and industrial management, increases more and more as one descends the hierarchy of the sections as it is formed according to the economic criterion. Another index which is just as significant is the fact that the relationship between the proportion of individuals from the dominant section of the dominant classes (the heads of industry) and the proportion of individuals from other social classes in the different sections decreases steadily as one descends the hierarchy (Table 9).

Secondary analysis of the national survey carried out by the INSEE on inter-generational professional mobility makes it possible to check that the proportion in each section of individuals from the ruling

TABLE 9  
*An index of mobility*

	<i>Proportion of sons of heads of industry</i>	<i>Proportion of individuals from other classes</i>	<i>Relationship</i>
Heads of industry	42.6	20.5	2.0
Heads of commerce	35.0	19.2	1.8
Professionals	20.5	16.1	1.2
Civil servants	11.9	28.0	0.4
Teachers	15.0	31.0	0.4

classes and the proportion of individuals coming from the same section decrease together as one descends the hierarchy of the sections, with a pronounced division between the three sections of the upper position and the three sections of the lower position (*Table 10*).

If such is indeed the structure of relationships between the structure of the distribution of cultural capital and the structure of the distribution of economic capital among the different sections of the ruling

TABLE 10  
*Inter-generational mobility*

<i>Father</i>	<i>Heads of industry</i>	<i>Heads of commerce</i>	<i>Professionals</i>	<i>Engineers</i>	<i>Civil servants</i>	<i>Teachers</i>
Heads of industry	33·5	2·8	2·3	6·1	4·4	1·5
Heads of commerce	1·9	31·0	—	1·8	5·0	0·8
Professionals	0·6	0·9	20·0	0·9	2·4	7·6
Engineers	—	—	6·4	6·7	2·3	4·6
Civil servants	1·9	3·3	9·9	13·2	14·3	7·6
Teachers	0·6	—	2·9	2·7	0·3	6·1
Total ruling class	38·5	38·0	41·5	31·4	28·7	28·2

classes, it may be expected that, to the extent that the educational system proportions success to cultural capital, the products of the pedagogic work of the different sections receive, on the academic market, values which are organized along the lines of a hierarchy which reproduces the hierarchy of the sections arranged in terms of their amount of cultural capital.<sup>19</sup> And the fact that this occurs is all the more certain in that, obeying a mechanism already analysed, the different sections must tend to invest the capital which they may transmit in the market that is capable of guaranteeing for it the best yield, and they must therefore invest all the more in the education of their children in that their social success, that is to say, at least, their being able to maintain themselves in the dominant classes, depends all the more completely upon it.

Those sections which are richest in cultural capital are more inclined to invest in their children's education at the same time as in

cultural practices liable to maintain and increase their specific rarity; those sections which are richest in economic capital set aside cultural and educational investments to the benefit of economic investments: it is to be noted, however, that heads of industry and commerce tend to do this much more than do the new 'bourgeoisie' of the managers who reveal the same concern for rational investment both in the economic sphere and in the educational sphere.<sup>20</sup> Relatively well provided for with both forms of capital, but not sufficiently integrated into economic life to put their capital to work within it, the professionals (and especially lawyers and doctors) invest in their children's education but also and above all in consumer goods capable of symbolizing the possession of the material and cultural means of conforming to the rules governing the bourgeois style of life and thereby guaranteeing a social capital or capital of social relationships which will provide, if necessary, useful 'supports': a capital of honourability and respectability which is often indispensable if one desires to attract clients in socially important positions, and which may serve as currency, for instance, in a political career.<sup>21</sup>

In fact those sections which are richest in cultural capital have a larger proportion in an educational institution to the extent that the institution is highly placed in the specifically academic hierarchy of educational institutions (measured, for instance, by the index of previous academic success); and this proportion attains its maximum in the institution responsible for ensuring the reproduction of the academic body (*École Normale Supérieure*) (*Table II*).<sup>22</sup>

Owing to the fact that the different institutions may be distinguished

TABLE II  
*Cultural capital and educational investment*

	<i>Faculty</i>	<i>Law</i>	<i>Medicine</i>	<i>Science</i>	<i>Arts</i>	<i>Prep. class for Polytech.</i>	<i>ENA</i>	<i>Poly-tech.</i>	<i>Ulm Arts</i>	<i>Ulm Sc.</i>
Proportion of teachers, children	3·2	4·5	4·5	5·2	5·4	9·0	9·9	19·4	17·7	
Index of previous academic success	0·4		0·3	0·5	1·2	2·0	2·9	3·1	3·6	

ENA: *École Nationale d'Administration*

Ulm Arts: *École Normale Supérieure d'Ulm (Arts)*

Ulm Sc.: *École Normale Supérieure d'Ulm (Science)*

from each other not only in terms of the different training that they grant, and, therefore, in terms of the type of capital that they demand (the proportion of engineers' sons being particularly high in the various scientific institutions—science faculties, 8·1 per cent; preparatory classes for the scientific *grandes écoles*, 15·1 per cent; École Polytechnique, 19·7 per cent; and the science section of the École Normale Supérieure, 14·5 per cent), but also in terms of the careers to which they provide access, the specifically academic hierarchy is imposed in such a thorough way only upon the children of teachers who have been led by their family upbringing to identify success with academic success. To the extent that it records and ratifies the differences separating the different sections from the point of view of cultural capital (and, secondarily, of the type of capital) and of the propensity to invest this capital in the academic market and in the most favourable sector of this market, the educational system tends to reproduce (in the double sense of the word) the structure of relations between the structure of the distribution of cultural capital and the structure of the distribution of economic capital among the sections both in and by the relations of opposition and complementarity which define the system of institutions of higher education. In fact, to the extent that it is the product of the application of two opposed principles of hierarchical ordering, the structure of the system of institutions of higher education may be interpreted in a twofold way: *the dominant hierarchy within the educational institution*, i.e. the hierarchy which orders the institutions in terms of specifically academic criteria and, correlatively, in terms of the proportion of those sections richest in cultural capital figuring in their public, is opposed diametrically to *the dominant hierarchy outside the educational institution*, i.e. the hierarchy which orders the institutions in terms of the proportion in their public of those sections richest in economic capital (and in power) and according to the position in the hierarchy of the economic capital and power of the professions to which they lead.<sup>23</sup> The *grandes écoles* range, therefore, in a more or less continuous way, between the two extreme poles marked on the one hand by the colleges leading to economic and politico-administrative power (Polytechnique, ENA) and on the other hand by the colleges leading to teaching and, more generally, to the intellectual professions (École Normale Supérieure littéraire et scientifique), with the indices corresponding to one of the principles of hierarchization tending steadily to diminish as the indices corresponding to the other principle increase (see *Table 12*).

TABLE I.2

*Proportions of students from the upper classes of the different 'grandes écoles' possessing one or other of these characteristics*

	Ulm Lettres	Ulm Sciences	Sèvres Lettres	Sèvres Sciences	Poly- technique	Mines Paris	ENA 1er concours	HEC	Cent- rale
Father's diploma licence or higher	85.8	<b>88.8</b>	73.1	84.9	76	68.3	85.4	74.1	71.9
Mother's diploma licence or higher	38.3	<b>44.1</b>	39.2	42.7	30.8	29.8	36.5	22.1	26.2
Proportion of teachers	29.5	26.2	31.2	<b>33</b>	15	4.6	15.2	4.2	7.9
Section 'A' in première	29.9	<b>44.3</b>	29.6	23.8	24.4	24.3	18.7	14.9	18.3
Index of previous academic success	<b>3.6</b>	3.5	3.2	2.7	3.1	3.1	2	1.1	2.3
Marxism	<b>51.1</b>	30.4	31.4	35	12.2	19	1.8	7.2	7.7
Concerts: average number	1.8	<b>2.4</b>	2.2	1.3	1.2	1.6	1.1	1.1	1.1
Theatre: average number of plays	3.8	3.4	<b>4.7</b>	4	3.6	4.6	2.5	2.3	2.3
Size of family 4 children or more	40.3	<b>50.9</b>	34.9	39.2	44	42.2	36.9	43.4	47.6
Practising Catholics	29.7	31.6	<b>39.1</b>	38.8	41.6	39.1	39.8	—	<b>48.9</b>
Private teaching college in secondary school	14.6	17.8	19.4	9.5	17.9	18.7	<b>24.9</b>	23.9	13.5
Right of centre, right wing, extreme right	3.8	7.2	<b>3.2</b>	12.6	—	12.5	<b>19.9</b>	<b>27.9</b>	16.9
Higher office staff	41.3	<b>23.2</b>	44.1	32.6	36.2	53.2	30.9	<b>57.4</b>	55.7
Paternal grandfather upper classes	56.6	41.7	44	31.3	48	62.6	61.6	<b>63</b>	47.5
Maternal grandfather upper classes	37.3	51.2	<b>55.7</b>	34.1	54.8	60	53.6	<b>62</b>	48.6
Resident in Paris	32.4	41.3	41.4	32.6	45.6	53.9	<b>66.6</b>	55.3	46.5

Source: CSE *grandes écoles* survey.

The most marked trend in each row is shown in bold type and the second most pronounced trend in italic.

Analysis of the specifically academic mechanisms according to which apportionment is effected between the different institutions makes it possible to understand one of the most subtle forms of the trick (*ruse*) of social reason according to which the academic system works objectively towards *the reproduction of the structure of relations between the sections of the dominant classes* when it appears to make full use of its own principles of hierarchical ordering.<sup>24</sup> Knowing, first, that academic success is directly dependent on cultural capital and on the inclination to invest in the academic market (which is itself, as is known, dependent on the objective chances of academic success) and, consequently, that the different sections are recognized and approved by the school system the richer they are in cultural capital and are also, therefore, all the more disposed to invest in work and academic prowess,<sup>25</sup> and knowing, second, that the support accorded by a category to academic sanctions and hierarchies depends not only on the rank the school system grants to it in its hierarchies but also on the extent to which its interests are linked to the school system, or, in other words, on the extent to which its commercial value and its social position depend (in the past as in the future) on academic approval, it is possible to understand why the educational system never succeeds quite so completely in imposing recognition of its value and of the value of its classifications as when its sanctions are brought to bear upon classes or sections of a class which are unable to set against it any rival principle of hierarchical ordering. While those sections which are richest in economic capital authorize and encourage a life-style whose seductions are sufficient to rival the ascetic demands of the academic system and while they ensure or promise guarantees beside which the college's guarantees can only appear both costly and of little value ('academic qualifications don't give you everything'), those sections which are richest in cultural capital have nothing to set against the attraction exercised by the signs of academic approval which make their academic prowess worthwhile to them.<sup>26</sup> In short, the effectiveness of the mechanisms by means of which the educational system ensures its own reproduction encloses within itself its own limitation: although the educational system may make use of its relative autonomy to propose and impose its own hierarchies and the university career which serves as its topmost point, it obtains complete adherence only when it preaches to the converted or to lay brethren, to teachers' sons or children from the working or middle classes who owe everything to it and expect everything of it.

Far from diverting for its own profit children from the dominant sections of the dominant classes (as one may be led to believe by a few striking examples which authorize the most conservative sections of the bourgeoisie to denounce the corruption of youth and teachers or the intellectuals to believe in the omnipotence of their ideas), it puts off children from the other sections and classes from claiming the value of their academic investments and from drawing the economic and symbolic profit which the sons of the dominant section of the ruling classes know how to obtain, if necessary, better situated as they are to understand the relative value of academic verdicts.

But would the school system succeed so completely in diverting for its own profit those categories which it recognizes as possessing the greatest value (as is shown, for instance, by the difference in academic quality between students from the ENS and those from the ENA) if the diplomas that it awards were convertible at par on the market of money and power? The limits of the autonomy allowed to the school system in the production of its hierarchies coincide exactly with the limits objectively assigned to its power of guaranteeing outside the academic market the economic and symbolic value of the diplomas it awards. The same academic qualifications receive very variable values and functions according to the economic and social capital (particularly the capital of relationships inherited from the family) which those who hold these qualifications have at their disposal and according to the markets in which they use them: it is known, for instance, that the professional success of the former students of the École des hautes études commerciales (recruited, for the most part, among the Parisian business section) varies far more in relation to the way in which they obtained their first professional post (i.e. through family relations or by other ways) than in relation to their position in the college-leaving examination; it is also known that civil servants whose fathers were white-collar workers received in 1962 an average yearly salary of 18 027 francs as against 29 470 francs for civil servants whose fathers were industrialists or wealthy tradespeople (Praderie 1966: 346–7). And if, as has been shown by the survey carried out by the Bouloche commission over 600 firms, only 2·4 per cent of the 17 000 administrative personnel employed by these firms have degrees or are doctors of science as against 37 per cent who have diplomas from an engineering *grande école*, it is because those who possess the most prestigious qualifications also have at their disposal an inherited capital of relationships and skills which enable

them to obtain such qualifications; this capital is made up of such things as the practice of the games and sports of high society or the manners and tastes resulting from good breeding, which, in certain careers (not to mention matrimonial exchanges which are opportunities for increasing the social capital of honourability and relationships), constitute the condition, if not the principal factor, of success.<sup>27</sup> The habitus inculcated by upper-class families gives rise to practices which, even if they are without selfish motives, such as cultural activities, are extremely profitable to the extent that they make possible the acquisition of the maximum yield of academic qualifications whenever recruitment or advancement is based upon co-optation or on such diffuse and total criteria as 'the right presentation', 'general culture', etc.<sup>28</sup>

What this amounts to is that, as in a pre-capitalist economy in which a guarantee is worth as much as the guarantor, the value of the diploma, outside the specifically academic market, depends on the economic and social values of the person who possesses it, inasmuch as the yield of academic capital (which is a converted form of cultural capital) depends upon the economic and social capital which can be put to its valorization: for the industrialist's son who comes out of HEC, the diploma is only an additional qualification to his legitimately succeeding his father or to his occupying the director's post guaranteed for him by his network of family relations, whereas the white-collar worker's son, whose only way of obtaining the same diploma was by means of academic success, cannot be sure of obtaining a post of commercial attaché in the same firm.<sup>29</sup> In a word, if, as is shown by the analysis of the social and academic characteristics of the individuals mentioned in *Who's Who*, the diploma is all the more indispensable for those from families less favoured in economic and social capital, the fact remains that the educational system is less and less in a position to guarantee the value of the qualifications that it awards the further one goes away from the domain that it controls completely, namely, that of its own reproduction; and the reason for this is that the possession of a diploma, as prestigious as it may be, is in any case less and less capable of guaranteeing access to the highest positions and is never sufficient to guarantee in itself access to economic power. Inversely, as is shown by the diagram of correlation, access to the dominant classes and, *a fortiori*, to the dominant sections of the dominant classes, is relatively independent of the chances of gaining access to higher education for those individuals from sections closest

to economic and politico-administrative power, i.e. top civil servants and heads of industry and commerce (see Appendix, *Figure II* and *Table III*).<sup>30</sup> It would appear, therefore, that the further one goes away from the jurisdiction of the school system the more the diploma loses its particular effectiveness as a guarantee of a specific qualification opening into a specific career according to formalized and homogeneous rules, and becomes a simple condition of authorization and a right of access which can be given full value only by the holders of a large capital of social relationships (particularly in the liberal professions) and is, at its extreme limit, when all it does is legitimate heritage, but a kind of optional guarantee.

Thus the relative autonomy enjoyed by the academic market on account of the fact that the structure of distribution of cultural capital is not exactly the same as the structure of economic capital and of power gives the appearance of a justification for meritocratic ideology, according to which academic justice provides a kind of resort or revenge for those who have no other resources than their 'intelligence' or their 'merit', only if one chooses to ignore, first, that 'intelligence' or academic goodwill represents but one particular form of capital which comes to be added, in most cases, to the possession of economic capital and the correlative capital of power and social relationships, and, second, that the holders of economic power have more chances than those who are deprived of it also to possess cultural capital and, in any case, to be able to do without it since academic qualifications are a weak currency and possess all their value only within the limits of the academic market.

## APPENDIX

TABLE I

*Possession of FM radio and reception of France-Musique according to occupational categories*

				Possessors of a record-player	
				per 100 of category	per 100 of category
				non posses- sors of FM	possessors of FM
					Listen to France-Musique on a given day
		Listen to France-Musique			
		Every day	2 or 3 times a week	Less than twice	Never
Agricultural workers					
Farmers	0·2	0·7	1·4	97·7	
Workers	0·9	1·5	1·8	95·8	0·3
Craftsmen & tradespeople	0·6	1·6	2·8	95·0	0·2
White-collar workers, intermediate office staff	0·8	2·8	2·7	93·7	0·6
Higher office staff, heads of industry & commerce	2·2	2·2	4·5	91·1	1·0
	5·7	6·1	5·4	82·8	2·2
					12·1

Sources: INSEE (1966) and CBS (1964).

TABLE II  
*Conspicuous of the structures of the different academic publics in terms of father's profession*

	<i>Active pop.</i>	<i>4<sup>e</sup> Prat.</i>	<i>4<sup>e</sup> Mod.</i>	<i>4<sup>e</sup> Class.</i>	<i>Fac. Sc.</i>	<i>Fac. Let.</i>	<i>Fac. Dr.</i>	<i>Fac. MEd.</i>	<i>Taupe</i>	<i>Cagne</i>	<i>ENA</i>	<i>Polytech.</i>	<i>Ulm Let.</i>	<i>Ulm Sc.</i>
Agricultural workers	2.9	5.3	3.3	1.2	2.9	2.7	1.7	0.9	0.5	3.0	1.0	0.4	0.6	1.6
Farmers	12	6.8	9.7	5.6	6.4	5.4	5.1	2.9	0.5	1.7	1.9	1.9	—	1.6
Workers	43.4	57.3	40.7	21.7	15.2	14.6	10.3	5.8	4.3	4.3	—	3.7	5.4	2.5
Craftsmen	3	6.1	9.9	8.3	5.4	5.1	4.4	3.9	1.6	1.3	2.9	1.4	1.4	3.1
Tradespeople	5.1	10.5	15.9	15.1	9.5	10.1	11.0	8.8	6.5	4.3	3.9	5.1	7.6	5.8
White-collar workers	16.5	4.7	10.4	15.3	14.0	14.8	14.0	12.1	23.2	13.6	12.6	11.5	11.8	11.1
Intermediate office staff	7.1	0.1	1.2	3.5	5.3	5.3	2.6	4.0	2.7	6.1	1.9	6.2	5.0	3.4
Primary-school teacher	2.8	0.5	1.8	3.3	2.4	2.6	4.0	3.7	5.8	2.4	— <sup>a</sup>	6.0	2.4	2.8
Heads of industry	1.4	0.9	2.6	1.7	6.3	8.1	5.7	5.2	8.5	15.1	5.2	6.9	19.9	5.9
Engineers	0.9	2.2	0.5	2.4	7.9	9.5	10.6	14.0	11.7	19.1	23.7	22.2 <sup>a</sup>	17.9	24.8
Higher office staff	2.2	1.0	0.1	0.9	4.3	4.5	5.2	3.2	4.5	5.4	14.8	9.0	9.9	17.7
Top civil servants	1.6	5.4	2.1	7.5	8.5	8.8	13.8	22.9	8.1	10.4	23.8	9.7	10.1	14.3
Professionals	1	0.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Teachers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

<sup>a</sup> ENA: Higher office staff + heads of industry = 22.2

4<sup>e</sup> Pratique : Third year of secondary school,  
 practical studies

4<sup>e</sup> Moderne : Third year of secondary school,  
 modern studies (without Latin)

4<sup>e</sup> Classique : Third year of secondary school,  
 classical studies

Fac. Sc. : Science Faculty

Fac. Let. : Arts Faculty

Fac. Dr. : Law Faculty

Fac. Med. : Medicine Faculty

Taupe : Preparatory class for Polytechnique  
 Cagne : Preparatory class for École Normale Supérieure d'Ulm (Arts)

ENA : Ecole Nationale d'Administration  
 Polytech. : Polytechnique

Ulm Let. : École Normale Supérieure d'Ulm (Arts)  
 Ulm Sc. : École Normale Supérieure d'Ulm (Science)

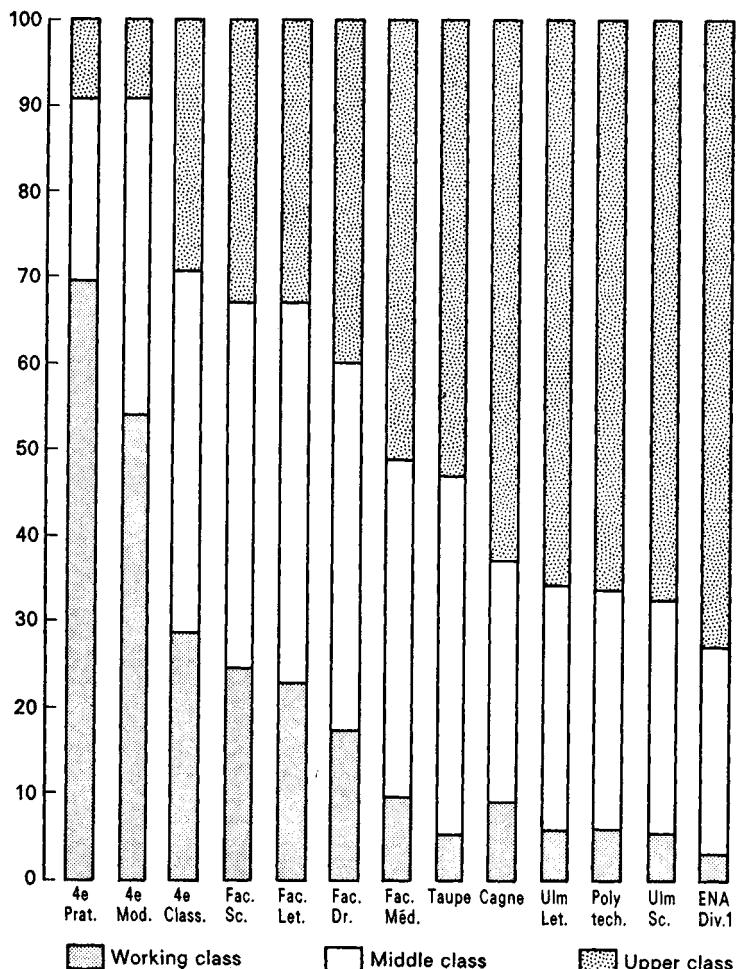
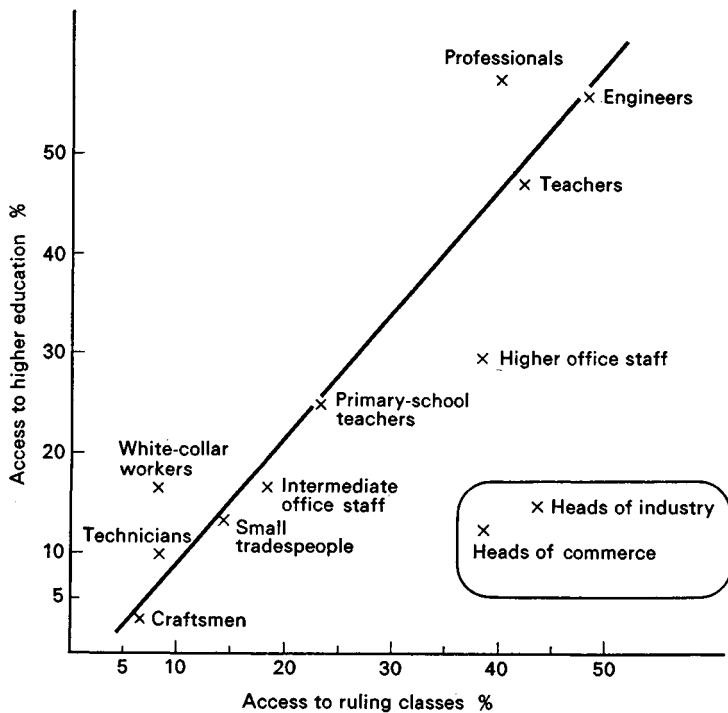
**FIGURE I** *Social structure of different publics in the academic world*

FIGURE II *Correlation between chances of access to ruling classes and chances of access to higher education according to social origin*



Source: *Survey of training, qualifications, and employment, (INSEE 1964); secondary analysis carried out at the Centre de Sociologie Européenne.*

TABLE III

*Distribution in terms of social origin and standard of diploma of the managing directors (PDG) of 200 leading French companies*

Social origin— father's CSP	Diploma							Total
	Poly- tech- nique	Other 'grande école'	Law doctor- ate or degree	'Science Po' HEC <sup>b</sup>	'Petite école'	'Bac' or less	Total	
<b>Company administrators, heads of</b>								
industry, bankers	7·4	8·1	8·9	5·7	7·4	5·7	43·2	
Top civil servants	5·7	0·8	0·8	0·8	0·8	1·6	10·5	
Professionals	3·2		2·5	2·5			8·2	
Engineers	4·0	2·5	0·8	1·6			8·9	
Secondary-school teachers		0·8		1·6		0·8		3·2
Primary-school teachers		1·6						1·6
<b>Manufacturers, traders, merchants &amp; craftsmen</b>								
Clerks	4·0	2·5	4·0	1·6	0·8	0·8	13·7	
Clerks	2·5	2·5				0·8	5·8	
Land-owners & farmers	2·5	1·6		0·8			4·9	
Total	31·7	18·0	18·6	13·0	9·8	8·9	100	

Source: CSE study based on *Who's Who*.

<sup>a</sup> Classification of companies drawn up by the review *Entreprise* (November 1969).

<sup>b</sup> With or without law degree.

### Notes

1 We have translated approximately as follows: *salarié agricole*, agricultural worker; *agriculteur*, farmer; *ouvrier*, worker; *employé*, white-collar worker; *artisan-commerçant*, craftsman and tradesman; *cadre moyen*, intermediate office staff; *cadre supérieur*, higher office staff; *profession libérale*, professional; *patrons de l'industrie et du commerce*, heads of industry and commerce.

2 Household consumption, INSEE – CREDOC survey carried out in 1956 of 20 000 households – tables of household consumption by socio-professional categories.

- 3 Syndicat national des éditeurs (National Union of Publishers), 'La clientèle du livre', July 1967, survey carried out by the IFOP.
- 4 Syndicat national des éditeurs, 'La lecture et le livre en France', January-April 1960, survey carried out by the IFOP.
- 5 Survey of theatre attendance in the Parisian region carried out by the IFOP, 1964.
- 6 Survey of theatre attendance, SOFRES, June 1964. The rates established by the SOFRES survey are distinctly lower, especially as far as the middle classes are concerned, than those that emerge from the IFOP surveys. The probable reason for this is partly to be found in the fact that the SOFRES survey was based on a national sample whereas the IFOP survey covered only the Parisian region, and the structure of class relations is decidedly different in Paris and in the provinces, particularly in the field of culture, since the gap between the upper classes and the middle classes is much less pronounced in Paris. The reason is also to be found in the fact that the SOFRES based its inquiries not on 'normal' attendance rhythms but on real theatre attendance during the past year (theatre used in the restrictive sense, i.e. as opposed to opera, musical comedy, and music hall, concerning which questions were also asked). In spite of this the SOFRES report quite rightly observes that the attendance rates were probably overestimated, first, because the question made no distinction between professional theatre and amateur theatre (and yet in 1963 there were, in the provinces, 19 000 amateur performances as opposed to 13 000 professional performances) and, second, because it may be assumed that refusals to reply were more numerous among those whose attendance rates were low and that those who replied to the questions exaggerated the extent to which they practised such a prestigious activity.
- 7 Cf. P. Bourdieu & A. Darbel (1969: 40).
- 8 In order to realize that specific rarity in the field of culture is not connected to the goods but to the instruments of appropriation of those goods, it is sufficient to consider those statistics wherein it may be seen that the possession of the material instruments of appropriation of music (which, as is known, increases in proportion to income and level of education) is not enough to ensure symbolic appropriation; the extent to which the reception of France-Musique (which broadcasts classical music almost exclusively, that is to say 96·6 hours a week) varies is still very large among possessors of FM radio (cf. Appendix to this paper, *Table I*).
- 9 Concerning this concept, see Bourdieu & Darbel (1969: 104-10).
- 10 The extremely close relationship that may be observed between museum attendance and level of education, on the one hand, and early attendance at museums, on the other hand, follows the same logic.

- 11 SOFRES (1964), *Le Marché des cadres supérieurs français*, Paris.
- 12 The heads of industry questioned more often live in small towns than do the heads of commerce – 40 per cent against 33 per cent, of whom 27 per cent against 15 per cent live in rural communities; members of public or private administration and engineers reside more often than teachers and professionals (a large proportion of whom – 28 per cent – live in small towns) in towns with more than 100 000 inhabitants, that is to say, 66 per cent for the first two categories, 65 per cent for the third, and 60 per cent for the last two, which doubtless explains the inversions as far as the theatre is concerned. Apart from place of residence, the effect of income, which is easily higher in the liberal professions than in the public services, doubtless explains the other inversions observed, particularly as far as the possession of FM radio sets or exhibition attendance are concerned.
- 13 Here are some indicators of the opposition between the two systems of dispositions, an element of which is the refusal of television:

	<i>Listen to classical music</i>	<i>Play a musical instrument</i>	<i>Visit museums or exhibitions</i>	<i>Visit art galleries</i>	<i>Play bridge</i>	<i>Go to the theatre</i>
Possess television	82	12	60	45	19	55
Do not possess television	91	15	70	53	28	70

- 14 A number of indicators suggest that the different sections of the dominant classes can also be distinguished according to the amount of free time at their disposal. Thus, for example, the proportion of individuals who go on holiday varies from 95 per cent for teachers, to 92 per cent for engineers, 91 per cent for civil servants, 89 per cent for professionals, 87 per cent for managers, and 81 and 80 per cent for heads of industry and of commerce. The effect of this principle of differentiation is to be seen in a number of activities possessed of a cultural dimension, such as the use of radio or television.
- 15 The figures in parentheses represent the positions of each section. The readership of economic and scientific works has been given separately inasmuch as interest in these kinds of literature depends on secondary factors, namely the kind of professional activity for some (hence the positions of managers, heads of industry and of commerce) and the kind of intellectual training for others (hence the positions of the engineers).

16 Based on SEMA, *Le Théâtre et son public*, Vol. 2, Table 215a.

- 17 None of the indices of consumption (automobile, boat, hotel) is perfectly univocal (to the extent that the first also depends on the type of professional activity and the other two on the capital in free time, which is very unevenly spread between the sections); possession of a residence depends, further, on there being a stable residence (and this is less likely as far as civil servants, engineers, and teachers are concerned). Lastly, the incomes of the different categories have been very unevenly minimized (the rate of non-declaration may be seen as an indicator of the tendency to under-declare). A strict evaluation of the incomes of the different sections would presuppose the inventory of the secondary profits connected with the different professions. It is known, for instance, that managers and some engineers often have a car (and sometimes a chauffeur) at their disposal, provided by the firm which sometimes puts the general maid or the cleaning woman on a salaried basis. The survey quoted makes it possible to form an idea of the secondary profits, which are easily concealed, obtained by the different professions, such as business meals (26 per cent for heads of industry and for managers, 22 per cent for engineers, 17 per cent for heads of commerce, 14 per cent for civil servants, against only 10 per cent for professionals and 4 per cent for teachers) or business trips (41 per cent for heads of industry, 36 per cent for managers, 35 per cent for engineers, 31 per cent for heads of commerce, against 19 per cent for civil servants, 16 per cent for professionals, and 4 per cent for teachers).
- 18 Among the personalities mentioned in *Who's Who*, the following proportions in the following occupational categories reside in the districts which contain the highest proportion of families of executives in relation to the total number of households (7th, 8th, and 16th *arrondissements*): 39·7 per cent of the heads of industry and commerce, 40 per cent of those in senior administration, 31 per cent of those in the liberal professions, and 22 per cent of the teachers.
- 19 The opposition that is set up, within the middle class, between intermediate office staff (and in particular primary-school teachers) and medium-sized industrial and business management is the homologue of the opposition, within the upper class, between secondary-school teachers and the heads of industry and commerce. It is not by chance that the ideology of the academic meritocracy is particularly deep-rooted in those sections of the middle class which are richest in cultural capital and that ascent through two generations (from peasant to primary-school teacher to secondary-school teacher) is so often invoked by champions of 'the liberating effect of the school'. Indeed, primary-school teachers (along with subordinate categories in secondary education) and, more generally, members of the public administrative sector of intermediate rank occupy a very strange

- position, on the hinge of the middle classes and the dominant classes. Owing to the privileged position that they occupy in terms of the educational system, they can triumphantly hold their own in academic competition with the other sections, which are richer in economic capital, and even with those sections of the dominant classes which are least prosperous in cultural capital. Since the logic that governs the relationship between secondary-school teachers and the other members of the dominant classes is *a fortiori* applicable to primary-school teachers, their children must pay for their being allowed into the dominant classes (where they form about 25 per cent) by being relegated to the positions of teaching, or industrial or administrative technicians.
- 20 Managers have a much more 'modernistic' style of life than do the traditional 'bourgeoisie' – the heads of industry and commerce: they attain positions of power at a younger age; they more often possess university qualifications; they more often belong to larger and more modern businesses; they are the largest group to read the financial newspaper *Les Échos* (penetration index of 126 as opposed to 91 for heads of industry) and weeklies dealing with economics and finance (penetration index of 224 as against 190 for heads of industry); they seem less inclined to invest their capital in real estate; they indulge more often in 'modern' leisure activities such as skiing, yachting, etc. Above all, they more completely identify themselves with the role of the modern executive who looks towards foreign countries (along with members of the civil servants and engineers, they make the highest rate of journeys abroad) and who is open to modern ideas (as is shown by their very active participation in professional symposia or seminars, with 30 per cent of them taking part in such activities at least three or four times a year, as against 26 per cent for civil servants and heads of commerce, 25 per cent for engineers, and 17 per cent for heads of industry). A final, apparently minor, but in fact very significant, sign of this opposition can be seen in the varying proportions of members of the different sections who state that they have a permanent supply of whisky or champagne in their homes: for whisky, the figures are 81 per cent for managers, 80 per cent for engineers, 74 per cent for professionals, 69 per cent for civil servants, 62 per cent for heads of commerce, and 58 per cent for teachers; and for champagne, 80 per cent for heads of industry, 75 per cent for heads of commerce and professionals, 73 per cent for managers, 72 per cent for top civil servants and engineers, and 49 per cent for teachers.
- 21 Only a survey such as the one that is being carried out at the present time at the Centre de Sociologie Européenne, whose object is to grasp the systems of the reproduction strategies of the different sections and to determine, in particular, the place of educational

investment within each one of these systems, could make it possible to validate these hypotheses and render them more subtle. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with provisionally reporting some indices which seem to confirm the propositions put forward above, particularly in relation to the liberal professions. According to the SOFRES survey already quoted, the hierarchy of the sections in terms of an index of status (based on possession of goods such as a drier, a freezer, a dish-washer, a record-player, high-fidelity equipment, FM radio, tape-recorder, camera and slide-projection equipment, cine-camera, caravan, boat, high-category car, second residence) is found to be: professionals (5·1), engineers (4·8), managers (4·7), heads of industry (4·6), heads of commerce (4·4), top civil servants (4·4), teachers (4·2). In the most highly selected population of *Who's Who*, membership of clubs and inscription in *le Bottin Mondain* are distributed as follows: heads of industry and commerce (49·5 and 32·6), law (38·1 and 36·5), medicine (30·1 and 28·9), top civil servants (25·7 and 24·4), university (24·3 and 22). Readership of the newspaper *Les Échos*, which is an index of participation in the economy and of information concerning finance, is distributed as follows (SOFRES): managers (126), heads of industry (91), top civil servants (68), engineers (66), professionals and heads of commerce (15), teachers (0). In the same way, the penetration index of the economic and financial weeklies is only 124 for the liberal professions as against 190 for heads of industry, 224 for managers, and 250 for engineers. The final revealing index of the particular position of the professionals and, more specifically, of the doctors, is the fact that 30 per cent of the doctors registered in *Who's Who* belong to the local political circle.

- 22 The analyses proposed below are based upon a systematic group of surveys, carried out over the last few years by the Centre de Sociologie Européenne, of the faculties of arts, sciences, law, and medicine, and of all the literary and scientific *grandes écoles* and of the preparatory classes for these colleges. The guiding idea behind this research was that of treating the institutions of higher education as a *system*, and of building the structure of the relationships which unite them. In short, the intention was to break with the (consciously or unconsciously) monographic approach of most research work dealing with higher education – research which is bent on ignoring the most specific properties of the different institutions, namely, those they owe to their position in the system of institutions and to the effects of structural distinction which that position allows. Thus studies centred on the arts or science faculties which omit to situate these institutions in relation to the preparatory classes for the *grandes écoles* and to the *grandes écoles* themselves do not make it possible to understand or explain what is owed by the social and academic recruitment of the

public of these institutions, by the pedagogy which they put into practice, or by the careers to which they give access, to the fact that these are second-class establishments to which are relegated children from the middle and working classes who manage to get into higher education or else a form of refuge for the children from the dominant classes whose academic results have not allowed them into the most prestigious institutions. Likewise, most studies devoted to any of the *grandes écoles* are not different in any clear-cut way from studies carried out for practical or justificatory ends by old boys' and teachers' associations in that they reveal, more often than not, the survival of a relationship of enchantment to the school which may be concealed just as well by the false distance of objectivity as in the resounding break or disenchanted reversal of a first relationship of enchantment. The supposition underlying such a methodological project was that, at the risk of showing a loss in the specific information relating to each institution, the technical operations – starting with the construction of questionnaires or of analysis grids – should be subordinated to the imperatives of comparability: that which, at the beginning, might appear as a rather crippling abstraction appeared as the condition of the emergence of the most specific characteristics whereas certain concessions which were made with an eye to taking into account particularities (and especially the most apparent features by means of which each *grande école* is endowed with a set idiosyncrasy) prevented, in the last analysis, the making of comparisons capable of resulting in the principle of really pertinent differences.

- 23 The discordance between the two hierarchies and the predominance, within the institution, of the specifically academic hierarchy is at the basis of the meritocratic illusion whose most typical form is the ideology of the 'liberating effects of the school' along with the indignation aroused among teaching staff, who are the first victims of this kind of academic ethnocentrism, at the discordance between the social hierarchies and the academic hierarchies.
- 24 If the role of the system of institutions of higher education in the reproduction of the relations between the sections of the dominant classes often goes unnoticed, it is because surveys of mobility accord more attention to mobility between classes than to mobility within the different classes and, in particular, within the dominant classes. Another reason is that the analytic and atomistic mode of thought which governs research into mobility does not allow the classical surveys of 'elites' to go beyond the apprehension of phenomena such as simple professional heredity. In fact, the structure of relations between the sections may remain unaltered while the population that forms them undergoes a profound change: thus, to take but one example, the structure of relations between the intellectual and

artistic sections and the other sections of the dominant classes has remained more or less unchanged in France since the middle of the nineteenth century, whereas the social recruitment of artists and intellectuals has varied considerably according to the period.

- 25 For an analysis of the dialectic of approval and recognition at the final stage of which the school recognizes its members, or, in other words, those who recognize the school, see P. Bourdieu & M. de Saint-Martin (1970).
- 26 Adherence to values conveyed by catholic tradition doubtless contributes to a certain extent to the turning away of children of the dominant sections of the dominant classes from academic careers in university or intellectual posts, and it does this both directly, by provoking a certain suspicion towards learning and its values, and indirectly, by promoting (with an eye to ensuring for the children that they 'mix with the right people', that is, by ensuring the social homogeneity of the peer group and the guarantee of 'morality') the choice of private educational establishments whose educational yield is known to be lower, all other things being equal. Among the individuals mentioned in *Who's Who*, the rates of former students of private colleges are 55·3 per cent, 36·2 per cent, 18·5 per cent, and 16 per cent, respectively, for business, law, top-level administration and medicine, and the university.
- 27 The proportion of students who play bridge or practise the 'smart' sports increases the nearer one approaches the pole of economic power.
- 28 Any analysis which tends to consider cultural consumption as simple 'conspicuous consumption', neglecting the directly palpable gratifications which always supplement symbolic gratifications, may well cause this fact to be forgotten. The simple ostentation of material prosperity, although it may not have such an obvious legitimating function as cultural ostentation, has at least the effect, in certain sections of the dominant classes, of vouching for success and of attracting confidence, esteem, and respect which, in certain professions, particularly the liberal ones, may serve as an important factor of success.
- 29 Secondary analysis of the survey carried out by the INSEE on professional mobility also allows it to be established that the positions occupied in firms by engineers, higher office staff, and technicians are closely linked to social origin, with the sons of primary and secondary teachers and of professionals, for instance, being the most represented sections in management positions whereas the qualified sons of labourers, foremen, and technicians are the most represented sections in production, manufacture, and maintenance.
- 30 The fact that entrance into the liberal professions presupposes the possession of high academic qualifications should not conceal the fact

that access to the highest positions in these professions doubtless depends scarcely any less than it does in the industrial and commercial sector on the possession of economic and social capital, as is shown by the presence of a very high rate of professional heredity, particularly in the elite of the medical profession where can be found veritable dynasties of chief doctors.

### *References*

- BOURDIEU, P. & DARBEL, A. 1969. *L'Amour de l'art: les musées d'art européens et leur public*. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit.
- BOURDIEU, P. & DE SAINT-MARTIN, M. 1970. L'excellence scolaire et les valeurs du système d'enseignement français. *Annales* 1, January-February.
- PRADERIE, M. 1966. Héritage social et chances d'ascension. In Darras, *Le Partage des bénéfices*. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit.
- SEMA. n.d. *Le Théâtre et son public*.
- SOFRES. 1964. *Le Marché des cadres supérieurs français*. Paris.
- SYNDICAT NATIONAL DES ÉDITEURS (National Union of Publishers). 1960. La lecture et le livre en France (January-April 1960, survey carried out by the IFOP).
- SYNDICAT NATIONAL DES ÉDITEURS. 1967. La clientèle du livre (July 1967, survey carried out by the IFOP).

ANDREW PEARSE

## *Structural Problems of Education Systems in Latin America<sup>1</sup>*

---

This paper discusses the purpose, performance, and social function of education systems in four Latin American countries, attempting to identify the motors that impel them in directions that diverge widely from their stated purposes. This implies a discussion of the social function of the systems, that is to say, the part they play in societies having certain structural characteristics and passing through particular historical stages. The discussion is confined to systems of primary education, and the material is based on field studies and observations by the author in Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil, and Bolivia at different times during the past twelve years, supported by the work of other writers.

The term 'education system' is used here in the sense of a social system brought into existence to act out some phase of the institutional order concerned with educating. It refers to the body of norms about a whole interrelated network of roles which the process of educating requires, and to their actual performance; and likewise to the structure by which the roles are related to one another. This structure is roughly co-terminous with a single administrative system. But it does not refer only to the behaviour of persons in the performance of their formal roles, nor is it confined solely to the institutionalized or standardized aspects of their co-activity; it embraces unstructured groups and informal behaviour in so far as these are brought into being by the system. Thus a government network of primary schools, or a planned programme of health education or community development executed by a single agency, or a regular television education programme—all these might be considered as 'education systems'. And, similarly, a single village school may be so considered, even though only a part of an organized network, by virtue of the delegation of the management function to the director of the school. In this paper the main concern is

with national and regional systems of primary and secondary education.

The idea that education systems can be considered as instruments of social policy has to be taken with a great deal of caution, especially in countries described as developing. Such instrumentality implies an agent with a purpose and an object to be acted upon. Let us take as starting-point two formally declared purposes of systems of primary education. Marshall Wolfe (1964) informs us that

'at the level of public policy, educational planners throughout Latin America have been given quite uniform directives. These derive from two well-known sources: first there are the directives summed up in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights<sup>2</sup> paralleled and elaborated upon in a long series of regional declarations and national laws. Second, there are the directives originating in the conception of education as a form of investment in "human resources", an essential component in overall planning for economic and social development.'

However, he goes on to tell us that in the past planners have worked out internally consistent plans, following their directives, without much concern for social and political factors which might interfere with execution. They have delivered their plans to the politicians and administrators 'to do what they liked with'.

Beyond this point it is difficult to discern purpose as a body of aims which affect decisions to any serious degree. In reforming old systems and launching new ones, politicians and administrators mobilize educators, educands, and parents, and make or continue arrangements for fitting these persons for their roles, for supervising their performance, and for supplying them with the facilities required. But 'practical concerns', such as the national budget and the concessions and alliances that political survival requires, make serious innovations improbable. Moreover, the programme is enacted in a very real social context which largely escapes the control of the agent. All the potential role-players already have a series of other roles claiming their allegiance, and are subject to pressures inherent in their existing social status. And the facilities that the system requires can be obtained only in competition with the demands of other systems, many of which have acquired firmly bulwarked traditional positions, and most of which exist to satisfy expectations of a much more immedi-

ate urgency than the more distant *desiderata* sought by education systems.

It appears that the motive force or 'motor' of the education system can hardly be the formal purposes outlined above, fully internalized by all role-players. If plans based on these purposes were delivered to a powerful government to execute, and if not only the government but also the main strata in the society were committed to them, then instrumentality might be achieved. But such does not correspond to reality. What happens is that formal purpose is not modified, but acquires a theoretical character, becoming a counter in national and international political exchange, and the system itself takes on a skewed career which diverges sharply from the ideal path towards the goals announced. This is indeed no accident since the latter is the language of the open society in which education is desired as the means to new abilities and new status, while most of the societies we are considering are still dominated by value systems in which status is ascribed.<sup>3</sup> In the traditional ascriptive society, with its clear distinctions between social strata, and the continuing 'estamental' association of each class with the performance of particular economic and social functions, there is an appropriate kind of education for each class and sector and no categorical need for their articulation in a single system with the possibilities of movement from one system through another. The institutional ambivalence at the transitional stage lies in the fact that purpose expresses an aspiration for the future while performance cannot be abstracted from the realities of the present.

What, then, are the motors of these education systems? They can best be described as an 'aggregate intention' or 'resultant'<sup>4</sup> emerging from the often conflicting intentions of groups of performers whose performance is a 'coming to terms with' the existing normative provisions of the system rather than their fulfilment. Performance is characterized in accordance with the relative strength and direction of the sectors in their use of the system. For this reason, the most important relationship between the education system and the social structure is the degree of power the different groups of performers are able to draw from their status in the society. The greater the power of the group, the more weight carried in the aggregate intention of the system. And the marginal social groups whose integration in the national society is said to be the object of universal primary education carry very little weight in the aggregate intention beyond their mute

capacity to absent their children from the school if it fails to satisfy their needs.

#### ECUADOR

The Quechua-speaking peasants of the Ecuadorean Highlands<sup>5</sup> (commonly referred to by the pejorative term 'Indians') are one such group. Though they constitute the great majority of the rural population of the Sierra, they are effectively excluded from economic, social, and political participation by discriminatory mechanisms and coercive institutions still surviving from the estamental relations that prevailed under the colony.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, the constitution (1946) of the country establishes compulsory schooling for all children. A reasonably effective primary-school system is geographically located in the towns and villages, meeting the needs of the non-Indian population. In the rural areas, apart from activities stimulated and supported by technical assistance programmes from abroad, the strongest sectional pressures come from such quarters as, for example, those teachers who have not been able to get employment in existing schools. An unemployed teacher will 'found' a private school in a convenient rural area, teaching spasmodically for nothing or for small fees until he can use his political connections to get the new school recognized and himself nominated as its salaried teacher. This does not mean that these teachers want to work in rural schools or with Indians.<sup>7</sup> It means that the supply of teachers is in excess of the urban 'white' demand, and that the surplus teachers must create additional opportunities for employment in the rural 'Indian' sector.

#### PRE-REVOLUTIONARY BOLIVIA

Like Ecuador, Bolivia<sup>8</sup> is a nation whose estamental character survived until the mid-twentieth century, and it is interesting in that this order of things was ended by a revolution which is now at sufficient distance to be seen in perspective. This archaic social formation has been consistently represented as if it were a case of a society of Hispanic culture with a surviving indigenous culture and people within it tenaciously resisting 'acculturation', constituting an Indian problem, and so forth. But this view is misleading and puts the cart before the

horse. It is more correct to say that the Spanish colonial system was able to create a subjected labour force out of the conquered peoples for the use of the elite classes at a cost of very little more than the concession of subsistence lands, and that the independent republics, in spite of their liberal-democratic constitutions, maintained the system. So a society persisted with an estamental division between a dominated majority sector to which the labour function was ascribed, which we can call a peasantry, and a dominant minority, including the landowning and mining elites and the intermediate urban occupations. The division between the two was ascriptive and carried with it differences in land-tenure status and occupation and a whole code of differentiated rights and duties based on earlier law and later custom. On account of its landed basis it implied particular forms of residential segregation, and for its maintenance it required sharply distinctive ethnic separation, and a code of norms for interethnic comportment stressing the pattern of super- and subordination, and providing sanctions for their breach. A further inevitable component of the system was the ambivalent quality of the social institutions (even going as far as ambivalent weights and measures) which, like Janus, had two faces, one for the peasants and one for the citizens. Thus the estamental structure furnished a powerful instrument of social control, by which the labour force was held in subjection. But it was necessarily complemented by the dispersion and confinement of the peasantry in thousands of discrete landgroups with a few dozen families in each. In the case of the estates, their relation with the outside world and their access to its institutions were controlled by their landlords, to whom they owed servile duties by virtue of their tenure status. In the 'communities' (which composed about one-third of the landgroups) the local officials and priests and small traders of the village centres operated together in close accord to restrict, mediate, manage, and exploit any impulse to wider participation. Land tenure in the communities also carried with it labour duties to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities well into the present century and in some spots until the revolution.

Our position is, therefore, that the estamental society was built around an archaic form of subjection of labour, and that so-called Indian subculture, most of whose parts emerge from the colonial period, is a secretion or immanent creation of estamental society, which must maintain the ethnic separateness of its enthralled labour force.

Schooling for peasants was incompatible with the system of social

control we are considering. The peasant was expected to remain tied and quiescent within his landgroup, isolated from any view of alternatives to his ascribed lot by his ignorance of the national language even more than by his illiteracy. And whatever sentiments may have been expressed by some of the more liberal rulers of Bolivia during the nineteenth century, and whatever gestures they may have made (Sanginés 1968: 27–36), rural schooling remained nil.

President Pando (1899–1904) was perhaps the first to see the problem of peasant education as a special one, involving not only an extension of peasant rights but also a lowering of the linguistic barrier. Under his government, peripatetic schools were organized to visit the communities. In 1909 a Belgian educational mission was invited to begin working in Sucre, and between 1911 and 1916 various attempts were made to establish schools for peasants speaking Aymara and Quechua. The idea of schooling as a means of achieving the desirable end of lessening the cultural gap between the sectors began to take root (Sanginés 1968: 36–41).

The ending of liberal ascendancy (1920) put a stop to the development of peasant education for a time, but a new and interesting phase occurred with the ousting of President Siles in 1930 when he attempted to retain the presidency after the expiration of his period. Resistance to his pretensions had the powerful support of the student movement, which at the same time sought university autonomy. While a military junta held the reins of government, a leader associated with the student movement was made Civil Assessor and prepared and caused to be enacted a supreme decree establishing university autonomy, and putting primary, secondary, and normal schooling under a semi-independent National Educational Council. Peasant education was given special attention, and fell under the Ministry of Education, Fine Arts, and Indigenous Affairs. It was under these auspices that a special school concerned with peasant problems was founded in an Aymara-speaking community of the Altiplano—Warisata (Sanginés 1968: 44–5).

In reality it consisted of a regional complex of small schools dependent on a central nucleus for servicing and inspiration. Ideologically, Warisata preached a cultural revaluation and revival of selected aspects of what were considered traditional Aymara culture and forms of social organization, but duly ‘improved’. Successful efforts were made to bring about the participation of the peasant families in the region in helping to construct and maintain the schools, and to

shoulder some of the responsibilities for deciding policy. It was to help the 'Indian' bring about the salvation of 'his people'.

An enthusiastic start was made, but the spread of the movement was prevented by the coming of the Gran Chaco War in 1932. The régime that emerged from the war, sometimes referred to as 'military socialist', gave its support, and in 1936–7 fifteen more such schools were started. For the moment, the bitter experiences of the military campaigns had won supporters for peasant education even from those with no sympathy for the cause, as, for instance, those who wrote to the Press that 'the war was lost because the Indian was uneducated' or 'the Indian is a heavy burden for the whites'. However, by 1939, conflict between the protagonists of peasant education and the land-owners, usually backed by the local authorities, had become sharp, a running battle. Indeed, the issues involved were significant enough to make meaningful the catch-phrase 'a threat to the very fabric of society'!

The Rural Society, founded in 1934 to give organized form and power to the interests and aspirations of the estate-owners, complained that schooling would deplete the agricultural labour force by encouraging peasants to seek their livelihood as tradesmen and craft-workers in the towns, thus making manifest the manner in which the binding of the estate labour force depended on the exclusion of the peasant from the growing urban labour market (Pérez 1963: 252).

The building of the school complexes at Warisata, Cliza, and Vacas caused the townsfolk and local authorities severally to attempt in one way or another to deny the peasants access to the lands required for the purpose. Both presidents (Toro and Busch) during this period were fully aware of the open and covert opposition that their support of the peasant schools evoked. The kind of threat posed took on its full dimensions when on the 'Day of the Indian', 2 August 1939, 30 000 peasants are reported to have assembled at a grand rally of nuclear schools, the boys and girls dressed in uniform, and accompanied by bands of local musicians. 'The numbers alone filled the landowners with panic', said Elizardo Pérez (1963: 318–19). Harmless, though the activities of the schoolchildren may have been, the event itself in its magnitude clearly portends a new phase of structural change. The powerlessness of confinement within the landgroups is replaced by a larger-than-local demonstration of peasant force and an implicit threat that it may become organized and articulate in the political arena. An important element making for solidarity is the use of an alternate set

of cultural symbols, drawn from the ethnic traditions of the peasant subculture. The conflict was also complicated by the fact that a new interest group had grown up within the citizen sector itself, embracing the broadly political aim of liberating the peasant from subject status and having him participate with full rights in the society. The *indigenista* educators belong to this group, as do those who published *La Calle*, and gave utterance to the following sentiments:

'The Indigenous School must see to it that the Indian is not robbed, nor exploited nor held in servitude with the excuse that it has been so since times immemorial. And if this is not enough, it must foster in the mind of the Indian the notion of civil rights so that in future he is no longer a miserable serf, relegated to the shades of the Republic like a mummy of past slavery, which we inherit from our ancestors, the land-grabbing Spaniards' (*La Calle*, La Paz, approx. 5 August 1938).

A contrary view implicitly justifies a 'few cases' of violence against the peasants who neglected their servile duties on the estates, in favour of participation in the school building programme:

'The authorities must take radical steps to save the Indigenous Schools now threatened by the justified reaction of the townsfolk and the landowners who go on protesting against the indoctrination of the Indians with notions of redemption by violent means. There may be a few cases where estate-managers have been violent with the Indian, but the fault is with the latter for refusing to fulfil their work obligations to the estate, in the belief that they are under obligation rather to Warisata' (Pérez 1963: 312, quoting *El Diario*, La Paz, 1 September 1938).

A more diehard view is expressed by *El Razon* (31 July), in which Warisata is described as a 'centre of subversion', a 'cell of social insurgence' which, 'since the moment it began to give support to the rights of the Indian, became a communist weapon brandished against the property right, which since time immemorial the colonial breed of landowner exercises over the lands of America' (Pérez 1963: 316).

At the risk of labouring the point, the crisis of the estamental society is clearly seen in the situation in which the government, supported by a more enlightened part of the citizenry, authorizes and propagates schooling for peasants; and in the expanding aspirations of professional groups with much to gain from the dismantling of the estamental

system. Yet actions by peasants having the same content are subversive in terms of the traditional norms of rural social organization. Even when allowances are made for propagandistic bias, this contradiction is expressed convincingly in the interview reported below, between a journalist working for *La Noche* of La Paz, and a peasant, which appeared on 10 August 1938.

Q. What specially brings you here, Mr Sosa?

A. They are saying at the school (Warisata) that Sr NN is using my name to ridicule my condition as an Indian, and is accusing me of trespassing on his estates to incite my brother Indians against the landowners.

Q. Well, isn't this what happened?

A. No, sir. I went to his estates and to the communities under orders from our Parliament of Elders to tell parents that they should send their children to the school, and visit the centre to see for themselves the work being done and to check up on the way things are being run, for these schools belong to the Indians . . .

Q. Are you a teacher?

A. I teach cooking and am in charge of gardening. In this school I left my youth and my health . . . we sacrificed ourselves for the triumph of this school . . . we brought the water three and a half leagues to it, from the snow-cap itself, working day and night. [He says he has come to see Sr NN, President of the Rural Society, and he proceeds to explain why this gentleman has attacked him.]

I was born in Chúa, I grew up and was educated by the Ernsts who had a school built on the estate at their own expense. When Sr NN rented the estate, the first thing he did was to close the school. I went to Chúa to tell my brother Indians that they must re-open it . . . I have to lodge a complaint with the patrons' representative that there are patrons who close down schools that others have started. . . . When Sr NN was running the Chúa estate, he provoked brawls . . . with the peasants of the farms of Pachaúá and Tula . . . the President of the Rural Society appeared himself dressed as a peasant, with a carbine on his shoulder, and four of my friends lost their lives in the incidents he set off . . .

A comparable pre-revolutionary episode concerns the founding of a similar educational centre at Ucureña in Cochabamba. In some senses it is even more important than the Warisata episode, since the school was linked with the peasant union (*sindicato*) formed in connection

with the aspirations and plans of a group of service tenants—first to become cash-renters of their parcels of land on the 300-year-old estate of a nunnery, thus taking the element of personal submission out of the relation with proprietorship and replacing it by a simple cash nexus—and later to purchase them. Their struggle lasted for seven years, and included incidents of police repression, the imprisonment and exile of leaders, and three interventions by different presidents of the Republic—for and against them. It is unlikely that they could have kept up the struggle without the special relationship with the nuclear school and its satellite units. In addition to widening the popular base through the parent organizations in the surrounding area, this brought them the help of the school directors and staff, and an effective political-administrative nexus with the provincial and national capital and several Ministries. It meant that the school administration and committees gave continuity of organization even when the union was subject to persecution, and of course the school itself became imbued with political militancy. The role of the dual entity school/peasant union in an area where the archaic system of social domination had for some time been in decay (as was the case in the province of Cochabamba, owing to population pressure, an expanding market economy and the rising price of land, among other things) prepared Ucureña for a special destiny on the occasion of the revolution in April 1952. Without hesitation the union and its adherents organized a campaign of agitation and armed coercion against the proprietors of the province and beyond, organizing the peasants of the estates and urging them to drive out the proprietors. The momentum of their movement was such that the revolutionary government lost its doubts and came out clearly in favour of a radical land reform, giving the land to the peasants, which was proclaimed symbolically in Ucureña itself in August 1953, fifteen months after the revolution took place.

#### POST-REVOLUTIONARY BOLIVIA

The Bolivian revolution and the land reform broke the estamental system, drove out most of the lords from their lands and put an end to the enforced labour tribute of the peasantry. It did not lead to any great increase in the lands cultivated by the peasants because the landlords' demesne farms had been restricted in size by the very low level of technology, and consequently of surpluses. Forms of settle-

ment and agricultural methods continued much as before, but the peasant now enjoyed freedom within his landgroup and more time for his own agriculture. The building of a new rural structure revolved around the creation of a new nexus within the society to replace the old nexus monopoly of the landlord. The main elements in this new nexus were new marketing canals, the organization of the estate land-group as a peasant union (*sindicato*), and the implantation of a school in each.

From the official point of view, what the schools aimed at was announced in the Education Code of 1955 and may be stated as follows: (i) the moral and physical redemption of the peasantry, by the teaching of dietary practices and of abstention from liquor and coca; (ii) cultural absorption in the citizenry by hispanicization, literacy, and the transformation of traditional custom into 'folklore', to be appreciated aesthetically; and (iii) participation in national economic development by the learning of new skills to improve agriculture and craft production.

It is difficult to calculate the quantity and quality of rural schooling dispensed by the expanding school system since the revolution. Official statistics show that between 1952 and 1965 the proportion of the school-age group actually registered rose from 13 to 39 per cent, though Sanginés (1968) also quotes a study which shows that, by 1963, probably only 10 per cent of the school-age population was actually in school. The schooling itself was not intensive, and only 6 per cent of the children who entered the first grade in 1960 completed the six-year course. As regards illiteracy in the population as a whole, the 1950 census recorded 68·9 per cent of the population over six years of age as illiterate, corresponding mainly to the rural population. The Unesco mission estimated this category to amount to 68 per cent in 1962, thus showing a very slight relative decline and an absolute growth. The Planning Officer gave an estimate of 66.8 per cent in 1961.

No doubt the fact that the teachers taught only in Spanish, a foreign language to nearly all rural children on arrival at the school, contributed to these disappointing results.

A further important characteristic of the post-revolutionary system is stressed by Comitas (1968). The political importance of the restructuring of rural society led to the formation of a Ministry of Peasant Affairs administering not only the land reform but also all rural education. This separation from the Ministry of Education turns peasant

schooling effectively into a blind alley, with no institutionalized passage leading on to the urban colleges, technical institutes, and universities. The new education becomes discriminatory in a new manner.

The most spectacular growth was the tenfold increase in the number of students in rural normal schools between 1952 and 1966, a fact that will be commented on later.

The aim of contributing to national economic development by rural vocational education received very little attention until 1967, when the so-called Rural Secondary Labour Colleges were formed. These colleges were conceived by the Unesco mission and the officials of the Ministry of Peasant Affairs as providing centres for more advanced training in agricultural technology and rural crafts for primary school leavers; they were to offer nine-month courses, and were to be equipped with workshops and laboratories provided by funds from United Nations agencies.

The contradiction between the original purpose and the aggregate intention that emerged from the activities of different groups of protagonists is clearly indicated by the following account of the system as it developed:

'On the one hand, due to pressure from young people who have finished their primary course, and on the other from primary school teachers who aspire to secondary school status, the rural colleges are proliferating. Unesco had proposed that there should be ten of them, one for each of the natural regions, where the use of different sets of natural resources could be developed, but 56 came into existence, two being private, 37 coming out of the budget of the Ministry of Peasant Affairs and 17 using budgetary resources "borrowed" from the funds for primary schools. The continuation of this tendency, the principle cause of which is to satisfy certain union groups for political convenience, is bound to weaken fundamental education . . . recently peasant leaders have begun to offer to the communities the creation of Peasant Universities . . . without any previous consideration of the necessary finance and specialized personnel . . .' (Sanginés 1968: 133-4).

That is to say, the aim of rural vocational education to induce economic development was elbowed out and replaced by the expansion of secondary education characterized by 'the adoption of norms of

town colleges without workshops or apparatus and with improvised low-quality staff, teaching by repetition for learning by rote'.

Not only do our reports show the loss of the developmental orientation in favour of an academic traditional learning; the intention of keeping interest focused on the rural ambience is also lost. Perhaps this is not surprising since the estamental system created a single ghetto in which there was full coincidence between 'Indian', performance of rural labour, and rural residence, and it would be difficult to preserve a rural orientation while ethnic characteristics were being transformed into cherished folklore (aesthetically appreciated) and the only language of the school was Spanish. But the main cause of the urban orientation is to be found in the aspirations of the rural teachers, a body which consists of townsfolk (*pueblanos*) whose prospects must inevitably be urban and who have not the resources necessary for professional university training in the city, and a much smaller percentage of peasants aspiring to *cholo*<sup>9</sup> status, which also implies urban cultural appurtenances and attitudes.

If we are therefore to make a broader characterization of the situation of rural education, we should say that it is set in the matrix of two larger social processes that tend to carry it with them: one is the process of the formation of a society of classes following the rupture of the estamental system, and the other is the formation of a new political-administrative structure following the disappearance of the landed proprietors. These two processes impinge on every sort of decision made about educational policy, the disposition of resources, the selection of personnel, and the pursuit of careers, leaving little room for actions planned to advance such abstract goals as national development.

#### COLOMBIA

Comparing the 'Indian' peasants of Ecuador and Bolivia with those of the highlands of Colombia, where estamental segregation persists only in isolated pockets, one becomes aware of a different and more homogeneous social structure. The peasant belongs to the lowest and weakest major stratum of the society and, in his relations with the town, is at a disadvantage.<sup>10</sup> As in most of Latin America, there is a sharp geographical separation between the peasant who works the land and the village or small town (however poor and traditional this may

be) which serves as political, ecclesiastical, transport, communications, and market centre, which houses certain types of craftworkers and which generally serves as the link between the peasant and the larger society. Yet the Colombian peasant belongs to the society in a way that is not permitted to the Ecuadorean 'Indian'. He must be taken into account as a voter, as a producer, and as a consumer. In the last decades he has learnt to keep arms near at hand. He can and does move out of the peasantry into the village and on to the industrial cities. The schools established during the last twenty years in most rural neighbourhoods bring a little closer a more urban world and open a path towards it. The institution of schooling has been accepted almost as extensively as First Communion. Its actual performance is revealed in *Tables 1* and *2* (below), which relate to a typical highland region of Colombia (*Instituto Piloto de Educación Rural 1960*).

The comparative failure of the primary education system to perform as programmed in the towns is apparent in these tables, which show that only about one-third of the entrants complete the course. But the reality of the rural school is that there is effectively no course to complete, and that the transmission of schooling breaks down beyond the urban nuclei, in spite of the fact that the rural families

TABLE I  
*Sex and qualifications of urban and rural teachers in North Santander, Colombia, 1960*

	Total no. teachers		Normal schooling		Completed secondary		Other	No post- primary qualification
	M	F						
Urban	655	120	535	188		12	25	430 or 66%
Rural	682	23	659	29		4	19	630 or 91%

TABLE 2  
*Urban and rural school attendance by grades in North Santander, Colombia, 1960*

No. of schools	Total registered pupils	According to grades					V
		I	II	III	IV		
Urban	138	21 208	8 745	5 522	3 326	2 125	I 490
Rural	658	20 438	14 821	5 197	3 370	26	24

have come to accept it and desire it universally for their children. The peasant demand for schooling lacks the dimension of power, and contributes little to the aggregate intention of the system.

Effective management of rural and small-town schools is in the hands of the parish priest, who holds the *ex-officio* position of local inspector.

The absence of trained teachers in the rural school implies that the cultural content is not transmitted in accordance with the system's norms, but rather as a kind of folklore, passed on from primary school to primary school, as ironically described by Reichel-Dolmatoff (1961). Its explanation is the discontinuity of the educative process in traditionally ascriptive societies which Ratinoff (1964) elaborated theoretically. North Santander boasted eleven normal schools, five of which were established as *rural* normal schools, but they belonged to a different system, have application in a distinct social area of the society, and for this reason do not provide the country schools with teachers. The demand for normal schools comes from the townsfolk (shopkeepers, craftsmen, petty officials) who have recently woken up to higher education and who are willing and able to pay the modest fees. The supply is organized by the ecclesiastical system, whose local representatives, the parish priests, are able to secure government subventions for normal schooling, which for purposes of qualification is regarded as the equivalent of secondary schooling. Teaching in rural schools is not compatible with the status acquired by completing normal schooling. The *normalistas* move on towards the larger towns.

Rural teachers are in effect nominated by the parish priest according to his criteria of suitability, which include religious devotion and obedience to his authority. They are likely to be girls from the poorest strata of the town who could not afford to complete a secondary course, or from the peasant families living near enough to the town to attend the five-grade primary school.

#### BRAZIL

The marginality of peasant education is also well exemplified in Brazil. Urban primary schools reaching the fifth grade are administered by the governments of the individual states of the union. Rural schooling is in the hands of the governments of the municipalities, which are financially poor except where they contain a large city. In

the state of Rio de Janeiro, economically above the average, only 7 per cent of the teachers were trained. The schools provide no possibility of proceeding to secondary education, and very few children reach the third grade. Once again, the lines of transmission of the cultural content are broken, since the teachers are nominated by the mayor of the municipality who is able to strengthen his political apparatus by conferring teacherships, however badly paid, on the daughters of the politically influential families which support him.

In contrast, the town primary-school system in the richer states of Brazil enjoys considerable prestige, and caters for both rich and poor. In the following analysis, it will be seen that aggregate intention gives to the school the character of a 'propaedeutic' course preparatory to secondary education, thereby deforming the implied purpose of the institution of universal primary education (Teixeira 1957a and b). In the analysis, which relates to the city of Rio de Janeiro, the significance of the school is compared for middle class and for poor families.

Although there are large numbers of private schools in the city, the standing of the public primary schools is high, and most of them, especially in the 'better' districts, are regarded by middle-class parents as suitable for their children, and up to a certain point as more effective in teaching than the private ones. At the time of the study on which this analysis is based,<sup>11</sup> the teachers had been recruited almost solely from the middle and upper levels of the middle class, and occupied a privileged position. They earned twice the minimum salary of the worker for five half-days' teaching per week during eight months of the year, in addition to various generous benefits, and their salary was nearly always a subsidiary one to a middle-class family budget.

Unanimity was observed among the middle-class parents with regard to their aspirations for their children. Perhaps it was on account of their socially and culturally transitional situation, and the over-growth of government positions which characterized the federal capital, that they sought for their children the status of professionals and the security of civil servants combined. They wanted their sons to become officers or doctors and their daughters to become teachers. These three careers could all be entered by passing the highly competitive examinations for the three great training institutions at secondary level at which education was free. Should their children fail to win places, then a professional career was open only by way of entrance to fee-paying private secondary schools.

The public primary school held an important place in this system

of expectations. The model career for a child of this group was: entry to the kindergarten at five, entry to the first grade at seven, with promotions each year until the fifth grade was reached. Frequently, if a child was found to be lagging and in danger of failing the annual examination, he would be sent to an 'explainer', take private lessons, or attend a private school as well as the public school. On reaching the fifth grade, however, a decision had to be made since it was not regarded as possible to succeed in the competitive examinations solely by the completion of the five-year primary course with excellent marks. Consequently, many children were taken away from school at the beginning of the fifth year or during it and sent to 'cramming courses' where all probable answers to examination questions were learnt by rote. It was this stream of pupils that provided the dynamic of the school and the measure by which it was judged. Since grades were divided into weak and strong streams it was the strong pupils who got the best teachers and the weak ones who had to bear the brunt of changes due to the shortage or absence of teachers. The efforts of the teacher were aided by the parents or the paid explainer. Indeed, such was the deep-seated belief in the rights of the middle-class aspirants to have their security assured by their children becoming civil servants (including teachers) that a political crisis developed yearly at the time of the entrance examinations to the Institute of Education. Rallies, demonstrations, processions, prayers, the lighting of candles, and consultations with spiritualist mediums and cult priests accompanied the protests of the mothers of the girls who failed to gain admittance; they agitated for a drastic increase in the annual allocation of places, sometimes with success.

Thus we may characterize the function of the public primary school in relation to the life-situation and expectations of middle-class families in the following way.

(a) Some of the families, described as established, may be regarded as having arrived in a 'protected area' in which, through their links with the bureaucracy, their influence, property, and professional status, security and comfort were assured. Whether or not they could expect their children to gain free places in the secondary educational institutions was to them a matter of minor importance; they regarded their children as having an inherent right to secondary and higher education and to entry into the government service. For such a family, their child's performance at school was therefore less of a critical struggle, and in any case the family's social equivalence with the

teacher class and its greater familiarity with books made the child's path easier.

(b) The remaining middle-class families were struggling for establishment in a cultural and social situation different from that in which the parents had been brought up. For these parents the child's entry into the 'protected' or 'privileged area' was urgently desired, to ensure the family's future security and status, and partly to affirm their own social achievements.

To the poor parents, in contrast, the school was a benefit which they could expect for their children from the impersonal *patron*, in this case the city government. Though they felt they had a right to schooling for their children, and knew well the practical and prestige value of literacy, they knew that to secure their right might not be easy. Such a parent soon learnt that to get his child admitted to a kindergarten involved him in special expenses and trouble, and in any case admission was regarded as more especially the right of the better-off families. By the age of seven the child had become useful in the home, and if he was the oldest of several he might be difficult to spare.

In any case, since the child would not be permitted to work legally until he was fourteen, there did not appear to be any hurry for him to begin the five-year course. Even if the parents sought to enrol their child at seven, they might have to queue at two or three different schools and fail everywhere to gain admittance, for the scarcity of school places caused tens of thousands of children to be turned away each year, and the poor child, especially if he was dark in complexion, could not compete successfully against a child of 'good background' whose social connections and appearance eased the application for entry.

Thus not only did the poor child in general fail to get the benefit of the kindergarten (which would help to initiate him into the processes of school learning) and enter school late; but he also had great difficulty in keeping up with the stream that expected to go on to secondary education. He got little or no help at home, and was expected to contribute very substantially to the work of the household; moreover, his parents' ambitions did not usually extend to giving him a secondary education, so he lacked incentive. His home was likely to be bereft of reading-matter, crowded, and inconvenient for study. In consequence, his average expectations of passing the annual examinations and being promoted to the next grade could be described as follows: in five years at school he could expect to fail twice, thus

reaching only the third grade during this period. A child of the professional classes, on the other hand, had an even chance of failing once, and on the average made four and a half grades in five years. The great majority of the poor children were faced with the shock of failure at the end of the first year.

Poor parents desired that their children should learn to read, write, and calculate, and in this they were usually satisfied, but their equally strong desire that their children should learn a profession was not satisfied, nor did the school provide formal or informal methods of guiding children, who were not going on to secondary education, towards practical and vocational training institutions.

The primary school, then, though ideologically universal in function, in reality had been distorted to serve the special interests of the rising and established middle class, becoming a means of covering the larger part of the distance to the entrance examinations for the secondary institutions, themselves the gateway to secure posts and prestigious professions. The process of distortion had been achieved by the convergence of the aspirations of the middle-class parents with the value system of the teachers and administrators, and by the preponderance of these in the aggregate intention of the system. For the children of the poor the school opened the way for their integration into the ranks of the unskilled workers of the city, and gave them the opportunity of becoming skilled workers only in those occupations which do not require long formal training. The possibilities of their obtaining efficient secondary education were remote, but they were likely to expect a greater share of material rewards in return for their labour than their parents had done.

#### CONCLUSION

The disarray and ineffectiveness of primary education in Latin America are not accidental and are susceptible of sociological analysis. In this paper, attention has been drawn to one aspect of it. According to the model used, we can assert that there is a deficiency of operative power in the agent (government) and in the larger sector of the object ('Indians', peasants, the 'poor', the popular classes, etc.), which detracts from instrumentality and opens the way to processes of modification and transformation that can be generalized under two headings, namely 'institutional appropriation' and 'class appropriation'.

*Institutional Appropriation*

The weakness of primary education may be seen in terms of its institutional appropriation by a system that does not share its purposes. An example of this situation was provided by the municipal school system in rural Brazil. The special role of the municipality in the larger Brazilian political structure<sup>12</sup> makes this situation predictable. Current changes in this structure, and especially the weakening of the municipality and the transfer of power to the growing regional industrial centres, should be watched for the possibilities of establishing some autonomous system of rural education with a larger regional base.

Institutional appropriation by the ecclesiastical system in Colombia is equally rooted in the essentials of the social structure, and legitimized by a concordat with the Holy See.<sup>13</sup> The role of the *ecclesia* in the national power system must be looked at as a function of the unique vertical bi-party system, in which political allegiance is ascribed by birth rather than chosen.

In post-revolutionary Bolivia too there was a veering away of the education system from the course marked out for it by policy-makers and administrators, partly through institutional appropriation at the hands of the new political system. After the excision of the proprietors the rural grass-roots of the power of the revolutionary government consisted of clearly defined and compact groups of estate peasants, each organized as a union with its 'general', as the elected secretary-generals of the unions came to be called. The ruling party (National Revolutionary Movement or MNR), whose agents had been the chief organizers of the unions, built on these roots a five-tier union hierarchy out of elements loyal to the party. The party and union hierarchies were able to take over the management of local affairs partly by occupation of local and provincial government and judiciary roles and partly by direct action by their own members. During the first years of the régime, following the disbanding of the national army, the peasantry organized in the union structure exercised considerable power.

The system which took shape was characterized by *caciquismo*, a typical structural condition where hierarchically ranked vertical organizations purporting to work according to bureaucratic rules are introduced but the conditions for their proper performance do not exist. Although the pre-emption of powers by the cacique leads to the

suspension of many of the rules of the institution, he must nevertheless satisfy the needs of some of those on whose behalf the institution exists. At the level of the landgroup, leadership exercised by the elected 'general' operated in a peculiarly democratic-traditional manner, but, above this level, the national leaders of the union organization were recruited by the elites of the official party and the administration, and they in their turn nominated the intermediate leadership, or exerted pressures in favour of their candidates. It was these levels that could be described as operating according to the cacique system.

The role of cacique rests upon certain implicit compacts defining his relations with those above him and those below him. Those above may be referred to as the 'providers', that is to say, those who make decisions affecting the allocation of national resources, of 'facilities' in the widest sense, whether by legislation, administrative decision, nominations to office, etc. To his particular friends and allies among the providers the cacique owes the support of his realm, especially the vote of its members inside the union and the party and the organs of local and national government, and the contingent for the march or demonstration and the armed bands. But support must imply consent to their policies except where these might damage the position of the cacique himself or the benefits which should accrue to his realm. In return, he will receive the 'franchise' of his own realm, that is to say, his friends will see to it that his operations in his own territory are as far as possible not interfered with. He will also receive access rights to facilities, a share in the pork-barrel, and he may expect to get prior attention for the solicitations and petitions of the landgroups, citizens' committees, and so on, within his realm—the fullness of all these benefits will depend on the weight of the support of his following and on his own bargaining position.

To his own rank and file, organized in landgroups with their 'generals', he provides or seems to provide a means of obtaining from the government the services and facilities they require in connection with local needs, such as a teacher for the school, roads and bridges, the legislation of titles, help in resolving a boundary dispute, etc. These may be secured from regional authorities, but in special cases he may short-circuit bureaucratic channels and go right to the top for a decision. He is also expected to keep up a continuous defence of the new rights and dignity of the members of the formerly subjected testament. In return for this, he expects and obtains the obedience of

the general in extra-landgroup questions while refraining from interfering in intra-landgroup concerns. He can, of course, expect the same kind of political support for himself and his friends as already enumerated. Once he loses his friends in the government elite he can no longer serve the peasants, who will be obliged to transfer their patronage, if not their loyalty, to a new cacique, able to reopen the circuits of communication and supply with the providers.

Indeed, when the governing elite holds military power and the facilities required by the peasants, the compact sustaining caciquism may be described in the following simple terms: political compliance is offered to those above and required of those below, in exchange for facilities and franchise received from above and passed on, in reduced scale, to those below.

The benefits sought by the peasants were, in the first place, the successful completion of the complicated legal process by which ownership of lands was conferred upon the individual peasant families; and, in the second place, the concession of funds and facilities to build a school, equip it, and get a teacher appointed. Thus transactional activity was intense and drawn out over the years, and led inevitably to sharp competition between localities, and similarly, on account of the ill-defined power-boundaries, to conflict between caciques and their followings. But schools were established, teachers were appointed, new channels of communication were opened with the larger society, many young people learnt Spanish, and some were seen to swim out beyond the old estamental frontiers and to take their place in the citizens' world.

However, the peasants were not in a position to see to it that effective schooling really took place, nor was the cacique system an apt instrument for underpinning one or another educational policy. Just as it favoured the peasants in meeting their gross demands for help in setting up the school and acquiring their titles to land, so the caciques tended to compact with the teachers and politically vociferous upward-mobiles in regard to the direction the schools should take.

#### *Class Appropriation*

The examples of class appropriation from Colombia, Ecuador, and Bolivia belong to a distinct socio-historical moment. Here we are dealing not with a thrusting professional and commercial middle class of the city of Rio de Janeiro but with a distinct social stratum which we

shall call 'townsfolk' (*vecinos*, *pueblanos*, *mestizos*, etc.). In order to see the picture clearly from this side of the Atlantic, we must start by contrasting the social morphology that the manorial system gave to north-west Europe with the prevailing pattern in the areas discussed and in most of Hispanic South America and a large part of Middle America. The rural village on the European side is occupationally differentiated, hierarchical, and nucleated, whereas the most common pattern in our areas is one of clearly defined but dispersed landgroups, in which *all* families are tillers of the soil, living on their individual plots; thus the peasants live in rustic isolation, and possibly behind an estamental curtain as well, while the nexus function is in the hands of the families living at the focal centre of a collection of landgroups—the *pueblo*.

The townsfolk are very conscious of their urbanity in relation to the peasants, even though they may feel rustic in the stylish city. They include petty government officials (including those of the local parish or municipal system), clergy, perhaps some absentee proprietors, cattle-dealers, shopkeepers and buyers of agricultural products who are usually moneylenders as well, packtrain- and lorry-drivers, teachers, craftsmen, labourers, and purveyors of other services. They owe their situation to their nexus role between peasant and society, and their livelihood to the peasants' surpluses and to exiguous government salaries. Where peasants are called *Indios* they are known as *mestizos*. They constitute the middle sectors of the old landed society, patchily penetrated by commercial and industrial capitalism, and are a sort of *petit bourgeois* of the agrarian structure in all areas of smallholding peasantry (whether allodial, communal, or cash-tenant) since they provide the articulation between the discrete landgroups and the industrial-political-commercial centres. They are, of course, a traditionally important class, and have carried some political weight since Independence. They have enjoyed routine primary schooling since the nineteenth century. Owing to their situation, communications circuits and institutional and commercial penetration of the peasantry must proceed via the *pueblo*, so the sudden expansion of rural education and normal schools during the last thirty years has come in time to give them new career opportunities just when improved transport was endangering their key role in local commerce.

As in Colombia and Ecuador, in Bolivia it is this group that has moved into post-revolutionary rural education, even though its participation in the revolution was slight. We have already noted the tenfold

growth of normal schools in Bolivia. Sanginés's sample (1968: 162-4) reflects the make-up of the rural normalists fifteen years after the revolution, even though it cannot claim to be adequately representative. Of the 195 normalists and trainees interviewed, thirty-nine gave landgroups as their place of birth and were therefore peasants and ex-members of the 'Indian' estament. (The sharpness of the estamental divide is shown by the fact that thirty-nine also gave their father's occupation as agriculture.) Of these, thirty-five came from communities of smallholders (in many of which primary schools had been springing up during the fifteen years prior to the revolution) and only four were from former estates and therefore beneficiaries of the land reform. Eighty-six were born in *pueblos*, and if we add to these the two born in villages (*aldeas*), the five from capitals of cantons, and the eleven from provincial capitals, we reach 53 per cent of the sample and the great majority of these were products of the milieu we have been describing. Of the remaining fifty-two respondents, forty-nine were born in cities and three in mining towns. As regards the social aspirations of the whole sample, in answer to the question: 'If you could start again, what profession would you choose?'—of the 165 who answered, eighty-two said that they would be teachers, seventy-two said that they would choose one of the professions, five said trade and crafts, and only four chose agriculture. And in answer to the question about what occupation they would like their children to have, of 136 who had children, 100 gave the professions (especially medicine and engineering), thirty-one gave teaching, three gave trade and crafts, and two gave agriculture.

To sum up, then, we consider that it is characteristic of most of Latin America at the present stage that rural schooling—and with it much of the welfare and development programmes, as well as political mobilization—is liable to be appropriated and deformed in the interests of the *arriviste* townsfolk strata, to whose ranks are added the emergent peasant-entrepreneurs-of-services; and that this tends to negate its possible benefits for the poor peasants. It becomes a means of escape for the few from the servitude of rudimentary agricultural production, but to the peasant whose level of resources and facilities is very low it offers little in the way of relief to his dilemma. In a sense, then, schooling may contribute to increased social differentiation.

It would be useful to pose a further question of a more general nature in the context of the agrarian structures we are discussing. Class and

institutional appropriation take place as a result of the relative failure of education systems to turn policies into programmes and to transmit these down the line to the teaching/learning point. There is a failure to maintain the autonomy of the institution and the fulfilment of norms. What are the structural and cultural traits of these *kinds of society* that make for difficulty in building and putting to work multi-tiered bureaucracies and giving greater autonomy to education systems? Is it just that they are new, and must struggle for floor space, for the internalization of routines, and the integration of bureaucratic habits in cultural expectations and socialization? Or is it that, at this level of growth, we still find a low level of division of labour and specialization, and hence a low level of role specificity, so that the individual in a bureaucratic position, such as a teacher, is encumbered by insoluble role conflict? Or is there what we might call a 'vertical bias' inherent in interpersonal relations (as seen from the point of view of a society with democratic experience) which stands in the way of the formation of professional solidarities providing reference groups in which at least some of the criteria of approval involve professional competence and integrity? (By vertical bias in interpersonal relations is meant a situation in which the imminence of arbitrary power exercised from above makes it difficult to maintain peer alliances, or at least makes it necessary to base them on a relationship to a common superordinated figure.) Is there a prevailing particularism and personalism that makes the transmission of norms, rules, and ideological content down through a chain of command a precarious pretension, in the same way that ideological or policy consistency cannot be expected from a system of *caciquismo*?

Unfortunately, sociologists are not getting very near to the answers to questions like these, perhaps because they are not using the right tools.

## Notes

1 This paper includes material already published in *Transactions of the VIth World Congress of Sociology* (Geneva 1967) under the title 'The Instrumentality of Education Systems'.

2 Articles 26 and 27 include the following:

'Toda persona tiene derecho a la educación. La educación debe ser gratuita, al menos en lo concierniente a la instrucción elemental y funda-

- amental. La instrucción elemental será obligatoria. La instrucción técnica y profesional habrá de ser generalizada; el acceso a los estudios superiores será igual para todos, en función de los méritos respectivos.'
- 3 For a valuable attempt to construct an analytical model with reference to school systems in the process of modernization see Ratinoff (1964).
- 4 The word 'resultant' is used here to recall the diagonal in the parallelogram of forces.
- 5 This paragraph arises from studies made in Otavalo, Ecuador, in 1960, when I was working with the Main Project No. 1 of Unesco.
- 6 Characteristics of Ecuadorean social structure were carefully analysed by Salz (1955). Salz talks about 'estate-like' relations. I am using 'estament' as an English version of the Spanish word *estamento*. Unfortunately the word 'estate' already means 'landed property' and so in these contexts an alternative must be found. This has its advantage, since estament can be used specifically for a Spanish colonial and post-colonial structure. For development of the term, see below.
- 7 The internationally sponsored normal school near Otavalo manifested an acute contradiction between its originating purpose and the sectorial intention of the students. Set down in a heavily populated zone of Quechua-speaking 'Indian' peasants, it was committed to seek solutions to the problems of educating this sector. Yet both students and staff were united in efforts to become a model educational centre for the urban 'whites', i.e. 'townsfolk'. Students went on strike rather than accept the substitution of the teaching of Quechua for the teaching of French.
- 8 I had an opportunity to become familiar with the Bolivian scene as a result of an invitation from Mr Thomas Carroll to act as consultant to the study being carried out there by the Interamerican Committee for Agricultural Development. In addition, four works by various authors have been particularly useful: Comitas (1968); Dandler-Hanhart (1967); Pérez (1963); Sanginés Uriarte (1968).
- 9 The word *cholo* is sometimes used in Bolivia and Peru to denote a sector of the village or town population formed originally by the arrival of members of the peasant estament who come to form a part of the urban class system yet retain select peasant ethnic characteristics and suffer certain social handicaps.
- 10 An uncompromising treatment of the problems arising from the contractual inferiority of the peasants, especially in relation to community development, is given in Frank (1965). See also Pearse, 'Agrarian Change Trends in Latin America'. (1966).
- 11 Study of a public primary school and its relations with its social environment in Rio de Janeiro, done by the author, with Josildeth da Silva Gomes, under the auspices of the Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais, 1958-9.

- 12 A penetrating analysis, now needing to be brought up to date, of the role of the municipality in the traditional Brazilian political system is Leal (1948).
- 13 See Haddox (1962) and Borda (1962). The problem of the continuance of mission schools raises special difficulties on account of the extra-national basis of the missions. For an interesting case of 'institutional subversion' see Friede (1963).

## *References*

- BORDA, ORLANDO FALS. 1962. La Educación en Colombia: Bases para su Interpretación Sociológica. *Monografías Sociológicas* 11. Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Facultad de Sociología, Bogotá.
- COMITAS, LAMBROS. 1968. *Education and Stratification in Contemporary Bolivia*. La Paz.
- DANDLER-HANHART, JORGE. 1967. Local Group, Community and Nation. University of Wisconsin. (Mimeo.)
- FRANK, ANDREW G. 1965. La Participación Popular en lo Relativo a Algunos Objetivos Económicos Rurales. Mimeographed by CEPAL for UNICEF Regional Conference on Childhood and Youth in National Development, Santiago, 1965, but not distributed.
- FRIEDE, JUAN. 1963. Problemas Sociales de los Aruacos: Tierras, Gobierno, Misiones. *Monografías Sociológicas* 16, December. Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Facultad de Sociología, Bogotá.
- HADDOX, BENJAMIN EDWARD. 1962. *A Sociological Study of the Institution of Religion in Colombia*. University of Florida, June.
- INSTITUTO PILOTO DE EDUCACIÓN RURAL. 1960. Escuela Normal Asociada al Proyecto Principal No. 1, *Investigación Educativa en Norté de Santander*, 1959-60. Pamplona, Colombia: Departamento Norté de Santander, Mineducación/Unesco.
- LEAL, VICTOR NUNES. 1948. *Coronelismo, Enxada e Voto: o Municipio e o Regime Representativo no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Revista Forense.
- PEARSE, ANDREW. 1966. Agrarian Change Trends in Latin America. *Latin American Research Review* 1 (3). University of Texas.
- PÉREZ, ELIZARDO. 1963. *Warisata*. La Paz.
- RATINOFF, LUIS. 1964. Problemas Estructurales de los Sistemas Nacionales de Educación, Esbozo de una Tipología Analítica. Santiago: Instituto Latinoamericano de Planificación Económica y Social. (Mimeo.)
- REICHEL-DOLMATOFF, G. & REICHEL-DOLMATOFF, A. 1961. *The People of Aritama*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- SALZ, BEATE. 1955. *The Human Element in Industrialization: A Hypothetical Case Study of Ecuadorean Indians*. Menasha, Wisconsin: American Anthropological Association.
- SANGUINÉS URIARTE, MARCELO. 1968. *Educación Rural y Desarrollo en Bolivia*. La Paz: Editorial Don Bosco.
- TEIXEIRA, ANISIO. 1957a. *Educação não é Privilégio*. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora.
- . 1957b. A Escola Brasileira e a Estabilidade Social. Rio de Janeiro. (Mimeo.)
- WOLFE, MARSHALL. 1964. Has Enough Attention been paid to Social and Political Factors in Education Planning? CEPAL paper for seminar on Problems and Strategies of Educational Planning in Latin America, Paris, April-May. (Mimeo.)

© Andrew Pearse 1973

BRYAN ROBERTS

## *Education, Urbanization, and Social Change<sup>1</sup>*

---

Because of its intuitive importance, its visibility, and, one suspects, its accessibility to calculation, formal education has become one of the most studied aspects of social and economic development. The extensive literature has, however, mainly treated education as external to the process of social change in developing countries, as a relatively independent component of development which can be organized to provide the levels of training and the values required by the model of political and economic development that is being utilized (Anderson & Bowman 1965).

Reported deviations from the economic or planning model of what is desirable are generally treated as dysfunctions that result from inadequate planning and inadequate resources. This paper provides a somewhat different focus by emphasizing that formal education is itself a social product whose form is determined by the sequence of social change now occurring in many developing countries. In particular, my aim is to show that the development of education is a response to the social as well as the economic strategies of people experiencing a certain type of social change and that these strategies are often in direct or indirect conflict with rational economic planning.

My argument is based on an analysis of current social changes in Latin America, notably the rapid urbanization of the region. This urbanization is relatively unplanned and the analysis of its influence on the form and content of education will be used to demonstrate the difficulty of planning large-scale educational changes without securing changes in the social structure as a whole. The analysis proceeds by examining three aspects of contemporary Latin American urbanization and their relation to educational change. These are: (1) rapid urban growth, (2) the increasing association of education with occupation, and (3) differences in urban economic organization and individual's perception of their urban social environment.

## URBANIZATION AND EDUCATION

The correlation between urbanization—the proportion of people living in urban as against rural areas—and education is a high one the world over. Schnore (1961) reports a worldwide rank-order correlation between urbanization and literacy of 0·73 for the period 1950 to 1955. The significance of this correlation, however, is different in developing countries from what it is in the more developed countries. In more developed countries, the increase of educational levels accompanies the increasing technological sophistication of the society. In both urban and rural areas of such societies, obtaining education has a relatively close relationship with the need for increased and more specialized training and knowledge in different occupations. In contrast, the rise in educational levels in developing countries is rarely accompanied by any demand of their economies for more sophisticated job skills, and, indeed, the 'over-education' of the population is becoming as much commented upon as its under-education. Economic underdevelopment and slow rates of economic growth thus mean that any rises in educational levels are produced by the greater efficiency of urban centres in educating their populations and are a phenomenon of urban rather than economic development.

Urban populations in towns and cities of widely different degrees of economic sophistication show higher levels of education than does the non-urban population of Latin America (Balan 1968; Herrick 1965). Taking Guatemala as an example, even when the capital—the country's only metropolitan centre—is excluded from analysis, a high rank-order correlation of 0·84 exists between the degree of urbanization in administrative departments and the percentage of their population with formal education (*Censo de Población, 1964, 1966*). An examination of the data indicates that this correlation is almost entirely produced by the higher educational levels of people living in urban places whose modal size is approximately 2 000 inhabitants and most of which have economies with low levels of technical sophistication.

There are, indeed, reasons for suggesting that, irrespective of the level of economic development, urban organization is conducive to formal education. Urban population concentration makes possible economies in educating large numbers of children. More significantly, even relatively unskilled urban occupations have less use for child labour than have agricultural occupations. Furthermore, urban living,

even in small towns, makes it less easy to supervise a growing child when both parents may work away from the house, when space is at a premium, and when kin are not as likely to be resident close by as they are in agricultural settlements. Under these conditions formal schooling becomes significant as an instrument for controlling children as well as for educating them.

Urban growth is thus likely to be a powerful and independent influence in raising levels of formal education. If this proposition is correct then the rate of educational expansion in Latin America should vary directly with the rate of urban growth in each country, irrespective of educational planning policies or levels of national economic development. This proposition is borne out, to a certain extent, by a moderate rank-order correlation of 0·57 between the expansion of primary education in mainland Latin American countries and the rate of urban growth in these countries.<sup>2</sup> For example, Honduras, one of the poorest and politically most backward Latin American countries, but having the highest rate of urban growth in the region from 1950 to 1961, reports the second highest rate of primary education expansion from 1957 to 1962. By 1962, Honduras was educating a higher percentage of the primary-school age-group than more prosperous countries such as Nicaragua and Colombia.

There is, then, evidence that the current rise in educational levels in Latin America is more an unplanned product of urban growth than a product of planned educational and economic change. The remaining sections of the paper explore the implications of this argument and extend it to the different forms of urban economic growth found in the region.

#### THE IMPLICATIONS OF RAPID URBAN GROWTH

The argument in this section is that for those participating in rapid urban growth and development, formal education takes on a social significance that often interferes with the organization of education for economic goals. This process occurs when a rapid and unplanned growth coincides, as it does in most of Latin America and in many other developing countries, with the existence of some educational differentiation among the population. Under these conditions education gains an unintended role as an available and visible means of social differentiation. The process I am referring to is one whereby

formal education becomes significant as a credential in a social context where formal credentials become increasingly important in categorizing a population (Balan 1968). The rapid growth of urban places entails the disruption of the established means of evaluating people and allocating them to their respective social positions. In a relatively small and stable town, an individual's social position or the occupation he enters depends on the reputation of his family, on his friends, or on a previous employer. The skills he learns are important, but their importance is conditioned by these relationships.

With the rapid expansion of an urban population, a prospective employer or client is less likely to know details of an individual's family background, to know a previous employer, or to know the individual by reputation. In these conditions, it is likely that people come to seek additional and more formal ways of identifying others—their educational credentials being one of these. Though these credentials may bear some relation to the performance of the task at hand, the important point is that the content of education is less significant than is the level or type of education as a means of social and occupational selection. A similar process has been and is being reported for more developed countries also, where educational qualifications for jobs have constantly risen without any necessary relation to more effective job performance (Anderson 1961). In rapidly growing cities in developing countries, personal relationships are likely to retain their significance as one of the main means whereby individuals secure jobs and, in emergency, aid, and generally participate in urban life; but education becomes a credential that is required in addition to, though not in place of, such relationships.

Since city-ward migration in Latin America is drawn from all the social strata of villages and smaller towns, the impact of increasing numbers is felt by all urban strata. Indeed, census evidence suggests that both in respect to the rural occupational structure and in respect to the urban employment situation there is a disproportionate city-ward migration of white-collar occupational groups, intensifying the competition for available white-collar jobs (Herrick 1965).<sup>3</sup> It is therefore likely that rapid urban growth intensifies competition for available urban jobs and social benefits and makes educational credentials an increasingly significant means of allocating them.

This process can be illustrated by data from a study of low-income families in Guatemala City.<sup>4</sup> These data are especially significant for the argument since not only should the process described above be

less likely to occur among the lowest income and educational groups, but Guatemala is a country where educational levels are among the lowest in the region. From a sample of 252 low-income families, two age-cohorts were isolated, one born between 1905 and 1926 and the other born between 1927 and 1948. If we compare the occupations of the first group in 1946 with those of the second group in 1968, we will, in effect, be comparing the occupations of two groups of similar age-span (20-41), but at different historical periods. The period from 1946 to 1968 is the period of the rapid urban growth of Guatemala City. In 1946 the city was approximately a third of its present size and descriptions by the city-born of their entry into jobs, at this time and before, stress the importance of family and neighbourhood relationships in obtaining the job. Occupations are classified into two broad categories. One category is composed of jobs in relatively stable industrial and transport enterprises and the other category is composed of jobs in more unstable occupations such as trade and construction, and in various service occupations such as watchman, cleaner, waiter. The latter category is composed of jobs that are easier to obtain than those in the first category and are usually economically less rewarding.

In 1946, the variable that is decisive in determining whether these low-income workers are employed in established urban employment as against the more 'marginal' employment is whether they are migrants or city-born (*see Table I*). Literacy also appears to influence employment; but its effect is strongest among the city-reared.

TABLE I  
*Occupations of 1905-1926 cohort in 1946 (percentages)*

	Born or reared in city		Migrant		Total (migrant status)		Total (literacy)	
	Literate	Illit- erate	Literate	Illit- erate	City- born	Migrant	Literate	Illit- erate
Industrial activities (factories, workshops, offices, transport)	75	40	27	37	67	33	56	37
Self- employment, trade, services, construction	25	60	73	63	33	67	44	63
Total number	16	5	11	16	21	27	27	21

In 1968, however, migrant status is not significant in discriminating the occupations of the sample, but literacy is (*Table 2*). Thus, in the earlier period, an individual's employment is heavily influenced by a factor—migrant status—that reflects the extent to which the individual is likely to have the urban relationships that make him known to established city enterprises, whereas, in the second period, such reputational characteristics are less important than his education.

TABLE 2  
*Occupations of 1927-1948 cohort in 1968 (percentages)*

	Born or reared in city		Migrant		Total (migrant status)		Total (literacy)	
	Literate	Illi- terate	Literate	Illi- terate	City- born	migrant	Literate	Illi- terate
Industrial activities (factories, workshops, offices, transport)	56	17	46	33	43	41	52	25
Self- employment, trade, services, construction	44	83	54	67	57	59	48	75
Total number	36	18	26	21	54	47	62	39

The argument that rapid urban growth makes education important as a credential takes on added significance because it is also at this stage of urban development that the visible importance of education in determining an individual's occupational position is likely to be highest. Since in the first stages of urban growth education has a relatively sparse distribution in the population, it becomes a highly discriminating credential. Typically, an urban occupational structure has a greater variety of jobs and a finer grading between jobs than has a non-urban occupational structure. Therefore educational differences in a city are more likely to be closely associated with occupational differences than would be the case in the countryside. It is in this sense that education is more likely to be an agent of occupational and concomitant social stratification in the city than in the countryside.

In contrast, at more advanced stages of development when education is more generally and evenly spread, educational qualifications may be essential for obtaining a job, but since they are more widely held

they are less likely to discriminate between job applicants. Thus it is at the middle stage of development that education is most likely to appear to interested social groups as the crucial key to maintaining or improving family status.

There are no data that prove this hypothesized trend for any one country; but correlations of education and occupation extracted from cities and countries at different stages of development provide suggestive evidence on this count. Folger & Nam (1967: 169) have calculated the correlation (*gamma*) for education and occupation in the United States and show that the association is moderate but declining. In 1940 it was 0·52, in 1950, 0·50, and in 1960, 0·39. In contrast, there is evidence that the association of education and occupation is higher in Latin American cities than in the United States. For example, in a study of occupational mobility in Montevideo, Uruguay, the *gamma* correlation coefficient of occupation and education was 0·62 for heads of family and 0·50 for their fathers (Solari *et al.* 1967: 47). Comparison of US figures and the two generations in Montevideo suggests that the association of education and occupation does in fact approximate an inverted U-shaped curve, as suggested earlier.

Further evidence is provided by a survey of lifetime occupational mobility in Monterrey, Mexico (Browning 1967), which used statistical techniques similar to those used by Blau & Duncan (1967) in their study of occupational mobility in the United States. The association between education and first occupation is higher in Monterrey than in the United States, but comparisons of different age-cohorts in Monterrey show that the correlation is declining over time in Monterrey also. Despite the high correlations between education and occupation, occupation in Latin American cities is also highly correlated with the respondent's family background (usually measured by father's occupation and education). Thus in the Monterrey study not only was education more closely related to occupation than in the United States, but sons were also more likely to follow in their fathers' occupation: the comparable correlation coefficients are 0·56 for Monterrey, 0·41 for the whole of the United States, and 0·30 for people of non-farm background in Chicago (Balan 1968). The influence of parental background in Monterrey does not occur directly, but through the higher levels of education that children from higher-status homes secure. This association of parental status and education is further evidence for suggesting that, in urban conditions in Latin

America, education becomes the chief means by which families secure an equivalent position for their children.

The occupational significance of education is not only changing over time, but has a different significance for the different social groups involved in rapid urbanization. Solari and his colleagues (1967: 49–60) indicate that education is more closely associated with occupation among those at the middling occupational levels than among those at either the lower or the highest levels. Also, they show that education and occupation are more highly associated among inhabitants of Montevideo born in other cities in Uruguay than among native-born Montevideans or among those inhabitants born in the rural areas of the country.

Education is thus the credential that differentiates newly arrived groups aspiring to white-collar jobs in the expanding tertiary sector of the economy. It is therefore likely that, during the course of urban development in Latin America, education takes on a crucial and visible social significance that it did not have in earlier stages of development and does not have in countries with more developed social structures. Education is likely, then, to become a focus of the special attention of social groups—urban white-collar groups—who are concerned to maintain or improve their status and who have the resources to devote to education. Conversely, those groups, such as low-income manual workers, who do not have the resources to devote to education are, under these conditions, likely to view education as one of the chief mechanisms by which they are excluded from full social as well as economic participation in their society.

We are now in a position to examine directly the impact on education of its social significance for urban white-collar occupational groups. An illustration is provided by data on private education in Latin America (Lourie 1965: Statistical Annex, Table 2). Private education, usually Catholic, is a traditional means whereby middle and upper classes educate their children; the resources of these schools and the quality of education are usually superior to those of state schools. For example, in 1963 in Guatemala, public secondary schools, which educate slightly more children than do private secondary schools, had a total of 564 classrooms in comparison with the 1 306 classrooms of private secondary schools; in public primary education there were thirty-seven pupils to one teacher; in the private sector the ratio was twenty pupils to one teacher (Ministerio de Educación 1964).

If we take the percentage of children in secondary education who are in private schools in the different Latin American countries we have, in effect, an indicator of the interest of the urban middle- and higher-income groups in special education for their children. Private education at the secondary level is mostly concentrated in the large urban centres and it also attracts children of wealthier provincial families. The percentage of children in secondary education who are in private schools is highest in those countries in the middle of the Latin American development spectrum (see *Table 3*). Thus, countries

TABLE 3  
*Percentages of children in secondary education  
in private and public schools*

<i>Latin American country<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>Enrolled in private secondary school</i>	<i>Enrolled in public secondary school</i>
Those in lowest third of <i>per capita</i> income <i>circa 1963</i> (N = 3 countries)	32	68
Those in middle third of <i>per capita</i> income (N = 5 countries)	45	55
Those in highest third of <i>per capita</i> income (N = 5 countries)	32	68

Source: Lourie (1965: 36, Table 2, adapted).

<sup>a</sup> Data are not available in the three *per capita* divisions for all countries.

that have not yet started their development and those that are reasonably highly developed have a lower proportion of secondary school children in private education than have those in the middle stages of development. For the most developed countries this trend is produced mainly by the increasing numbers of an age-group who enrol in secondary school and who enter public secondary education, though in one of the most developed Latin American countries, Uruguay, the absolute numbers of an age-group enrolled in private education are lower than are those in the less developed countries.

What is significant, however, is that it is private education that is the first to expand with development. This can be directly documented for Guatemala where the percentage of secondary school children

enrolled in private education has increased every year since 1950 (Ministerio de Educación 1964). In 1950, approximately 30 per cent of children in secondary school were enrolled in private schools. By 1964 enrolment in secondary education had tripled, but the growth of private education was faster than that of the public sector and constituted 50 per cent of the total enrolment. The figure of 30 per cent in private education in 1950 is similar to that of the countries in the lowest third of *per capita* income in *Table 3* and indeed, in 1950, Guatemala's *per capita* income would have placed the country in that lowest third. By 1964 Guatemala was in the middle third of Latin American countries by *per capita* income.

A similar process has been reported by Colin Lacey in his study of an industrial town in northern England (Lacey 1970). He reports that the non-professional white-collar occupational groups took a greater proportionate interest in grammar-school education after World War II than before it. Previously these groups had relied on inheritance and personal relationships to ensure the status of their children, but the increasing association between educational qualifications and occupation that was taking place in the northern town made grammar-school education a more important avenue to occupational status.

When formal education is regarded as crucial to the maintenance of social status, the interest of urban white-collar groups is likely to be in preserving a form of education that guarantees that status. They are not likely to favour experimentation aimed at opening education, especially at secondary and university level, to broader participation. Thus the social significance of education enables us to understand some of the economically dysfunctional aspects of secondary and higher education in Latin America and elsewhere (Foster 1965). In almost all Latin American countries, secondary education is, in terms of the projected economic needs of the countries, disproportionately centred on traditional academic education strongly emphasizing the humanities (Lourie 1965: 30-2). This academic education is mainly concentrated in private schools and is the normal preparation for university entrance. It thus effectively restricts such entrance to children of middle- and upper-income families and serves as a 'bottleneck' to the rapid expansion of higher education. The prestige of traditional academic education interferes with the development of vocational education both at the secondary and at the university level. At the university level this phenomenon has often been commented upon; it results in a heavy bias towards such subjects as the human-

ties and law. In the National University of Guatemala, for example, twenty-four graduates in agronomy were produced in the years 1950 to 1963 as compared with 587 in law and the humanities (*Boletin Estadístico Universitario* 1964).

In these conditions, low-income families are conscious of the social significance of education. This was evident in my fieldwork in two low-income areas of Guatemala. In the course of this work I frequently accompanied community leaders and other neighbours to private schools to seek charity for betterment projects. My companions often remarked on the affluence of parents who could afford to send their children to private schools, and identified such an education with obtaining good jobs. When pressed about their own educational plans for their children they would remark that primary education was enough for them since higher levels of education were for rich people and that, besides, people with such education formed groups of their own and did not interact with people like themselves. To put their words in another form, it was evident that, to these low-income parents, education beyond primary level was significant as performing a social rather than an occupational role. It is this perception of the role of education that constitutes an effective barrier to the participation of low-income people even in vocational secondary education.

The conclusion of this section is thus somewhat pessimistic. Since education becomes an instrument of social stratification in conditions of rapid urban growth, it is evident that there are considerable difficulties in expanding the educational system to meet the requirements of a desired economic or social development policy. In the next section this argument is refined by taking into account differences in urban organization and relating these to possible strategies of educational development.

#### URBAN ORGANIZATION

In analysing differences in urban organization in Latin America and their implications for education, the factors to be considered are similar to those that would be considered in an analysis of a developed country such as Britain. For example, among factors that have been found to be relevant in differentiating educational attainment in Latin America are: income levels, the quality of educational facilities, community of origin, number of siblings, parental education, parental aspirations, parental perceptions of the utility of education for jobs,

and friendship and kinship networks that provide models of educational attainment (Balan 1968: Chs. 4 and 7). Urban environments in Latin America are likely to differ in the extent to which they contain these and other factors conducive to educational attainment. Some cities, for instance, have higher levels of income than others, have different occupational structures and are differently affected by population growth and migration (Davis & Golden 1963). Thus, in contrast to the earlier section, the argument now needs to be refined to differentiate the impact of urbanization on education in Latin America.

These considerations are not intended to conflict with the earlier emphasis on the significance of education for social stratification. The basic argument in this section is that the factors in urban environment that are most likely to promote rapid educational development among all urban social groups are those that change the existing relations of these groups to each other and to the distribution of power and resources in the society. Indeed, the expansion of education among white-collar groups in Latin America implies certain changes in the relation of such groups to the economic and social structure. It has the further implication that, even within the amorphous category of white-collar worker, there are subgroups that are differentiated by their ability and willingness to participate in educational expansion, such, for example, as rural versus urban groups, or those linked to traditional industries versus those linked to modern industries. The problem, then, in this section is to isolate those aspects of urban growth in Latin America that change the relationships of social categories to each other and to available resources.

The significance of this emphasis can be illustrated by some comments on the results of an analysis of educational attainment among the sample of Guatemalan low-income families.<sup>5</sup> This analysis showed that differentiating factors such as those mentioned at the beginning of the section did have some relation to differences in children's educational attainment, even though the sample consisted of extremely poor families, half of whom lived in a shanty town. Yet, although these differences were important in affecting the basic education of the children, such as their enrolment or their performance in the first grades of primary school, hardly any children reached secondary school education.

Thus, when we discuss differences in educational attainment in Latin America we are usually describing a process of stages whereby different social groups gradually increase their participation in educa-

tion. It is not a question of low-income families getting their children into secondary school or university but a question of getting them to complete primary school. For these reasons, factors such as income and educational facilities that are commonly stressed in planning for educational development often have little visible effect on raising educational levels. This was the case among the Guatemalan sample since free public education and the shortage of alternative employment before age fourteen make education feasible for most low-income groups. Similarly, at primary-school level, school facilities are present, if inadequate, and the problem is to persuade children to stay on in them.

The factor that is stressed here as changing the orientations and social positions of different groups is the organization of work. The important issue is whether a job requires educational skills or makes apparent the utility and attainability of education. This is most likely to be determined by the organizational context of a job. For example, in a large-scale industrial enterprise an individual worker has to interact with others in a relatively formal environment requiring literate skills and, often, technical skills. In addition, a more organized work environment implies higher levels of job security and the capacity to organize with others to improve one's position *vis-à-vis* other social groups.

This process can be illustrated by looking again at the sample of 252 Guatemalan low-income families. Among this sample the educational levels of the children vary very little with the father's job category. They do, however, vary according to the organizational component of the job. Thus the children with the highest levels of education are those whose fathers work in large-scale enterprises, and the children with the least education are those whose fathers either work independently or are isolated in their employment (typically, watchmen). The range is from the 21 per cent of children who complete primary school in the last two categories to the 35 per cent who complete school in the first category. The workers in large enterprises have more stable jobs, make less demands on their children's time, and are more involved in voluntary associations designed to better their group interests. Also, in conversations it was typically workers from the large enterprises who talked most about the relevance of education to their jobs, discussing the qualifications of engineers, foremen, and other workers.

The rise in educational levels among all social groups in Latin

American cities is thought, then, to depend on changes in economic organization that facilitate the greater educational participation of previously disadvantaged groups. Specifically, it is expected that when the urban economy is structured in terms of large, formally organized enterprises, the rise in educational levels will be greater than when it is organized informally in smaller enterprises. The reasons for this expectation are that such organization creates a larger number of skilled, technical, and administrative jobs, for which education has apparent utility, and that it presents the conditions that allow such groups to organize themselves to take advantage of these opportunities.

Urban centres in Latin America differ considerably on these dimensions. While there are rapidly growing industrial centres with large industrial and commercial enterprises, many cities have increased rapidly in population but without a concomitant industrialization. These latter centres have a large proportion of their work-force in the service and trade sectors of the population. Thus, conversely to what would be expected in developed countries, where metropolitan centres have the highest levels of education and the highest proportion of the work-force in the service sectors, urban centres with this economic profile should exhibit lower rates of educational expansion than do those with a higher industrial component.

While the data are not easily available to make these comparisons for the whole of Latin America, there is sufficient information to make comparisons between four contrasting cities—Monterrey, São Paulo, Montevideo, and Guatemala City.<sup>6</sup> Two of these cities, São Paulo and Monterrey, are industrial cities whose rapid population increase has been accompanied by rapid industrialization and the growth of large-scale enterprises. The other two cities have expanded rapidly but without concomitant industrialization. The difference between the two sets is illustrated by contrasting the proportions of the labour force employed in manufacturing in Guatemala City and in Monterrey. In Monterrey, a city of one million people, 44·3 per cent of employed males are engaged in manufacture; in Guatemala City, whose population is approximately 600 000, 31·4 per cent of employed males are engaged in manufacture. The differences between Monterrey and Guatemala are obscured because a greater proportion of Guatemalan males engaged in manufacture work in very small enterprises, such as small shoe workshops. A similar contrast can be made between Montevideo and São Paulo (Hutchinson 1962).

If we now look at the rate of educational expansion in the four

cities by comparing the educational levels of different age-groups, striking differences appear. These differences are not produced by such intervening variables as the structure of migration to the cities. Taking the age-cohorts up to approximately age sixty, Montevideo and Guatemala City show little evidence of substantial increase in the educational levels of their populations over time, but both São Paulo and Monterrey show considerable increases (see *Table 4*). This association is the more interesting since both Montevideo and Guatemala City are national capitals and thus should exhibit higher educational levels than other urban places in their respective countries. Indeed, Montevideo is the capital of one of the richest of the Latin American countries.

TABLE 4  
*Levels of education of adult males in four Latin American cities,  
by age-cohorts (percentages)*

<i>Age-cohort</i>	<i>No education</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>University</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>MONTEVIDEO<sup>a</sup></b>					
Up to 30	1·8	63·9	24·7	9·6	100·0
31-40	2·4	65·4	19·3	12·9	100·0
41-50	4·7	64·8	18·1	12·2	99·8
51-60	8·9	62·7	17·8	10·7	100·1
61-70	13·2	63·7	11·0	12·1	100·0
<b>GUATEMALA CITY<sup>b</sup></b>					
15-24	11·1	59·5	26·7	2·7	100·0
25-34	13·1	56·2	22·0	8·7	100·0
35-44	14·6	63·6	15·3	6·4	99·9
45-54	19·0	64·8	12·3	3·9	100·0
55-64	29·7	47·5	15·8	6·9	99·9
<b>SÃO PAULO<sup>a</sup></b>					
Up to 25	5·6	37·6	43·7	13·2	100·1
26-35	4·8	47·9	32·9	14·4	100·0
36-45	7·1	52·0	30·2	10·7	100·0
46-55	8·6	58·8	23·5	9·1	100·0
56 and over	20·6	54·7	17·1	7·6	100·0
<b>MONTERREY<sup>c</sup></b>					
21-30	4·7	50·7	28·0	16·7	100·1
31-40	8·2	64·4	16·4	11·0	100·0
41-50	13·6	60·6	18·2	7·6	100·0
51-60	22·2	59·7	14·5	3·6	100·0

<sup>a</sup> Source: adapted from Iutaka (1962: 57-9, Tables 3 and 4). The sampling procedures used in this study are not strictly comparable with those used for the Monterrey and Guatemala City data, but this should not affect the direction of the findings.

<sup>b</sup> Source: adapted from Termini (1968).

<sup>c</sup> Source: Balan (1968).

The importance of urban economic organization lies also in the influence it exerts over the perceptions that individuals develop of their social environment. Thus individuals in different types of city are likely to perceive urban social stratification in different ways, making quantitatively or qualitatively different distinctions between social groups, and differently evaluating their own position with respect to these distinctions. In Latin America, the relevant contrast is between cities that are organized in terms of large, formal, industrial and commercial enterprises and those that have grown through the proliferation of small, informally organized workshops and businesses.

The former type of city is likely to encourage individuals to develop a more differentiated perception of their social environment, recognizing the possibility of both upward and downward social mobility. These perceptions relate to education since they influence individual estimates of the utility and availability of education.

In contrast, the growth of those cities that have not developed large-scale industrial or commercial organizations entails competition for jobs at all occupational levels and reduces the economic differentiation between all but the elite occupations. As a result, industrial workers of different skill levels exhibit small income differences and self-employed workers are of approximately the same economic status as employed workers. In Guatemala City probably 80 per cent of the city's labour force earns between £12 and £40 a month. These relatively small income differences among the majority of the urban population, and the contrast they entail with the life-styles of the elite, have been related by commentators to the prevalence among Latin American urban dwellers of a dichotomous view of society, the main social distinction being that between rich and poor (Gurrieri 1968; Adams 1967). In contrast with the gulf separating rich and poor, the social and economic differentiation among the poor majority appears marginal. If a person believes that it is possible for someone like him to improve his situation—even if marginally—then he is likely to see the value of education as a possible channel to social mobility. Where, however, an individual perceives no important distinctions in his environment he is less likely to recognize the value of education.

Naturally, the perception that urban dwellers have of their environment is not determined entirely by the economic organization of their city. It is also influenced by other factors, such, for example, as the position of the city as a national or regional capital, its historical traditions, and the types of migration movement that occur in relation

to it. It is possible that low-income groups in a relatively new, rapidly developing city like Monterrey develop favourable attitudes towards education both because of the city's economic organization and because of the absence of traditional and deeply embedded social divisions within it. At this stage, however, it is enough to suggest that the development of educational aspirations among the different urban groups is related not only to the types of economic organization in Latin American cities but also to the traditional urban social stratification of the region.

To conclude this section, the importance for educational aspirations and attainment of individuals' social perceptions is illustrated by data from the study of Guatemalan low-income families. The Guatemalan date are useful because the low levels of economic differentiation provide an exacting test of the significance for education of perceptions of social differentiation. Respondents were asked whether there were any social and economic differences among people in their neighbourhood, what these differences were, and how they would class themselves. There was a considerable range of answers and these corresponded with field observations of the way in which people reacted to their social environment. Some said that there were no distinctions among people in the neighbourhood; others made moral distinctions such as between good and bad, or made distinctions of caste (*Indian-Ladino*) even though there was little caste difference in the neighbourhood; others again differentiated their environment in terms of socio-economic groups.

Literate people were somewhat more likely than illiterate people to categorize their environment in socio-economic terms. More importantly, among both literate and illiterate, those who categorized their environment in socio-economic terms were much more likely to have children attending school than were those who did not admit any differences in their social environment (*Table 5*). Indeed, although the higher the socio-economic ranking that individuals assigned themselves the more likely were their children to be attending school, even those ranking themselves low were much more likely to have children in school than were those who did not discriminate their environment or did so only in moral terms.

Thus the capacity to differentiate socially the people within one's social orbit is one factor in a stratified society that stimulates educational achievement. Much of urban growth in Latin America, however, is not of such a kind as to stimulate individuals to make the differentia-

tions that encourage significant educational improvement among low-income groups.

TABLE 5  
*Perception of environment and children's education (percentages)*

Education of father:	Illiterate (less than two years' education)			Literate (more than two years' education)		
	Enrolled in school	Not enrolled in school	Total	Enrolled in school	Not enrolled in school	Total
Children:						
<b>PERCEPTION OF FATHER<sup>a</sup></b>						
Sees himself as same as others in neighbourhood (Cases)	37	63	100 (64)	73	27	100 (22)
Sees himself as lower than others in neighbourhood (Cases)	69	31	100 (36)	92	8	100 (25)
Sees himself as middle with both higher and lower in neighbourhood (Cases)	78	22	100 (27)	100	0	100 (8)
Sees himself as higher than others in neighbourhood (Cases)	88	12	100 (17)	100	0	100 (10)

Source: Sample of 252 Guatemalan low-income families taken by random sampling from a shanty town and a legally established but low-income neighbourhood.

<sup>a</sup> The categories are formed from responses to the following questions: 'Are there different classes of people in this neighbourhood? What are they?' and 'To what class do you belong?'

People in the first category are those who said that there were no differences in the neighbourhood or who saw only moral distinctions. The second category are those who saw themselves as belonging to the bottom socio-economic group when they categorized the neighbourhood in more than one socio-economic group. The third category are those who saw themselves as belonging to the middle socio-economic group when they categorized the neighbourhood in three socio-economic groups (low, middle, upper, etc.). The last category are those who assigned themselves to the top socio-economic group when they categorized the neighbourhood in more than one socio-economic group.

Those who categorized the neighbourhood in Indian-Ladino terms are excluded here; 46 per cent of their children are not enrolled in school.

This table is extracted from a larger analysis of the factors affecting socio-economic attainment. It did not seem likely from that analysis that intervening variables such as income affected this table.

## CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this paper has been to demonstrate that educational development is limited as much by social as by economic factors. Though educational systems are susceptible to planning, their impact depends upon other and unplanned changes in their societies. Changes such as rapid urban growth and the incipient industrialization of a region alter social organization, and education becomes an available if unplanned instrument in social reorganization. Since this reorganization involves the allocation of scarce social and economic resources, it is to be expected that formal education is conditioned by the conflicting goals of different social groups. These are the unintended consequences of the association of education with unplanned development and they explain the difficulty of using education as an instrument for planned economic development.

The argument suggests that the educational levels of all social groups are most likely to rise rapidly in situations where economic and social organization has been most radically restructured. Thus new regional centres may show more rapid increases in education than metropolitan capitals. It is evident, however, that there are few places likely to have the constellation of factors that encourage educational development among all social groups. In this respect, it is instructive to look at the available data from Cuba, the one Latin American society that has radically restructured its social and economic organization.<sup>7</sup> Space and data do not permit a full analysis, but certain points should be noted.

Educational levels have expanded continuously, and at a rate as fast as that of the fastest expanding mainland countries, and this despite the elimination of private education. These increases in education have accompanied a policy of de-urbanizing the country by distributing the metropolitan population in smaller settlements. Urban growth does not, therefore, account for the expansion of education in Cuba and there is evidence that the expansion has taken place especially in those fields of study that are economically most relevant to the country. Further, since the traditional white-collar groups have been severely reduced since the revolution, the educational expansion is taking place mainly among previously disadvantaged social groups.

These comments are designed to stress that there is not an inevitable relation between educational expansion, urban growth, and the

strategies of different social groups. This relation occurs when educational change and planning occur in societies that are making no basic alteration to their social structure.

## *Notes*

- 1 I am grateful to Robert W. Hodge for reading and criticizing an earlier draft of this paper, and to Roy Fitzhenry for his valuable comments.
- 2 The data are taken from: Sylvain Lourie (1965: Statistical Annex, Table 1, adapted); and John D. Durand and Cesar A. Pelaez (1969: 176, Table 4).
- 3 The age and educational distribution of the migrant and non-migrant population in Guatemala City suggest a similar conclusion (Deanne Termini 1968).
- 4 The study was carried out in 1966 and 1968 and consisted of a participant observation and survey study of two low-income neighbourhoods in Guatemala City. One neighbourhood is a shanty town and the other is legally settled. A sample of 252 families was randomly chosen from the two neighbourhoods and each head of family was interviewed with a questionnaire of approximately an hour's duration. Visits were made to all the schools in which the local children were educated and most of the time in the field was spent in informal visiting and participating in neighbourhood affairs.
- 5 These data are available in Bryan Roberts's 'Education and Urban Environment in Guatemala City' (paper for the Center for Education in Latin America, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York).
- 6 The data for São Paulo and Montevideo are to be found in Sugiyama Iutaka (1962: 57-9); for Monterrey in Balan (1968: 100); and for Guatemala City in Termini (1968: 66).
- 7 It is difficult to estimate the reliability of the available statistics. These comments are based on statistics collected by the United Nations (see University of California, Los Angeles, Center for Latin American Studies, *Statistical Abstract for Latin America*, 1964-67), and on personal impressions of schools and universities.

## *References*

- ADAMS, RICHARD. 1967. Political Power and Social Structures. In Claudio Veliz (ed.), *The Politics of Conformity in Latin America*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs.

- ANDERSON, C. ARNOLD. 1961. A Skeptical Note on the relation of Vertical Mobility to Education. In A. H. Halsey, J. Floud & C. A. Anderson (eds.), *Education, Economy, and Society*. New York: Free Press.
- ANDERSON, C. ARNOLD & BOWMAN, MARY JEAN (eds.) 1965. *Education and Economic Development*. Chicago: Aldine.
- BALAN, JORGE. 1968. The Process of Stratification in an Industrializing Society: The Case of Monterrey, Mexico. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas.
- BLAU, PETER M. & DUNCAN, OTIS DUDLEY. 1967. *The American Occupational Structure*. New York: Wiley.
- Boletín Estadístico Universitario. 1964. Vol. 3: 62-3. Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, C.A.
- BROWNING, H. 1967. *Movilidad Social, Migración y Fecundidad en Monterrey Metropolitano*. Monterrey: Centro de Investigaciones Económicas.
- Censo de Población, 1964. 1966. Dirección General de Estadística, Ministerio de Economía, Guatemala.
- DAVIS, KINGSLEY & GOLDEN, HILDA HERTZ. 1963. Urbanization in Latin America. In Paul K. Hatt & Albert J. Reiss Jr. (eds.), *Cities and Society*. New York: Free Press.
- DURAND, JOHN D. & PELAEZ, CESAR A. 1969. Patterns of Urbanization in Latin America. In Gerald Breese (ed.), *The City in Newly Developing Countries*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- FOLGER, JOHN K. & NAM, CHARLES B. 1967. *Education of the American Population*. Washington D.C.: US Bureau of the Census, US Government Printing Office.
- FOSTER, PHILIP J. 1965. The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning. In C. A. Anderson & M. J. Bowman (eds.), (1965).
- GURRIERI, ADOLFO. 1968. Situación y Perspectivas de la Juventud en una Población Urbana Popular. *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 28 (3): 571-602.
- HERRICK, BRUCE, 1965. *Urban Migration in Economic Development in Chile*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- HUTCHINSON, BERTRAM. 1962. Social Mobility Rates in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo: A Preliminary Comparison. *América Latina* 5 (4): 3-18.
- IUTAKA, SUGIYAMA. 1962. Estratificación Social y Oportunidades Educacionales en Tres Metrópolis Latino-americanas: Buenos Aires, Montevideo y São Paulo. *América Latina* 5 (4): 57-9.
- LACEY, COLIN. 1970. *Hightown Grammar*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- LOURIE, SYLVAIN. 1965. Education for Today or Yesterday. In Raymond F. Lyons (ed.), *Problems and Strategies of Educational Planning*. Unesco.

- MINISTERIO DE EDUCACIÓN (Oficina de Planeamiento Integral de la Educacion). 1964. Informe de las Labores de Estadistica Escolar Correspondiente al Ano de 1963. Guatemala, C.A.
- ROBERTS, BRYAN. Education and Urban Environment in Guatemala City. Paper for the Center for Education in Latin America, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.
- SCHNORE, LEO. 1961. The Statistical Measurement of Urbanization and Economic Development. *Land Economics* 37.
- SOLARI, ALDO E., CAMPIGLIA, N. & PRATES, S. 1967. Educación, Ocupación y Desarrollo. *América Latina* 10 (3): 43-61.
- Statistical Abstract for Latin America.* 1964-67. Los Angeles: University of California, Center for Latin American Studies.
- TERMINI, DEANNE. 1968. Socio-economic and Demographic Characteristics of the Population of Guatemala City with special reference to Migrant-Non-migrant Characteristics. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Texas.

© Bryan Roberts 1973

ANDREW MCPHERSON

# *Selections and Survivals: A Sociology of the Ancient Scottish Universities*<sup>1</sup>

---

## I. INTRODUCTION

I have been asked to suggest what contribution might be made to the sociology of education by a comparative analysis of Scottish society and of the Scottish educational system. My approach will be speculative and selective: speculative because it is difficult enough to make successful comparisons even with purpose-collected data, of which there are few; and selective because the range of possible comparisons is vast, but invites triviality. Compared with the English, the Scots are more frequently violent, alcoholic, emigrant, urban, working-class, religious, Catholic, and Irish. But simple enumeration, clearly, is not enough. Equally there would be little point in my merely listing the differences between the Scottish and English educational systems unless it were to persuade the unaware that such differences existed. In any case Osborne (1966; 1968) does this (and much else) more knowledgeably than ever I could. Instead I shall base my discussion on one of the major functional relationships that holds between educational and other systems, namely the social-selective function, and use the ancient Scottish universities as my main example.<sup>2</sup> I want principally to suggest and illustrate some of the relationships that have held during the last one hundred years between Scottish values, social structure, and educational organization. This intention is not quite as ambitious as my self-imposed limitations may make it seem. The university is central to an understanding both of the Scottish educational system and of Scottish society. We shall, moreover, find a recurring preoccupation with the social-selective function of education throughout much of this period. Most Scots who troubled to think about such things regarded it as axiomatic that a proper, and major, use of the educational system was to promote individual upward social mobility (although they did not put it quite like that). Thus it is no

accident that the best book on the Scottish universities, a book recently described by one sociologist as 'perhaps the finest example of intellectual history that exists in these islands' (Davies 1970), should be entitled *The Democratic Intellect*; no accident that its author, George Davie, should be hailed by MacDiarmid (1966: 254) as 'one of the most important living Scotsmen'; and no accident again that Davie's own reaction (1963) to the implications of the Robbins Report (Committee on Higher Education 1963) for the present national university system should be couched in terms of the nineteenth-century Scottish university.

## II. TYPOLOGY

By the 'social-selective function of education' we may refer either to selection *within* an educational system by social criteria (or by intellectual criteria with a heavy social 'loading'—a precise distinction is not possible); or, alternatively, to selection *by* an educational system, on any or no criteria, for future statuses, often stratified, usually outside the formal educational system. In practice the latter sense frequently entails the former. In this section I suggest a typology of the recent Scottish and English educational systems, as they were between the Acts of 1944/46 and the Robbins Report, in terms of the social-selective function in both its senses.

TABLE I

*A typology of the English and Scottish educational systems (1944–61)  
from the point of view of their social-selective functions  
(read from the bottom upwards)*

Item	England	Scotland
University degree structure	high % honours	low % honours
Student wastage	about 12%	about 15%
Cooling-out mechanism	?	suspension without teaching but allowing exam enrolment
Age-group in university	4%	5%
Secondary course wastage	high	higher
Age-group starting selective secondary courses	23% at 11+	40% at 12+
	← SPONSORED MOBILITY	CONTEST MOBILITY →

From this point of view, the salient national differences may be summarized in terms of a distinction analogous to that drawn by Turner (1960) between contest and sponsored mobility. For my present purpose the distinctive feature of a contest-mobility system is that, relatively speaking, more are given a chance (in a formal sense) for longer. Selection comes, but it tends to come later and to come by different means — informal rather than formal.<sup>3</sup> *Table 1* sets out the relevant structural differences.

In this period a higher percentage of the Scottish age-group entered selective secondary courses in the public system. Between 1953 and 1963 it rose from 30 per cent to 40 per cent (Scottish Education Department 1965: 30–3; Osborne 1966:218). A comparable figure for England and Wales was about 20 per cent.<sup>4</sup> In both countries manual origins were associated with reduced chances of allocation to a selective course (the association being slightly stronger in England than in Scotland), at all but the highest ability level. However, because of the greater Scottish provision of such courses, the manual working-class child in Scotland was approximately as likely to enter a selective course as was the middle-class child in England and Wales (Douglas *et al.* 1966). More got a chance, then, in Scotland and got it later if necessary, but, within the context of this greater provision, social class had roughly the same association with selection as it had in England.

Part of the selective work that was done in England by the 11-plus was in Scotland done by the 'informal' mechanism of early leaving. At both the beginning (Highet 1954: 250, Table 117) and the conclusion of the period (Douglas 1964: 126–7)<sup>5</sup> the percentage of children leaving school at fifteen years was higher in Scotland than it was in England. Social class was an important (informal) criterion of selection: a high domestic occupancy rate and a low social class were positively associated with early leaving (Macpherson 1958).<sup>6</sup>

One consequence of this heavier wastage was that the percentages of the Scottish and English age-groups attaining the respective minimum university entrance qualifications were identical.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless in 1961 a higher proportion of the Scottish age-group entered university (5 per cent against 4 per cent for England) and full-time higher education (9·3 per cent against 8·2 per cent in England).<sup>8</sup> That there should be a national difference in the percentages entering university in spite of the comparability of percentages qualifying for university is probably to be explained not by national differences in

the propensity of the formally qualified to apply, but by the admission in Scotland of a higher proportion of the technically unqualified.<sup>9</sup> In 1961 there was still some 'slack' in the system. The importance of this point will emerge in Section IV below. A second consequence of the heavier wastage at the secondary level was that whatever statistical advantage the Scottish working-class boy may have had over his English counterpart at twelve years of age had largely, probably completely, disappeared by the age of eighteen. At any rate, in terms of the percentage of the undergraduate body that manual students comprised, there was little difference between Scotland and England.<sup>10</sup> However, a higher percentage of students in Scotland came from another socially disadvantaged group—women (Kelsall 1957: 4).

This was the context in which the Scottish university performed its selective function—the context of a system in which selection came later and by informal means which were often socially selective in the first sense. As we should expect in a contest-mobility system, and by contrast (relatively speaking) with England, the selective process can be shown to have continued *within* the Scottish university. Unlike the schools comparison, however, a comparison of English and Scottish university statistics is only an imperfect comparison of national systems in a sociological sense since some 20 per cent of students at Scottish universities are products of English schools in which, as I suggest below in Section VI, the socialization process may differ with implications for university performance.<sup>11</sup> There is some evidence that English-educated students do better at Scottish universities than do the Scottish-educated (University of Edinburgh 1970: 45). Even so, available comparisons sustain the contest-mobility proposition. Wastage was higher in the Scottish universities both in the 1950s and a decade later. Moreover, Scotland was the only university group in which the level of wastage in the 1950s was appreciably higher for manual students of either sex.<sup>12</sup>

Second, in arts, science, and some of the professional faculties two types of course were, and are still, available: an honours course which is normally completed in four years, and an ordinary course which is normally completed in three. With two minor exceptions, the percentage of students completing honours degrees in 1959 in each of arts, science, and technology was appreciably lower in Scotland than it was in its faculty counterpart in any other university group.<sup>13</sup> I show in Section V that, about a decade later, both sex and social origins were

associated with the completion of an ordinary rather than an honours degree.

Finally, it is possible that the arrangement whereby a student can be suspended for one year without teaching but can still sit university examinations may act as a 'cooling-out mechanism', as described by Clark (1960), which unobtrusively 'disengages' him from aspirations for graduation without removing its 'formal' possibility. (I suspect, but do not know, that this mechanism is used more frequently in Scotland than in England.)<sup>14</sup>

Each of the selective processes I have described was also socially selective in the second sense of selection for future statuses.<sup>15</sup> This is obviously true of the attainment of a place in a selective secondary course or in a university, and, by implication, true also of drop-outs from such places.<sup>16</sup> Attainment of honours probably predicts later earnings. The national salary structure for Scottish teachers gives ordinary graduates less than honours graduates, and they are less likely than are honours graduates to get responsibility payments or headships.<sup>17</sup> Or again, in 1966, Aberdeen honours graduates of ten years before were earning more than their ordinary counterparts.<sup>18</sup>

### III. HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS

#### *The National Model*

So far, all we have done is to analyse some aspects of the university and of the context that the educational system of the recent past provided for it, in terms of a single, though important, function. We have begged all the familiar questions of a functionalist approach. Was the system a product of deliberate action organized to that end? What constraints and facilities bounded such actions? How might the system have changed and be changing?

If I start with an assertion about two Scottish 'values' or 'organizing principles of action' that have influenced education it is not because I believe that I, from my armchair, can prove them (or, more honestly perhaps, that the reader from his armchair cannot disprove them), but because they both help to state the argument economically and may reasonably be inferred from the illustrations I cite.

The first value is collectivism. Scottish collectivism is to do with

three things: an assertion of nationality, a mode of status allocation, and a type of social policy. Lipset & Bendix (1964: 274) write:

'It is interesting to note that all of the European peoples who seem to excel in educational achievement, the Jews, the Scots, the Czechs (who have the highest rate of university education in Europe) and the Finns, seem to have developed their "love of learning" as oppressed national or religious minorities.'

One may, of course, question the sense in which Scots have been 'an oppressed national minority'. Moreover, there is some dispute whether the nineteenth-century Scottish emphasis on education was an integral part of national sentiment or merely a panacea to which nationalist sentiment turned when frustrated in other ambitions. Nevertheless few would deny that education figured prominently in the national consciousness.<sup>19</sup> Assertion of nationality is not the only collective end that Scots pursue through education or the only reason for the relative strength of the public system. In so far as benefactions are to do with the purchase of status one can say that, relatively speaking, status in Scotland comes from identification with public and not private systems. Significantly, the great *individual* benefactions in Scotland have been made to education—Milne and Dick and Carnegie—and, unlike England, have been made to the *public* system.<sup>20</sup> In addition, numerous smaller benefactions supported poor university students (up to one-third of students at one university in the 1840s) (Saunders 1950: Part V, Ch. V), while wholly private education has always been relatively unimportant.<sup>21</sup> The aim of these actions was also to make education publicly accessible as a matter of social policy. I discuss this below.

The second value is individualism. From Samuel Smiles to John Highet (1969) the strain is strong.<sup>22</sup> Carnegie, for instance, required eventual repayment from supported students, but even then '... a lowering of self-respect and a slackening of effort in university pursuits' was thought to result (Kerr 1910: 364). Or again, a lower exemption level for the parental contribution to student grants has operated in Scotland<sup>23</sup> even though *per capita* income has been 10 per cent lower than in England for the last forty years.

I shall show that within the educational system these two values have sometimes conflicted with each other and have sometimes complemented each other, according to circumstance, but have always been salient as criteria around which education has been organized.<sup>24</sup>

In particular I shall show that they achieve a reconciliation in the Scottish idea that many should receive a (formal) first chance but that thereafter they should be left to fend for themselves. This balance between action and inaction is the key to understanding how the educational system has accommodated to external changes during our period.

Was the system deliberately constructed on contest-mobility principles? It is beyond question that the aim, but only to a lesser extent the achievement, of those concerned with the national system was to make education accessible in three senses: geographically, numerically relative to the size of the population, and socially in terms of availability to different social classes. The Scottish Universities Commissioners both had these ends urged on them in the evidence they took, and themselves enunciated them as principles that governed their administrative actions. The Education Commission (1868: viii) (the Argyll Commission) reported that one in 205 of the Scottish population were in 'public secondary schools' compared with one in 1 300 in England at schools which 'by any straining or indulgence' could be called similar. One Scot in a thousand was a university student compared with one in 5 800 in England. 'Accessibility' was explicitly justified by reference to tradition (Knox's model), principle (the ideal of individual upward social mobility), and expedience (general economic prosperity).<sup>25</sup> Thirty years later, the accessibility of education (in all three senses) was still a major criterion by which actions were justified.<sup>26</sup> More recently, the Scottish universities have maintained a numerically high student entry in the face of UGC qualms<sup>27</sup> and, perhaps most impressively, Scottish local authorities have consistently maintained, in terms of the age-group, a higher proportionate entry to selective secondary education than was either supported by the Scottish Education Department (Osborne 1968: 72) or recommended by the then major Scottish work which established the appropriate norm.<sup>28</sup> Scotland's emphasis, relative to England, on contest mobility is partly attributable to a value that has been consciously and consistently held over a considerable period of time.

The Scottish concern for the social accessibility of the university a century ago is reflected in the magnificent statistics they bothered to collect. These show in great detail that in the 1860s something over 20 per cent of students in Scottish universities had manual origins.<sup>29</sup> It is likely that this proportion was maintained throughout the rest of

the nineteenth century since it was similar at both Glasgow and Aberdeen universities in the early 1900s.<sup>30</sup>

### *Internal Variables*

There were, however, certain important preconditions of the open-doors policy of the university. The first of these was the mode of internal organization which resulted from the distinctive Scottish idea of a university. Many had access to university but the 'processing' they there received differed qualitatively from the English pattern and had different implications for the life-chances of students. The intake of the universities was so diverse in terms of age,<sup>31</sup> social class, educational experience (Education Commission 1868: 243), and aspirations, and the 'scope' and 'pervasiveness' of the institutions were themselves so low, that it is sometimes difficult to see them as differentiated institutions at all. The university competed for over one-quarter of its students with the burgh secondary schools (*ibid.*: 171). Consumer choice predominated. Students could shop around for courses and may often have chosen the university only because it undercut its competitors (*ibid.*: 163). Moreover, the university 'demanded' little. There was no matriculation,<sup>32</sup> no residence, and little graduation.<sup>33</sup> Physically, administratively, functionally, its institutional 'boundaries' were ill defined. We do not know, naturally, how many regarded university mainly as a means to employment, but we do know both that many did and that authority accepted this attitude as legitimate (*ibid.*: 164). This should not surprise us since the professoriate itself stood to lose financially from any reduction in consumer demand. Professorial incomes derived mainly from student fees. The market was held to be a legitimate regulator of reward<sup>34</sup> and, in this respect at least, individualism (i.e. the economic individualism of the professor) was compatible with the collectivism of the open-doors policy. In short, the university was a physical *locus*, incommodious by English comparison, in which the relationship between student and professor and between student and academic subject was permeated by a vigorous economic individualism. J. M. Barrie's student recollections (1894: 18) of a great Edinburgh professor of English literature illustrate this nicely:

'It was the opening of the session, when fees were paid, and the whisper ran round the quadrangle that Masson had set off home with 300 one pound notes stuffed into his trouser pockets ... his

pockets . . . were unmistakably bulging out. I resolved to go in for literature.'

In these circumstances the university neither could nor did perform much of a formal socializing function, academic, political, or whatever. The one contact between student and university was in the professors' large lectures and any further right or obligation was explicitly rejected by the university.<sup>35</sup> There were, however, flourishing student societies (Davie 1961: 15, 16, 219; Barrie 1894). Moreover, for the last third of the nineteenth century it was a matter for debate whether any non-professorial additions to the professorial teaching provision should be made within or without the university (Kerr 1910: 352; Davie 1961: 93).<sup>36</sup> The development of academic excellence and graduation itself were both left, again, to individual student initiative, suitably motivated by a finely graduated system of rewards which reflected the hierarchy of the world outside and were designed to encourage individual striving. There were, for instance, five ranks of attainment in the Aberdeen Greek class of 1870/1 (Kerr 1910: 281).<sup>37</sup>

In addition there were at least three outcomes to the university course as a whole: graduation with honours, simple graduation on completion of various formal assignments, and, finally, the collection of a variable number of 'class tickets' in which the professor attested to 'due completion' of the work of the class. These last were sufficient to find the holder employment as a teacher in a burgh school, though the graduates probably earned more (Education Commission 1868). Graduation was important in medicine and as a preliminary to professional training (Mackay 1969: 73-5).<sup>38</sup> Since most lower-class boys came from the parochial schools or schools like them, entered the junior classes, from which graduation was not possible, and came much later in life than their more middle-class burgh-secondary-school counterparts (*ibid.*: 156, 163, 165) (not earlier, as Osborne (1966: 23) suggests),<sup>39</sup> they were probably less likely to enter the graduation classes, to graduate, or to go on to professional training, though there is no doubt that a number did. The outcomes of university for students were therefore diverse and, tentatively, were socially selective in both senses.

#### *External Variables*

Certain external relations of the university have also favoured the open-doors policy and have supported the organizational arrangements

found within those doors. Turner suggests that 'a system of sponsored mobility develops most readily in a society with but a single elite or with a recognized elite hierarchy'. This dictum helps us to understand the implications for the social-selective function of Scottish education of the peculiar pattern of the union with England. Legal, religious, and educational independence were preserved but political and economic independence were not. Scotland has no national political elite (although there is a part of the British political elite resident in Scotland) and her public [*sic*] universities and schools have been free of the functions performed for the British political system by Oxbridge and the large independent boarding schools.<sup>40</sup> In addition, the inaccessibility (in all three senses) to the English of these English institutions has favoured Scotland. As late as 1920 Scotland was supplying a quarter of all British graduates (Committee on Higher Education 1963: Appendix Three, p. 38), and for much of the century after 1860 was filling the posts of England and the Empire with them. Between 1860 and 1955, in each decade, only about one-half of Scottish-born male graduates of Scottish universities found their principal place of employment in Scotland. About one-third worked in England and Wales and one-fifth elsewhere in the world (Mackay 1969: Ch. 6).<sup>41</sup> The 'Imperial Frontier' (at home and abroad) has done for Scotland what the West may have done for America.<sup>42</sup> Two examples of this must suffice. It is significant that the one professional group that has had an almost entirely local market for its qualifications, namely Scots lawyers, has most readily abandoned Scottish educational forms for the English elitist alternative (Davie 1961: Ch. 10),<sup>43</sup> shows possibly the highest degree of self-recruitment of any Scottish or English profession (Kelsall 1954: 318), and is probably more of a closed shop than its English counterpart.<sup>44</sup> Or again, the effects of the 1930s depression, which caused unemployment among graduate teachers and severe unemployment among graduate trainees,<sup>45</sup> were, first, to reduce the proportion of manual and female students entering university (Collier 1938) and, second, to accelerate the call for an all-graduate profession among the teachers themselves. The winds of austerity blow more easily through open doors, and only when conditions are bad are attempts made to close them. For as long as the British Empire flourished and the English system of higher education remained unexpanded external conditions have favoured the ancient Scottish universities.

## IV. STRUCTURAL CONTINUITIES AND STRUCTURAL CHANGES

*Structural Continuities*

One may argue that the particular university system that Scotland had in the 1860s was the only possible one, constructed as it was out of the poverty of professor and student alike. Nevertheless it also had a coherent intellectual justification which derived from its continental origins (Davie 1961: *passim*). In this section I shall show that the structure of this system has survived not because external 'supportive' circumstances have remained unchanged; they have not. Rather, the university has been insulated from many of the consequences of changed circumstances through, in particular, the peculiar character of the relationship that was evolved between university and school. This insulation has allowed some crucial aspects of the nineteenth-century Scottish idea of the university to survive piecemeal, unchallenged by changes in economy and society.

In the relationship that was constructed between school and university between 1872 and 1918—a relationship that survived until 1961—our two values of collectivism and individualism were salient. Faced with demands both from the English purse-holders and from some natives that they institute a matriculation examination to 'raise standards' in university and secondary school alike—a demand which, it was estimated, would have immediately closed the door of the university to some 30 per cent of entrants largely from the lower social classes (Education Commission 1868: 163)—the commissioners and the universities consistently maintained a policy for over forty years which was based on an attempted reconciliation of these two values. They attempted both to keep the doors open and to raise standards in the schools, doing the latter not by examination but rather by opening bursaries to individual competition.<sup>46</sup> They were quite explicit about this in what they said and quite faithful to it in what they did. Junior classes were maintained until 1908, and even after that professors provided extra-mural teaching at this level (Kerr 1910: 339). At the same time, the proportion of closed bursaries fell from about half of the 481 available in the 1860s to about one-sixth of the 1 212 available in 1906/7 (*ibid.*: 378–88, derived). The bursary fund was still the largest single public source of support for Scottish students in the 1930s (McDonald 1960: 101). Competitive individualism thus percolated down into the school system that was being reconstructed

below. The Scottish Leaving Certificate became a test of individual attainment (contrasted with the English School Certificate's testing of the work of schools), set at a level (until the introduction of the O grade in 1961) and in a form (until 1951 when it was no longer awarded on a group basis) which confined its functions mainly to testing the suitability of candidates for entry to Scottish universities.<sup>47</sup> An appropriate system of academic rewards designed to encourage competition among the elite few of each school was built into the value system (Osborne 1966: 333)<sup>48</sup> and (more speculatively) a lower level of socialization to that value system was accepted as an appropriate target for the secondary schools. Thus while a more intense socialization process helped the English working-class grammar-school entrant up the ladder provided by a system of progressive examination incentives with outputs not simply to university but also to acceptable employment, for which high but attainable qualifications were required, his Scottish senior-secondary counterpart was put on a slope down which nothing would stop him from slipping unless he grasped at the distant hold of university entry itself.<sup>49</sup>

The reconstruction of Scottish secondary education in the mould and shadow of its universities thus explains the volume and pattern of early leaving we found above. As in England (Floud, Halsey & Martin 1956: 141) the competitive principle worked against working-class pupils with the result that, of all students, the percentage with manual origins has remained a constant certainly for fifty years and probably for one hundred years; and this in spite of the provision of compulsory secondary education. This percentage and the percentage attaining minimum university entrance qualifications now barely differ from the English. One reason the university doors could remain open, therefore, despite the admission in Scotland of a higher proportion of the age-group to selective secondary courses, was that a vigorous social selection in the schools reduced the numbers who might otherwise have knocked. Only about 10 per cent of English grammar-school pupils leave without at least one GCE pass compared with the 25 per cent of Scottish pupils on certificate courses who leave in their fourth year (Osborne 1968: 73). At the secondary level the collective ideal of accessibility was maintained in the numeric sense but little attempt has been made to maintain it in the social sense. More were given a (formal) first chance, but thereafter, relatively speaking, they were left to look after themselves. It is perhaps significant that the one major piece of research on social selection in Scottish secondary education

thought it appropriate to adopt a highly conservative definition of 'real wastage' which leads to a probable underestimation of the numbers that might otherwise have attained the leaving certificate were it not for their social origins (Macpherson 1958).

As for the universities, they could only take what the schools supplied and this, as we have seen, was not difficult.<sup>50</sup> Thus the distinctively Scottish secondary system that was reconstructed under the universities relieved these loftier institutions of any need to articulate collective ideals where once anglicizing and other pressures had forced them to do so. At the same time, the introduction of professorial salaries removed any individual economic interest the professor might have had in the numeric aspect of the ideal of accessibility, and the rapid growth of non-professorial teaching, only weakly supported by a Scottish postgraduate base, introduced numbers of uncomprehending English staff into the system.<sup>51</sup>

### *Structural Changes*

Nevertheless 'anglicization' explains little of what subsequently has happened to Scottish higher education. In particular the pressures, this time of numbers, that built up on the Scottish universities during the 1960s had, I should want to argue, roots that were deep-seated in the growth of *Gesellschaft*. The increasing tendency to remain at school after fifteen years of age, to complete a sixth year, and to demand an honours course from university are manifestations of fundamental changes in both the internal and external circumstances of Scottish economy and society.

Two interpretations of the origin and significance of these changes are possible. Davie (1961) argues that the introduction of formal matriculation, examination, and graduation, of specialized honours courses, and of longer secondary-school courses was the result of a political sell-out in 1892 by those Scots who aped English *moeurs* and educational models; and that since 1949 'some of the old issues have come to life again' especially in relation to the higher classes in the schools (the sixth-form issue). An alternative interpretation may, however, be framed in terms of the development of some familiar characteristics of *Gesellschaft*: urbanization; the spread of the market and its (ultimate) triumph over 'protectionism' (i.e. the collectivism the commissioners attempted to maintain); the adoption of

universalistic criteria for the evaluation of personal statuses, themselves more frequently achieved than ascribed (e.g. the great liberal reforms of the administration based on the principle of competitive entry); the use of external symbols, such as degrees, for the recognition of such statuses; a consequent definition of the 'boundaries' of the institution claiming the authority to confer such status (i.e. matriculation and graduation); and a bureaucratization of the procedure by which claims within the institution to such status were adjudged (the examination principle). Between 1861 and 1888 the number of students doubled (Davie 1961: 92). It may well have been that the universities reached a critical size at which an internal reorganization on *Gesellschaft* principles fitted the external needs of market society. If this were true then one analytical link which might explain the parallelism of change in the needs of university and society alike would be that of consumer demand. This does not appear to have flowed according to the watershed Davie discerns in the 1892 settlement. For instance, the demand for advanced education outside the universities long ante-dated the 1892 settlement and came from the urban middle class. There was, it is true, very little advanced teaching in parochial schools, but that part of the national system had not kept pace with the population shift from country to town and from north and east to south and west. The Glasgow 'street arab' is a more significant, though unsung, figure than, say, the Aberdeen 'lad o' pairts'. The burgh secondary system supplied over 40 per cent of the university entrants in the 1860s, mainly to the senior classes, while the parochial schools supplied some 15 per cent of entrants, apparently mostly to the junior classes (Education Commission 1868). Again, there was little change in the proportion of all degrees in arts and science that were honours degrees between the 1860s and the early, or indeed the late, 1920s (Mackay 1969: 74; Scottish Council 1936: 190–1). The growth of the provision of honours and, speculatively, of the demand for honours, long post-dated the 1892 settlement and coincided with the growth of separate degrees in pure science.

At the same time, the always difficult market for the unique Scottish qualification of the ordinary MA is becoming more competitive as English education improves. Between 1860 and 1955 a higher proportion of honours than of ordinary male graduates in arts and pure science worked mainly in England and Wales. Moreover, since World War I the tendency of arts graduates to migrate south of the border

has increased for honours graduates but diminished for ordinary graduates (Mackay 1969: Ch. 6). In the schools, changing educational aspiration has shown itself since 1961 in a dramatic reduction of early leaving and an increasing tendency to remain at school for a sixth year, i.e. until about eighteen years of age. The introduction of the O grade in 1961 was designed specifically to provide both an 'intermediate' incentive to pupils to stay on, and an intermediate qualification for those who might enter technical and further education in which Scotland is weak (Scottish Education Department 1965: 32). On the other hand, the introduction of the sixth-year examination was designed specifically to meet the 'needs' of the increasing proportion of pupils remaining at school. This trend was already apparent by Robbins but has probably strengthened since then.

However, in arguing, as I am, that economic need and consumer demand are doing more to change Scottish education than is anglicization, I am not wholly rejecting Davie's thesis. He is largely correct in an administrative sense (although he perhaps exaggerates both the novelty and the finality of the 1892 settlement) and is certainly correct on the wanton failure of the English to allow that there was a Scottish system. Furthermore, it was not preordained that the forces that I have identified should inevitably have worked themselves out in this manner. It could have happened differently. For instance, had the English been prepared to pay for the system of Scottish postgraduate schools which some Scots, with an inspired vision, had wanted in the mid-nineteenth century, much of the distinctive structure and curriculum of the Scottish university could have remained and the resultant system would have resembled the American more closely than the English (Davie 1961: Ch. 3).

Only the fall in the size of the age-group 'at risk' in the late 1960s prevented greater numbers than ever before knocking on the doors of institutions which had, for some sixty years, been protected from the need for any evaluation of priorities or articulation of aims; institutions in which, moreover, the capacity to absorb an increase in numbers *without* the evaluation of priorities was diminishing.<sup>52</sup> The ideal of accessibility that was eventually resuscitated in the 1960s was only a feeble version of its 1860s antecedent (the social and geographic dimensions had got lost); it often took a degenerate (anti-English) form,<sup>53</sup> and it became, in any case, an increasingly difficult fiction to sustain even in its limited numeric sense.<sup>54</sup>

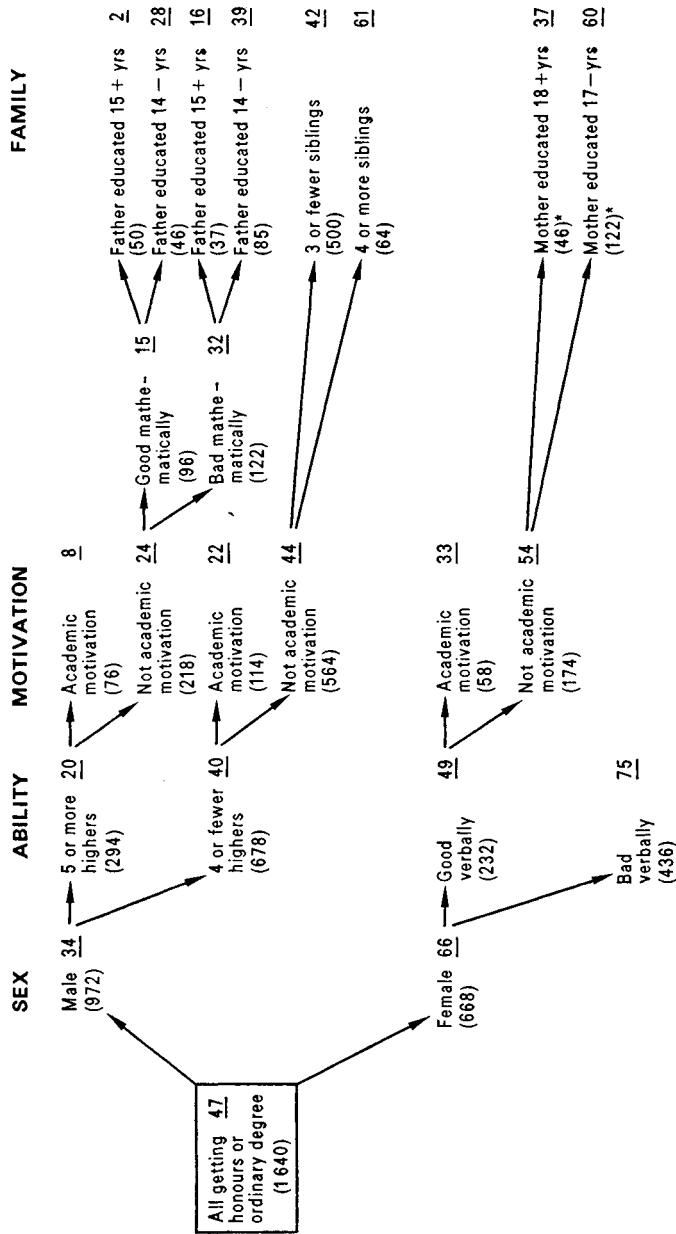
#### V. SOME CORRELATES OF CONTEMPORARY ACADEMIC ATTAINMENT

In the next section I shall bring the various elements of my argument together in a discussion both of the internal organization of the contemporary Scottish university and of the process of student socialization that there takes place. But first I want briefly to show that social factors are associated with differential attainment (honours/ordinary) in the Scottish university today.

The evidence derives from my longitudinal study of all Scottish pupils who sat an examination at the Higher level for the first time in 1962 and who subsequently entered a Scottish university (including Strathclyde and Heriot-Watt), graduating, if they completed their course, between 1965 and 1968.<sup>55</sup> Measures of intellectual aptitude and attainment, of motivation, and of social origins were used to predict the attainment of an honours degree among all who graduated with either an honours or an ordinary degree.<sup>56</sup> Step-wise non-metric multiple regression was employed in analysis (Morgan & Sonquist 1963). This method splits a sample into two sub-samples by that binary partition of that independent variable which, when utilized, most reduces the variance on the dependent variable within the two resultant sub-samples. This process is then repeated within successive sub-samples until no further splits can be made within imposed significance constraints. The results look like a 'tree'—a series of 'branches' which define groups that are increasingly 'pure' with respect to the dependent variable. The results of the analysis are shown in *Figure 1*. Each group is labelled and branches from 'parent' groups are shown by arrows. Numbers in parentheses give the number of cases in each group, and the numbers underlined show the percentage of each group that completed an ordinary degree.

Thus we find that of all our predictors the one that best predicts attainment of honours is sex: 34 per cent of men take an ordinary degree compared with 66 per cent of women. Thereafter within both sexes the logical status of the predictors that emerge is similar although the actual measures sometimes differ. The men split on a measure of attainment; then on motivation (whether or not an interest in studying an academic subject was given in response to a retrospectively administered open-ended question on why the respondent entered university — 18·8 per cent of the sample mentioned it); then there is a refinement of one male group in terms of aptitude (scores on a mathematical

**FIGURE I** Prediction of degree attainment (honours/ordinary) using step-wise non-metric regression  
 (20 independent variables, see note 56)



Key: numbers in parentheses: number of cases in each group;  
 underlined numbers : percentage (rounded) of each group obtaining  
 ordinary degree (residual with honours);  
 arrows indicate offspring of 'parent' group;  
 \*  $N=6$

aptitude test administered while the subject was still at school); and finally, most male subgroups split on a measure of family background (the terminal age of education of the father or the number of siblings). The women split on aptitude (scores on a verbal aptitude test administered at school); the higher-aptitude group then split on the same motivation as the men; and the high-aptitude but inappropriately motivated group then split on a measure of family background (their mothers' terminal age of education).

The results may be summarized and explained as follows: the best predictor of the attainment of honours is sex. Within sex, factors of aptitude, motivation, and family background act to 'move' the individual's attainment away from the expectation associated with the sex role. Thus male groups of low aptitude, inappropriate motivation, and adverse social origins become progressively more likely to complete an ordinary degree, while female groups of high aptitude, appropriate motivation, and favourable family background become progressively more likely to complete honours.

These findings related to graduates of all faculties who had completed either an honours or an ordinary degree. When the same associations were investigated within the four main sex/faculty sub-groups, interactions with sex, faculty, and aptitude were found. Social factors were associated with attainment among males in pure science, females in arts, and high-aptitude males in arts. No associations were found among low-aptitude males in arts or among females in pure science. Sex was strongly associated with degree outcome in both arts and pure science, while academic motivation was associated with degree outcome independently of aptitude and degree intention among all groups save females in arts. These findings have been reported in greater detail elsewhere (McPherson, in press).

#### VI. STRUCTURE AND SOCIALIZATION IN THE CONTEMPORARY SYSTEM

There is evidence, then, that social and motivational factors are associated with the various outcomes that university may have for students, and there is good reason, therefore, for the firm step into speculation on the contemporary system which I now take. In making a comparison between this system and that of a century ago I am not implying that the ancient Scottish universities are 'stuck in the past'

or that 'nothing has changed'. What is remarkable is that, despite many changes in curriculum, examination, and degrees, important elements of the earlier system have survived. What follows is a first brief attempt to analyse these elements. My comments are not intended as criticism but as theoretical speculation, the value of which can be determined, given the meagre evidence presently available, only by future research.

The Scottish university system of the 1960s resembled that of the 1860s in certain important respects. In their external relations both systems were based on a pattern of non-selective entry to an education in which there was little formal 'processing' (i.e. the non-residential 'lectorial' system) and which led in turn to diverse, stratified outcomes. Internally they were both organized around the twin principles of, first, 'competitive individualism', with class tickets for the many and merit certificates and prizes for the elite few; and, second, 'consumer choice', which I discuss below. But there were also crucial differences. Externally, as we have seen, the ideal of accessibility had lost much of its meaning. Internally, three changes are important. First, the general degree ceased to be general (Davie 1961: *passim*). Second, as the functions of the university became more specialized and its 'boundaries' more defined, the examination system expanded into the 'vacuum' that had always existed between professor and student to become both the main mode of student-staff communication in non-honours courses and the main focus of student orientation (much as Becker, Geer & Hughes (1968) describe in *Making the Grade*). Third, and very speculatively, the improvement of twentieth-century urban communications turned what had previously been local universities, with students and student culture based on lodgings, into home-based universities in which most Scottish students lived most of their time with their parents.<sup>57</sup> This may have further reduced students' contact with the university and with each other.

The evidence from Robbins and Hale<sup>58</sup> shows how, relative to England, the Scottish mode of instruction was still lecture- (and not tutorial-)based. Scottish students spend more time in lectures and less in tutorials. Discussion groups (but not tutorials, which are mainly for honours students) are relatively large, and so are lectures. This explains why students can receive more formal instruction than in England without the staff giving more of their time to teaching. Unlike the system of the 1860s, however, the lectorial system was not the only possible one, although it is true that the less favourable staff/

student ratio ( $7\cdot9 : 1$  against  $6\cdot2 : 1$  for all British universities)<sup>59</sup> reflected accurately the admission of a higher percentage of the age-group (5 per cent against 4 per cent—i.e. 25 per cent more on the base of English students). Some claim that the lectorial system results from the survival of the ordinary, supposedly general, degree for which students take a minimum of seven courses in a minimum of five departments. This, it is argued, means that (as far as students in their first two years are concerned) any department may teach up to roughly three times as many students as its English counterpart—hence the reliance on the large lecture. (Davie (1963) argues more strongly that *idées générales* are best propagated through the large lecture. But I see no necessary connection between the generality of ideas and the size of the audience at which they are directed, especially when communication is only one way.) However, the logistics of the ordinary class are only superficially explained by the ordinary degree. A corollary of each department's facing, say, three times the number of students as its English counterpart would be, of course, that each student spends only one-third of his time in each department. It would therefore be perfectly possible within the limits of the national differences in staff/student ratios—differences paling into insignificance beside those we are presently being asked to consider—for Scottish students to receive as much tutorial teaching as the English without any increase in staff teaching loads. Why do they not?<sup>60</sup>

In my view, the real answer lies not in the ordinary degree but in the continuing embodiment of the Scottish value of individualism in the organization of the undergraduate curriculum. This limits both the institution's perception of, and its response to, the totality of student academic experience. Paradoxically, the emphasis on individualism has meant that the 'whole student' has never been the focus of university organization. The universities have never accepted a 'diffuse' definition of their rights over, or obligations to, the student. Having received his chance the student is left to himself to consume in the place, and at the level, to which his individual initiative (suitably motivated by an elitist reward system) takes him. The universities have not therefore evolved any institutional form that takes account of the total set of experiences of the individual student. For instance, with one recent exception, no 'moral' or *in loco parentis* function is discharged<sup>61</sup> and the hurried annual meeting with the adviser of studies is merely to guide the perplexed student through the constitutional thickets of an overcrowded syllabus and timetable.<sup>62</sup>

A further paradoxical consequence of the emphasis on individualism is that a norm of parity of treatment is applied to all students taking ordinary courses, irrespective of their year of attendance at university or the subjects they are studying. The institutionalized ideal of parity of teaching between students thus restricts the application of alternative pedagogical techniques that a department might judge to be appropriate either to a particular subject or to a particular year of study. Moreover, it may well be that the principle of consumer choice around which ordinary courses are organized inhibits unilateral action on teaching methods by any single department. Within the faculty the student may, with certain limitations, choose whatever subjects he wishes for the first two years of his course. No one knows what criteria, if any, guide student choices, but there is widespread fear among departments lest they become known as 'soft options'—as departments in which the level of examination is low enough to give their students a better chance of passing a degree examination. Is it too cynical to point out that the consequences for the pass rate of a low standard of examination are identical to the consequences of offering a high and effective standard of teaching?

The lectorial system is functionally related to the system of frequent class and university examinations which has, with the bureaucratization of the university, replaced the 'personal catechism' said to be typical of the heyday of the Scottish lecture (Davie 1961: 18, 19). The lecturer is also the examiner, and his lectures define the examinable curriculum to the student. Examinations both provide the lecturer with feedback and supply an institutional underpinning to the principle of consumer choice. The ordinary degree is attained by collecting passes. An examination passed is a subject disposed of, especially when passed at the first attempt. To risk a metaphor, the student consumes the product, passes it, and moves on to the next. Knowledge becomes not cumulative and general, therefore, but spasmodic and discrete. Thus the orientations of the university towards the student, and of the student towards his study, both presuppose and sustain a 'specific' (and not a 'diffuse') definition of the student role—a role which, like that of 'customer', is taken up or put down according to circumstance. All students are socialized to this system for their first two years, and one-half of students remain in it for their third year in which they complete their ordinary degree. What evidence there is suggests that the system is internalized by students.<sup>63</sup> In sum, the survival of the lectorial system is better explained by the values

around which the university and the process of student socialization are organized than it is by any connection, metaphysical or logistical, between general degrees and general ideas.

Can we relate the association we have found in Section V between social factors and the differential outcomes of university to our analysis of the way in which the university itself is organized around the principles we have just discussed? Tentatively an explanation may be attempted as follows. We may define differences in attainment as 'behaviours that approximate more or less closely to criteria established by those having the necessary authority (or power) in the organization (i.e. the staff)'. To be effective as an organization, therefore, the university must provide the entrant with at least two pieces of information: it must define to the student the criteria by which behaviour (attainment) is to be evaluated and it must provide the student with the means to obtain the necessary skills. The Scottish universities are not organized to do either very well. First, the criteria are open to dispute. In any culture a taxonomy of possible educational objectives provides a varied menu and there is no surer way of producing intradepartmental argument than by trying to reach agreement on the ideal set meal. This may be particularly true of Scotland where university culture is in any case split on the 'generalist/specialist' issue and where the English-educated incoming teacher may not even be aware that there are disputes or that his students may confront another tradition in other departments. Add to this the fact that one may often, particularly in a large lecture, communicate criteria of attainment to students that are not those that one intends, or, if they are, then are not those by which one examines; multiply the resultant ambiguities by a factor of anything up to three to allow for the possibly conflicting definitions of attainment the student might confront in the three departments in which he works concurrently in his first year; and we are left with the question: 'Just what does the new student think is expected of him?'

Even if he knew what was expected, however, the student would still be faced with the problem of how to acquire the prescribed skills. In this the 'normative' mode of social control that the university uses does little to help him, based, as it is, on the assumption that the student has already internalized appropriate academic values around which the greater part of his student life is to be organized.<sup>64</sup> He is assumed to see the student role as diffuse—to wish to study for its

own sake and to find in study his main source of satisfaction. However, we have already seen both that the formal organization of the Scottish university sustains a specific and not a diffuse definition of the student role; and that the minority of students who have internalized academic values on entry are more likely to complete an honours degree.<sup>65</sup>

The resultant hiatus is probably sustained by the relatively limited 'scope' of the Scottish universities. Typically in organizations, high scope (a large number of shared activities) 'enhances normative control because it separates the participants from social groups other than the organization and tends to increase their involvement in it' (Etzioni 1964:72). As we would expect of students at non-residential commuting universities, fewer Scottish graduates than graduates of English universities have participated in university extra-curricular activities (Political & Economic Planning 1956:262).

My guess is, then, that in Scotland the criteria defining attainment are more variable, and that there is less organizational provision, formal or informal, which might help students either to perceive these criteria or to attain excellence in them. If this were true it would not be surprising if, in this situation of uncertainty, the student reverted to playing the pupil role which had worked for him at school. Indeed it would be difficult in some respects to avoid this. Most students, after all, continue to live at home and attend university with fellow ex-pupils. Unlike England, the audience for the student's role-playing does not change when he enters university. We have already suggested that the Scottish senior secondary school accepted a more specific definition of the pupil/student role than was the case in England. Evidence from one year's entry (1969) to Edinburgh University tends to confirm this. Fewer Scottish than English entrants reported that they had held a position of authority as either a 'prefect or an officer of a school society'.<sup>66</sup> In sum, the organization of neither school nor university does much to encourage Scottish students either to see the pupil/student role as one of 'diffuse commitment to academic authority' or to change in that direction; and it may indeed be that the exercise of authority in Scottish schools does not train the university entrant to distinguish academic authority from other forms of authority which he will find exercised within the university.

I could take this much further but the main point should, by now, have emerged. If neither school nor university does much to socialize students to the values that the university (wrongly) presupposes in

its entrants, the academic race will go either to those whose social origins give them the best (i.e. most appropriate) start or to those whose motivations most closely conform to those that university organization presupposes. We cannot here go into the sex-role segregation that this conclusion implies exists in Scottish society, but at least the relevance of the variables to do with motivation and levels of parental education is clear. It is, moreover, some reassurance to note that the differential attainment by sex and social origins that we have found have their parallel in the differential participation of categories of students in university extra-curricular life. The two largest universities had until 1970 separate unions for men and women. Manual students participated less frequently than non-manual.<sup>67</sup> Thus behaviours associated with the ascriptive statuses of Scottish society are carried through the open doors of the university to thrive in the atmosphere of individualism they find within.

#### VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

My summary and conclusion must be brief. I have shown that, despite major administrative and organizational changes in the Scottish educational system in the last one hundred years, a distinctive pattern of social selection and a related educational culture, both in school and in university, have survived relatively intact in Scotland. These explain many of the apparently idiosyncratic differences between the Scottish and English systems and explain in particular why it is that Scottish student behaviour (including academic attainment) should be more influenced by social background, in its widest sense, than student behaviour in England appears to be. I am aware that I have probably begged more questions than I have answered; that the comparison with England, in itself parochial, has too often been only implicit; that a sociology of an educational system that contains virtually no reference to ideas lacks an essential dimension; that the mechanisms of socialization, the focal point of my argument, need a fuller explication than I can here give them. No matter. If I have established that Scottish society and the Scottish educational system are susceptible of worthwhile sociological investigation I shall be satisfied, even if, perhaps especially if, future investigations happen not to prefer the particular explanation I have given here.

## Notes

- 1 Several of my colleagues commented on an earlier draft of this paper. In addition I owe a particular debt to R. E. Bell for his extensive knowledge of university history and to Charles L. Jones for his invaluable help with computing. The research reported in this paper has been supported at various times by Glasgow University, the Scottish Council for Research in Education, and the Social Science Research Council. I am grateful to all of these without whom little of this work would have been done.
- 2 The ancient Scottish universities are Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and St Andrews. My comments apply mainly to the non-professional faculties in these universities although some are relevant to other faculties and many to the four new universities founded in Scotland in the 1960s. I do not, of course, hold that the four ancient universities have been identical at all times and in all respects. Nevertheless the similarities greatly outweigh the differences between them.
- 3 Turner's original formulation contains further propositions about differences in curriculum, socialization, and the social stratification context of these two types of system. Other writers (Halsey 1961b; Hopper 1968) have elaborated on Turner's model. I intend the contest-sponsored mobility idea here purely as a convenient shorthand description of the arithmetic properties of the two systems, although, as it happens, I have also found that some of Turner's related propositions have illuminated facts whose significance I should otherwise have missed. It is hardly necessary to point out that the magnitude of the differences between Scotland and England in this respect pales into insignificance when compared with, for instance, the magnitude of the differences between Britain and the USA.
- 4 This is the figure given by Osborne (1966: 218). Little & Westergaard (1964) give a figure of 20 per cent in maintained and direct-grant schools and a further 3 per cent in independent efficient schools. Douglas and colleagues (1966) found that 38 per cent of Scots in a cohort born in 1946 entered selective schools or courses compared with 30 per cent of English and Welsh children. Thus the national difference diminishes somewhat when full account is taken of the private sector, which is, of course, stronger in England than in Scotland. However, it would sharpen again were Wales, with its distinctive system, removed from the English statistics.
- 5 Douglas also writes: 'The reputation of Scottish education is high and it is unexpected to find that early leaving is more the pattern there than in the south.' What surprises Douglas, however, is predictable from my analysis.

- 6 There is some evidence in Douglas, Ross & Simpson (1968: 20-2) on the associations between social class and secondary-school attainment in England and Scotland. The Scottish social classes appear to diverge more than do the English in reading and arithmetical and mathematical attainment between eleven and fifteen years.
- 7 Committee on Higher Education (1963: 57) (the Robbins Report). The figure is 7 per cent.
- 8 Robbins (1963: Appendix One, pp. 15 and 26-7). Kelsall (1957: 4) reports similar findings for 'universities and colleges' but only 'a rough equality' between England and Scotland in the proportions admitted to universities alone.
- 9 For instance, 45 per cent of Scottish males with at least two Higher and three Lower passes (but less than three Higher passes) entered university; whereas only 26 per cent of English males with two but not three A-level passes, and only 2 per cent of those with one but not two A-level passes went to university. See Robbins (1963: Appendix One, Tables 14 and 23, pp. 20 and 30).
- 10 See Kelsall (1957: Table 15): English male manual (excluding Welsh home addresses) 26.1 per cent; Scottish male manual 28.6 per cent; English female manual 18.6 per cent; Scottish female manual 20.6 per cent (nationality classified by location of home address). To determine whether or not these figures meant that the Scottish manual child had a greater chance of university entry than his English counterpart would require a refined calculation in which the 'advantage' to the Scots manual child of the greater availability of university education would be 'offset' by the higher proportion of manual children in the age-group (owing to national differences in occupational structure and class fertility differentials).
- 11 Robbins (1963: Appendix One, Annex G, Table G1) shows that 19.5 per cent of all home entrants to Scottish universities in 1955 came from England and Wales. The percentage may have risen since then.
- 12 Robbins (1963: Appendix Two A, Part IV, p. 135, Table 13-derived) and UGC (1968: Table 69). These national differences cannot be explained by national differences in the proportionate size of faculties. Typically, wastage in pure science in which manual students are 'over-represented' is relatively high, but in Scotland a smaller proportion of all university places are in pure science (Hight 1954: 262-3; Osborne 1966: 184).
- 13 See Robbins (1963: Appendix Two B, pp. 193-217) for discussion.
- 14 At one Scottish university I have found that 11.8 per cent of an entry cohort were suspended permanently and that a further 1.8 per cent were suspended but subsequently readmitted. (These figures do not include 'voluntary withdrawals'.) The Hale Committee's investigation

- (UGC 1964: 21) of the use of the summer vacation found that some 40 per cent of Scottish students were liable for the September re-sits.
- 15 See Maxwell (1969: 97). Maxwell's conclusion on the occupations entered by the same pupils as those studied by Macpherson (1958) states: 'The underlying influence seems to be social class . . . the basic relations are those which relate social class to the use of the educational opportunities available.'
- 16 Robbins (1963: Appendix Two A, p. 138) found that Scottish university drop-outs were the least likely of any subsequently to complete a degree. This may be partly because there are proportionately fewer non-university alternatives available in Scottish higher education. In the cohort described in Section V, I have found that high social class is positively associated with the continuation of some form of education by university drop-outs only among males from 'professional' faculties. But only about half of all drop-outs continued with some form of education, full- or part-time.
- 17 For instance, in January 1966, the salaries of first- and second-class honours graduates teaching in secondary schools in Scotland went from £900-£1 750 by ten annual increments whereas those of ordinary graduates went from £820-£1 470 by twelve annual increments. Third-class honours graduates also got more than ordinary graduates. Twenty eight per cent of all teachers received responsibility allowances. The 'span' of salaries in Scotland is wider than in England (*Times Educational Supplement (Scotland)*, 28 Jan. 1966). Ordinary graduates may, however, get headships in elementary schools.
- 18 University of Aberdeen (1967: Table Vb). This evidence is not conclusive. It is based on a 55 per cent response ( $N = 111$ ) and sex is not distinguished in showing the relationship between degree type and salary. However, less than one-quarter of respondents were female. A quarter of all honours graduates earned less than £1 801 compared with two-thirds of all ordinary graduates.
- 19 See Davie (1961), Henderson (1969), and Hanham (1967). For a recent critique of Hanham see Myers (1970: 309 onwards).
- 20 On these see Kerr (1910). Without these bequests the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century public system, already greatly weakened by population growth and movement, could hardly have functioned at all.
- 21 However, this is partly because sectional interests within the middle classes have been more skilful than in England in getting what they wanted for themselves through the public system. See the apologia for Scotland's unique fee-paying public [sic] schools in Highet (1969).
- 22 Highet (1969: 12 and Part Three) argues that fee-paying in public [sic] schools is consistent with the 'democratic and radical traditions of Scottish culture'.

- 23 Committee on Grants to Students (1960: 132–3) (the Anderson Report). Significantly, the Committee also reports that the Scottish grant, unlike the English, was based on a criterion of individual ‘need’ (p. 29).
- 24 It would be interesting, but irrelevant to my present purpose, to speculate on whether an analysis using these values could be extended to other Scottish social institutions. In particular one might consider whether both values might not be derived from Knox, whose educational teachings were Lutheran but whose religious teachings were Calvinist. Is it significant that an area such as the north-east, where the ‘collectivist strand’ of the Scottish educational tradition has always been strong, should also have been more strongly Lutheran than elsewhere?
- 25 Education Commission (1868: x): ‘The theory of our School system, as originally conceived (by Knox) was to supply every member of the community with the means of obtaining for his children not only the elements of education, but such instruction as would fit him to pass to the Burgh school, and thence to university, or directly to the university from the parish school. The connexion between the Parochial and Burgh schools and the university is therefore an essential element in our scheme of National Education... (a lowering of standards would be) to deprive meritorious poverty of the means of satisfying a legitimate ambition... “So far” it has been truly said, “as an industrial culture has an industrial value, makes a man’s business work better, and helps him to get on in the world, the Scotch middle class has thoroughly appreciated it, and sedulously employed it, both for itself and for the class whose labour it uses; and here is their superiority to the English, and the reason of the success of Scotch skilled labourers and Scotsmen of business everywhere”... Therefore... the ancient theory of Scottish National Education should be scrupulously respected...’ (my parenthetical insertions).
- 26 The commissioners of 1876 opposed a matriculation examination because it would have excluded the parochial schoolboys who were older and of a lower social class (see Scottish Universities’ Commission 1878: 43 onwards). The commissioners of 1898 reiterated these arguments when relaxing the requirements for entry into graduating classes. They instanced Glasgow University, where a large proportion of students came from the city’s elementary schools and from the parochial schools of the Highlands and Islands, and said: ‘we were not prepared to shut the doors of the university against students of this class’ (Scottish Universities’ Commission 1900: xi onwards).
- 27 University Grants Committee (1936: 47). The UGC implicitly criticized the Scottish LEA policy of awarding ‘... large numbers of bursaries and maintenance allowances to enable poor students to enter

the universities' rather than making direct annual grants to the universities themselves to cover 'the cost of developing university education'. The implication is that the Scottish universities would bankrupt themselves unless they adopted English ways.

- 28 McClelland (1942) concluded that 25 per cent of a complete promotion group should be admitted to senior secondary courses. McIntosh (1959) points out that the educational circumstances on which this conclusion was based changed in 1946; but the recommendation was nevertheless there for local authorities to use, had they wanted to do so.
- 29 Education Commission (1868: 154-6 and Appendix D, pp. 235-42). These pages show the parental occupation for each student in two samples: one of 882 cases for the four universities 1866/7, and the other of 1212 cases for the Greek classes in Edinburgh University 1860/1-1866/7. Students of artisan, skilled, and labouring origins comprise 19·5 per cent and 19·4 per cent of all cases in the two respective samples. Since the unclassified cases amount to 11·1 per cent and 6·4 per cent respectively, manual students will comprise over 20 per cent of cases of known origin. In addition, just under one in five of all cases were classified as 'farmer'. Obviously the 'rural dimension' is difficult to handle, particularly in comparisons made over time, but one may reasonably assume that the term 'farmer' covered a wider span than it does today.
- 30 See McDonald (1967: 52-8). On Aberdeen, D. M. McKay (personal communication) tells me that a preliminary analysis of data on the occupational origins of Aberdeen students in the 1900s (the data analysed in Mackay 1969) shows that about one-third had manual origins.
- 31 About one-fifth were sixteen years or younger and about one-quarter were twenty years or older (Education Commission 1868: 242 and 246).
- 32 Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, however, some qualification was required for entry to graduating classes. Little is known about how transfer from junior to senior classes operated, but it is clear that, even as late as 1898, the commissioners were anxious to make it as easy as possible (Scottish Universities' Commission 1900: xi-xv).
- 33 For instance in 1876 the commissioners reported that, although the proportion of all Edinburgh students that graduated was growing, at Glasgow '... there cannot be more than about one in every six or seven of the students of any year who proceed to a degree' (Scottish Universities' Commission 1878: 24-5).
- 34 At least it was in the case of the payment of schoolmasters by pupils'

- fees (and there is reason to think that the professors' case was regarded as similar) (*ibid.*: xvii).
- 35 Education Commission (1868: 149–50) reads: '(The professor) . . . delivers his lectures . . . each day in his class-room, and there the relation between professor and student ceases, and they have nothing more to do with each other until they meet again at the next lecture hour. The student does not live in college, or hall subject to university supervision, as in Oxford and Cambridge. He has his own lodgings in the town, is his own master in all matters, and the university takes no cognizance of his existence beyond its walls. There is no matriculation examination, and no necessity to follow any particular course of study. A fixed attendance at the lectures of certain professors, and a certificate from them to the effect that the student has attended their classes, is necessary for graduation; but beyond this there is absolute freedom of choice to the students to come at any age, to stay any length of time, to work or not to work, to belong to any religious denomination or no denomination. In short, there is no interference of any kind with the students' lives.'
- 36 As a further indication of the strength of the continental model of extra-mural teaching in Scotland we find the Glasgow General Council (the body of graduates) petitioning the university to introduce the Privaat-Dozent system at Glasgow (Glasgow General Council, 1 April 1908). I owe this reference to R. E. Bell.
- 37 See also Grierson's recollections of the competitive atmosphere of the Scottish class in Davie (1961: 101–2).
- 38 Just under one-third of all medical and law graduates in the 1860s had taken a first degree (usually the ordinary MA) before their professional degree.
- 39 Boys of manual and 'agricultural' origins were older on entry than were those of 'professional' and 'commercial' backgrounds. Partitioning age of entry into 17-minus years and 18-plus years, and partitioning social origins into 'professional and commercial' against the rest, one finds a coefficient of association of .54 between age at entry and social origins. It is fairly clear that the humbler boys earned their living full-time for a year or two before going to university, with the possible exception of those entering Aberdeen in whose hinterland the parochial system was stronger. The parochial ideal has generally been stronger in the mind than it has been in practice and it may be this that has misled Osborne (Education Commission 1868: 242).
- 40 For instance between 1910 and 1965, in any decade, just under half of the seventy-one Scottish seats (seventy in 1910) were held by members educated either at English public schools or at Scottish independent schools that were modelled on the English public school. Analysing by

'seat-occupancy per decade' (i.e. ignoring the possibility that the same individual occupied a Scottish seat for two or more decades) one finds that in this period 12.2 per cent of Scottish seats were held by old Etonians, a further 20 per cent by other English public school products, and 10.4 per cent by Scottish independent school former pupils. I owe this information to the unpublished researches of Dr Kirsty Larner, Department of Politics, University of Glasgow. See also Birrell's exclamation from the top of a hill near the Firth of Forth to Asquith and Haldane: 'What a grateful thought that there is not an acre in this vast and varied landscape which is not represented at Westminster by a London barrister!' (Jenkins 1964: 41.)

- 41 This is a study of Aberdeen graduates but the author argues convincingly that it can, with certain qualifications, be generalized to all Scottish graduates.
- 42 I have in mind here the possibility that the Empire and the 'emigrant ladder' from Scotland acted as the safety-valve that Turner and others say the West and the 'immigrant ladder' were for the USA.
- 43 Turner (1960) suggests that in sponsored-mobility systems the criteria by which attainment is judged require '...the trained discrimination of the elite for their recognition. Intellectual, literary, or artistic excellences which can only be appraised by those trained to appreciate them, are perfect credentials in this respect.' The Scottish advocates' capitulation to Hannay's anglicizing attack on Scottish classicism sounds very much like the triumph of elitist criteria over the more 'open' Scottish classical tradition which was based less on textual scholarship than on literary appreciation and philosophical discussion in which all could participate.
- 44 For instance, the ratio of Bench to Bar in Scotland is higher than in England. Although the Scottish Bench is open to solicitors as well as advocates, approximately half of all Scottish advocates have positions on the Bench. Hearsay has it that the Scottish Bar is less easy to enter than the English, but hearsay may be wrong of course.
- 45 Scottish Council for Research in Education (1936: 190, Table B) and Collier (1938: 262 onwards).
- 46 'The most important means by which the relations between the universities and schools might be made more intimate, is by the institution of bursaries or scholarships open to competition to all comers... At St Andrews, the competition for such of the bursaries as are open is authoritatively said to have the best effect on the schools in connexion with the universities... the spirit of wholesome rivalry and emulation which is roused... is one of the features best worthy of notice... The open bursaries at Aberdeen have the best possible influence upon the relation of the schools to the universities...'

- (Education Commission 1868: 170–1). Evidence on the open-doors policy may be found in the Commission Reports of 1878 and 1900.
- 47 Only after 1924 did the minimum number of passes required for university entry always exceed the minimum number required for the award of the Leaving Certificate (Osborne 1966: 126–7). After that date the pattern of the Leaving Certificate was still dominated by the universities. See the discussion in Osborne (1966: 174–82) of recent changes in examination structure.
- 48 There is no English equivalent of the Scottish 'Dux'; nor do English newspapers give as much publicity as do the Scottish to the academic elite of the local secondary (and primary) school.
- 49 It was nevertheless possible throughout much of this period to enter university, despite an inadequate post-primary education, via the intermediate stage of the Teacher Training College (Scotland 1969: Vol. II, pp. 105–13).
- 50 This statement may require modification in view of the fact that the universities also had their own Preliminary Examination. I do not know how many students entered by this means who otherwise would not have qualified but the numbers appear to have been small in the 1920s (Scottish Council for Research in Education 1936: 14) and in the 1950s (Robbins 1963: Appendix One, p. 23).
- 51 The Scottish universities have always relied heavily on Oxbridge to provide postgraduate training for their first-class graduates. We badly need an analysis of the orientations of the staff of Scottish universities if only for the reasons outlined in Section VI. Only half of Scottish university teachers graduated from Scottish universities (Robbins 1963: Appendix Three, p. 182). For evidence on the numeric weakness of postgraduate education in Scotland see Robbins (1963: Appendix IIA, p. 42).
- 52 In the 1920s at 'a Scottish university' about one-quarter of arts and science degrees were with honours (Scottish Council for Research in Education 1936, derived from pp. 189–91). Today the proportion is about one-half (52·9 per cent in my cohort). Four-year tutorial-based courses pre-empt more 'resources' than do the three-year lecture-based.
- 53 My feeling is that what public debate the 'accessibility' issue received in the 1960s was concentrated on the issue of English students at Scottish universities. There was little wider reference to the appropriate numeric relationship between entry to higher education and the base measures of the size of the age-group and the numbers of 'qualified school-leavers'; and, on the other side of the coin, the education of Scottish graduates for emigration was rarely discussed. It would be interesting to know whether a content analysis of mass media communications confirmed this impression.

- 54 Formal admissions standards were raised in at least two of the four universities in the 1960s.
- 55 A brief description of the structure of this study may be found in McPherson & Atherton (1970).
- 56 They were, with the number in brackets giving the number of categories into which each variable was partitioned: Sex (2); Number of Highers passed at first attempt (7); Scholastic aptitude score (SAT) – verbal (5); SAT – mathematical (5); Remained at school for sixth year (2); Terminal age of education (TAE) – Father (3); TAE – mother (3); Only child (2); Four or more siblings (2); Social class – father (6); Social class – father's father (6); Social class – mother's father (6); Faculty (3); Reasons for university entry: Short-term attractions (2), Interest in specific subject (2), General intellectual interest (2), Wish for a particular job (2), Wish for security, status, and high economic rewards (2), 'Least unattractive of alternatives' (2). The Registrar-General's classification was used for categorizing social class. The six reasons for university entry were evolved from a content analysis of answers to the open-ended question, 'Please would you describe as fully as you can the considerations and influences which prompted you to enter a university?' Individual statements were coded to none, some, or all of the six categories according to the number and nature of the single reasons that we could identify in each statement. Since this question was answered retrospectively, two years after the respondent had entered university, distortions in recall may have occurred. It should be noted that almost all Scots at Scottish universities go to their local university. Since any inter-university variations there are in the ratio of honours to ordinary degrees would produce spurious relationships between the predictor and criterion variables only in the event of the sample's being unevenly distributed over the universities with respect to the predictor variable in question, the effects of inter-university differences are likely to be small, reflecting regional differences in occupational structure and education rather than differences due to pre-selection. A subsidiary analysis using 'university entered' as an additional categorical variable was carried out and this confirmed that the reported associations were not spurious in this respect.
- 57 In 1961, 47 per cent of students at Scottish universities (including Strathclyde but not Heriot-Watt) compared with 15 per cent of students at English universities lived at home (Osborne 1966: 236). The difference would be larger if only Scottish-educated students were included in the first statistic. The percentage of Scots living at home during the crucial first two years of their course is higher than that for Scots in their third or subsequent years (source: a confidential report, in my possession, on student accommodation at one Scottish

- university). We do not know what proportions lived at home at earlier periods, but we do know that while, with the exception of St Andrews, Scottish universities have drawn consistently on their local catchment area since 1918 (Mackay 1969: 58), comparable English universities have increasingly recruited from outside a radius of thirty miles and have reduced the proportion of their students living at home (Halsey 1961a: 456–65, Table 2). The stable local catchment areas of the Scottish universities may partly explain the persistence of the university culture I have described. But I am also thinking of the stability of the relationship between certain schools and universities which in England one finds only between Oxbridge and certain public or direct-grant schools. The Scottish situation is relatively ‘closed’.
- 58 Robbins (1963: Appendix Three, pp. 70, 72, 74, 79, 81) and Hale (UGC 1964: 41–2, 54, 63).
- 59 Robbins (1963: Appendix Three, Table 4, p. 7). The ratio for Great Britain excludes Oxbridge but includes Wales and Scotland. Both ratios are for full-time undergraduates per full-time teacher.
- 60 I am not arguing that they should. Nor am I assuming that one is faced with a black-and-white choice between a lectorial and a tutorial system. My main point is that, with present resources, other systems are possible, and therefore it is a legitimate question to ask why it is that one has the present system. For instance, we might decide, say, that tutorials or seminars in the first year prepared the ground for lectures to thrive on in a student’s subsequent years (or we might decide the converse). Alternatively, we might decide that tutorials were necessary in some subjects but not in others. Reorganization of teaching methods around these principles would require three things: abandoning the principle of parity of treatment between students in a class (i.e. making the individual student and not the class the unit for concern – not such a big step, since ordinary classes contain students in all years of attendance at university); second, abandoning the principle of (rough) parity of treatment between students in different classes; and, third, computer timetabling and course/resource-planning. The point of the analysis in this section is that the values and principles around which the university is presently organized inhibit action in this direction and provide one reason, possibly the main one, why no adequate investigation has been undertaken of the pedagogical alternatives to the lectorial system in the Scottish universities.
- 61 The exception that proves the rule is St Andrews. Until the mid-1920s it was the most local of all Scottish universities (Mackay 1969: 58). But Principal Irvine, the archetypal ‘lad o’ pairts’, built student residences, revived the ‘Regenting’ system, ‘as a type of moral tutorage of undergraduates’ and revived ‘mediaeval’ (actually Victorian)

traditions (Young 1969: 259–61). In 1926 an alumnus association was formed (Cant 1946: 115, 127, 132). In other words, the ‘scope’ of the university was enlarged and a ‘diffuse’ definition of the student role, on an English model, was adopted. One hopes that the English who subsequently flocked to St Andrews were suitably flattered that this mediaevalism was introduced especially for them. R. E. Bell pointed out to me the significance of St Andrews.

- 62 See Committee on Higher Education (1963: *Evidence*, Vol. LC, Memorandum submitted by the Scottish Union of Students). Also relevant both to this point and to the whole section is the Scottish evidence in Committee on Education and Science (1969: Vol. III, Scottish sub-committee).
- 63 Obviously this is difficult to prove. Nevertheless it is significant that attempts to change it, both projective and real, are resisted. Thus though lectured at more frequently than students in any other university group, Scottish students are least likely to feel that they are over-lectured (UGC 1964: Table 6.1). Again, Jennie Lee recalls how Sir Godfrey Thomson’s attempt to introduce a tutorial system at Edinburgh foundered on the ‘sullen anxious dismay’ of students who were ‘frightened out of . . . (their) wits when a university class threatened to become anything more serious than memorizing set pieces taken down to dictation’ (Lee 1963: 69). Her reminiscences of Edinburgh in the 1920s sound very like the system of today as I have described it: ‘The strictly utilitarian part of university life consisted of going in droves to one class after another, taking down copious notes of lectures, memorizing these and reading the prescribed books. At certain times of the year we poured out all we could remember on to our examination papers . . . This process earned us pass certificates. Once these were safely netted we could comfortably forget all but the vaguest medley of what we had memorized . . . We wanted the old familiar well-established system that enabled us, by sheer donkey work, to graduate successfully in the shortest possible time . . . Our degrees were primarily our meal tickets.’
- 64 Here I am following Etzioni’s typology of modes of social control in organizations and his analysis of the interchangeability of pre-selection, socialization, and social control (Etzioni 1964: Chs. 6 and 7). Using his terms one could say that university staff in Scotland have abandoned coercive controls (e.g. calling the register in lectures or withholding class tickets), assume (by and large wrongly) that they exercise normative controls, but in fact rely, unwittingly, on a fairly large measure of utilitarian control (‘The granting of symbols . . . which allow one to acquire goods and services’ – i.e. degrees).
- 65 The figure of 18·8 per cent for the academically motivated will be an underestimate for two reasons connected with the mode of data

- collection. It is in the nature of open-ended responses (a) that one does not mention everything that one might and (b) that subjects having nothing to say are, in analysis, confounded with those having something to say but being unable or unwilling to say it.
- 66 One can generalize from university entrants to the schools from which they come only with great caution, but the finding holds up whatever the categories of school one compares in isolating this apparent national difference. This finding comes from an investigation of Edinburgh University, to be reported later.
- 67 Abbot (1965: Vol. I, pp. 202-6 and 212-15). Like Abbot, I have found (at another Scottish university) that manual students participate less frequently than non-manual, but there are interesting faculty variations.

## References

- ABBOT, J. 1965. Social Class as a Factor in Social Relations of Students in Three Northern Universities. PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.
- BARRIE, J. M. 1894. *An Edinburgh Eleven*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- BECKER, H. S., GEER, B. & HUGHES, E. C. 1968. *Making the Grade*. New York: Wiley.
- CANT, R. 1946. *University of St Andrews*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.
- CLARK, B. R. 1960. The 'Cooling-out' Function in Higher Education. *American Journal of Sociology* 65: 569-76. Reprinted in A. H. Halsey et al. (eds.) (1961).
- COLLIER, A. 1938. Social Origins of a Sample of Entrants to Glasgow University. *Sociological Review* 30 (2): 161-85 and (3): 262-77.
- COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND SCIENCE. 1969. *Student Relations*. London: HMSO.
- COMMITTEE ON GRANTS TO STUDENTS. 1960. *Report* (Anderson Report). London: HMSO.
- COMMITTEE ON HIGHER EDUCATION. 1963. *Report* (Robbins Report). Cmnd. 2154. London: HMSO.
- DAVIE, G. E. 1961. *The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and her Universities in the Nineteenth Century*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; Chicago: Aldine.
- 1963. Lavish Lawlessness. *New Saltire* 10, December.
- DAVIES, D. I. 1970. The Management of Knowledge. *Sociology* 4 (1).
- DOUGLAS, J. W. B. 1964. *The Home and the School*. London: MacGibbon & Kee.
- DOUGLAS, J. W. B. et al. 1966. Differences in Test Score and in the Gain-ing of Selective Places for Scottish Children and Those in England and Wales. *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 36 (2) 150-7.

- DOUGLAS, J. W. B., ROSS, J. M. & SIMPSON, H. R. 1968. *All Our Future*. London: Peter Davies.
- EDUCATION COMMISSION (SCOTLAND). 1868. *Third Report of her Majesty's Commissioners* (the Argyll Commission). Edinburgh: HMSO.
- ETZIONI, A. 1964. *Modern Organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- FLOUD, J. E., HALSEY, A. H. & MARTIN, F. M. 1956. *Social Class and Educational Opportunity*. London: Heinemann.
- GLASGOW GENERAL COUNCIL. 1908. Minutes, 1 April.
- HALSEY, A. H. 1961a. The Changing Functions of Universities. In A. H. Halsey, J. Floud & C. A. Anderson (eds.), *Education, Economy and Society*. New York: Free Press.
- 1961b. Sponsored and Contest Mobility: A Criticism of Turner's Hypothesis. *American Sociological Review* 26 (3): 454.
- HALSEY, A. H., FLOUD, J. & ANDERSON, C. A. (eds.) 1961. *Education, Economy and Society*. New York: Free Press.
- HANHAM, H. J. 1967. Mid-century Scottish Nationalism: Romantic and Radical. In R. Robson (ed.), *Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain*. London: Bell.
- HENDERSON, I. 1969. *Scotland Kirk and People*. London: Lutterworth Press.
- HIGHET, J. 1954. Education. Chapter 17 of A. K. Cairncross (ed.), *The Scottish Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1969. *A School of One's Choice*. London & Glasgow: Blackie.
- HOPPER, E. I. 1968. A Typology for the Classification of Educational Systems. *Sociology* 2 (1): 29-46.
- JENKINS, R. 1964. *Asquith*. London: Collins.
- KELSALL, R. K. 1954. Self-recruitment in Four Professions. In D. V. Glass (ed.), *Social Mobility in Britain*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- 1957. *Report on an Inquiry into Applications for Admissions to Universities*. London: Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth.
- KERR, J. 1910. *Scottish Education, School and University*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- LEE, J. 1963. *This Great Journey*. London: McGibbon & Kee.
- LIPSET, S. M. & BENDIX, R. 1964. *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- LITTLE, A. & WESTERGAARD, J. 1964. The Trend of Class Differentials in Educational Opportunity in England and Wales. *British Journal of Sociology* 15 (4).
- MCCLELLAND, W. 1942. *Selection for Secondary Education*. London: University of London Press.

- MACDIARMID, H. 1966. *The Company I've Kept*. London: Hutchinson.
- MCDONALD, I. J. 1960. Social Class of Students at the University of Glasgow in 1910, 1934 and 1960. B Ed thesis, University of Glasgow.
- 1967. Untapped Reservoirs of Talent? *Scottish Educational Studies* 1 (1).
- MCINTOSH, D. M. 1959. *Educational Guidance and the Pool of Ability*. London: University of London Press.
- MACKAY, D. I. 1969. *Geographical Mobility and the Brain Drain*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- MCPHERSON, A. F. (in press). Some Methodological and Substantive Conclusions from a Longitudinal Study of the Educational and Occupational Behaviour of Scots entering Tertiary Education. *Sociological Microjournal* (Copenhagen) 7.
- MCPHERSON, A. F. & ATHERTON, G. F. 1970. Graduate Teachers in Scotland: A Sociological Analysis of Recruitment to Teaching amongst Recent Graduates of the Four Ancient Scottish Universities. *Scottish Educational Studies* 2 (1).
- MACPHERSON, J. S. 1958. *Eleven-year-olds Grow Up*. London: Scottish Council for Research in Education. Excerpts reprinted in A. H. Halley *et al.* (eds.) (1961).
- MAXWELL, J. 1969. *Sixteen Years On*. London: University of London Press.
- MORGAN, I. N. & SONQUIST, J. A. 1963. Problems in the Analysis of Survey Data, and a Proposal. *American Statistical Association Journal* 58 (302).
- MYERS, J. D. 1970. Scottish Teachers and Educational Policy, 1803-1872: Attitudes and Influence. PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.
- NISBET, J. D. The Social Background of a University Population in 1933, 1953 and 1959. (Unpublished.)
- OSBORNE, G. S. 1966. *Scottish and English Schools*. London: Longmans.
- 1968. *Change in Scottish Education*. London: Longmans.
- POLITICAL & ECONOMIC PLANNING. 1956. *Graduate Employment*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- SAUNDERS, L. J. 1950. *Scottish Democracy 1815-1840*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.
- SCOTLAND, J. 1969. *History of Scottish Education*. London: University of London Press.
- SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR RESEARCH IN EDUCATION. 1936. *The Prognostic Value of University Entrance Examinations in Scotland*. London: University of London Press.
- SCOTTISH EDUCATION DEPARTMENT. 1965. *Education in Scotland in 1964*. Cmnd. 2600. Edinburgh: HMSO.

- SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES' COMMISSION. 1878. *Report*. Edinburgh: HMSO.
- 1900. *Report*. Edinburgh: HMSO.
- The Times Educational Supplement (Scotland)*. 28 Jan. 1966.
- TURNER, R. H. 1960. Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System. *American Sociological Review* 25 (5): 855–67. Reprinted in A. H. Halsey *et al.* (eds.) (1961).
- UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN (Careers and Appointments Service). 1967. *Ten Years On*. (Unpublished.)
- UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH. 1970. *Report of the Student Academic Performance Committee, 1967/68*. Edinburgh.
- UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMITTEE. 1936. *Report 1929–30 to 1934–35*. London: HMSO.
- 1964. *Report of the Committee on University Teaching Methods* (Hale Report). London: HMSO.
- 1968. *Enquiry into Student Progress*. London: HMSO.
- YOUNG, D. 1969. *St Andrews Town & Gown, Royal and Ancient*. London: Cassell.

© Andrew McPherson 1973



Taylor & Francis  
Taylor & Francis Group  
<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

RAYMOND JOBLING

## *A Traditional Theme in General Sociology and its Relevance for the Study of Universities*

---

Education was a focus of interest for many of the founding fathers of sociology. Indeed, Emile Durkheim was directly involved with it for most of his professional life. At Bordeaux he gave a weekly lecture on *pédagogie*, and in 1902 he took a chair in that subject at the Sorbonne, which he was to occupy for fifteen years (until his death in fact), never giving less than a third of his lecturing time, and sometimes two-thirds, to it. Two collections of his lectures are referred to still, *L'Éducation morale* and *Éducation et sociologie* (trans. 1961; 1956). There is also the almost totally forgotten *L'Évolution pédagogique en France* (2 vols. 1938; cf Crittenden 1965). But Durkheim is remembered only in passing by present-day specialists in the sociology of education. Even Olive Banks, the author of the best of the available British textbooks in the field, mentions him only briefly in the Introduction, to ignore him for the remainder of the book (1968: 10–13). His central concerns, social integration and social control, are, she observes, virtually excluded from the attentions of British and American sociologists (1968: 11). On the other hand, functionalism is *the* traditional and most widely applied conceptual framework within the specialism — a direct and distinct legacy from Durkheim.

It is Durkheim's concentration on education as individual socialization that disturbs contemporary sociologists. They point to the lack of interest on the part of British social anthropologists, who have been heavily influenced by Durkheim, in formal educational institutions. Meyer Fortes, for example, has observed

'that the problem presented by this [educational] function of society is of an entirely different order to that presented by the religious or economic or political system of a people. The former is primarily a problem of genetic psychology, the latter of cultural or sociological analysis' (1938: 6).

This somewhat traditional anthropological view is rejected by Banks. She agrees with J. Floud & A. H. Halsey, whose 1958 trend report on research in the field is still a classic source for elucidating the conceptual orientations of sociology of education, that such a view ignores the point that in technologically advanced societies socio-logically relevant issues of a novel kind are raised by the fact that educational tasks are there performed by specialized agencies which may behave as 'relatively independent factors ... promoting or impeding change and producing unintended as well as intended, dysfunctional as well as functional consequences' (1968: 10). While Floud & Halsey are at some pains to stress this, at any rate partial, independence of educational *institutions*, they also maintain that the educational *system* must be examined in relation to a wider social system, bearing in mind its relation to tendencies for change and development. But Floud & Halsey and Banks are sceptical about the utility of a 'structural-functional' system model, since in their view the notion of social equilibrium, which is central to such a model, even if it is 'interpreted dynamically' is a difficult notion to apply to developed industrialized societies which are dominated by change (Banks 1968: 12; Floud & Halsey 1958: 171). Moreover, structural functionalism is 'inherently a-historical', which further compounds the difficulty (Floud & Halsey 1958: 183). Finally, the structural-functional approach orients analysis towards shared values and integration, minimizing conflicts of interest. Despite these objections, both Floud & Halsey and Banks employ a functionalist *language*, which would seem to imply some degree of commitment to a functionalist framework for analysis. Thus the former can write of education having 'two characteristic *functions* in relation to systems of stratification, namely differentiation and selection' (1958: 177); and elsewhere of educational organizations suffering 'quite profound transformations of social function under the impact of pressures and expectations generated in the wider social structure' (1958: 192). It is, however, in their conceptualization of the educational *institution*, treated either as an *organization* or as a *system*, that the authors differ. Banks commits herself to a *closed-system* model. Her discussion of the school as a social system is based upon a definition of it offered by Willard Waller as 'a closed system of social interaction' (1968: 180; cf. Waller 1932), while her treatment of the school as a formal organization gives no attention to exchanges with the environment. Floud & Halsey, on the other hand, point to the necessity of employing an *open-system* model

for the analysis of educational institutions. Thus they are critical of Waller for devoting only one chapter to the relations with the wider society (1958: 186), and in their discussion of colleges and universities they applaud the efforts made by others to treat 'the dialectical interplay of a distinctive corporate organization with the rationalizing pressures of advancing industrialism' (1958: 187).

The authors considered here are in some measure representative of a majority of others in their chosen specialism. They apply a functionalist framework in their analysis, but on the whole fail to specify explicitly the exact nature of their functionalism. Probably they are functionalist only in the broadest sense—in that they view social phenomena as causally related to one another in a circular fashion, demonstrating some degree of feedback (cf. Cohen 1968). Since they are aware that the phenomena that interest them are changing as well as structured, they must, if they are to be consistent, attach themselves, albeit implicitly, to a functionalist intellectual 'lineage' which will enable them to recognize the ubiquity of change (and if possible conflicts of interest which are generated systemically) as part of their model and facilitate its analysis. In their rejection of Durkheim, they do, of course, less than justice to him in maintaining that his analyses pay little attention to social change. Leo Schnore (1958) and Robert Bellah (1959) have separately drawn attention to the way in which Durkheim argued that structural differentiation takes place as a response to adaptive exigencies, and that this process is a major aspect of social change. Bellah maintains that Durkheim's concern with 'structure', far from obscuring the problem of change, illuminates it. The notion of structural differentiation has been taken up by Talcott Parsons who sees it as the major manifestation of 'adaptive enhancement' in social systems (1966). His model is of an open rather than a closed system. S. N. Eisenstadt too has discussed such a model (1965). Both employ social *evolution* as a key concept—and both recognize a debt to Durkheim. That change stems in large part from sources external to the system is also implicit in their models.

Durkheim is but one of the founding fathers who employed an evolving-system model, relying on a bio-organic analogy in the analysis of social structure and change. Two other exponents of the analogy, Herbert Spencer (1851; 1874; 1904; cf. Kimball 1932) and Lester Ward (1883; cf. Kimball 1932), did, like him, give considerable attention to education. But as Talcott Parsons has asked, 'Who now reads Spencer?' (1937: 3), and Ward is almost universally ignored out-

side the USA—even in general sociology, let alone sociology of education. His social evolutionism was a major component of the early American ‘educational sociology’—but it has long been buried in favour of an a-historical scientific empiricism in the less normatively oriented ‘sociology of education’. Social evolutionism as an element in British general sociology was almost entirely removed from the scene when L.T. Hobhouse vacated the senior chair at the London School of Economics (cf. Abrams 1969) (since Ginsberg’s influence does appear to have been slight). Though the last of the links with the bio-organic analogy went with him, ‘social biology’ still had a role to play. But the social biology of L. Hogben’s interwar department was a far cry from Spencer’s version. The department brought together in particular a number of social demographers who initiated demographic studies of educational institutions and phenomena that were to provide a model for the major research in British sociology of education after World War II (cf. Hogben 1938). All the important immediately post-war researchers had a connection with that department—if only as research students under David Glass. Postwar notions of ‘structure’ tended to be somewhat demographic therefore, and it was no accident that Floud & Halsey were to conclude their 1958 trend report with the view that ‘the most satisfactory work so far has been done on problems amenable to treatment by the methods of demography and the social survey’ (1958: 192) (thereby denying recognition to the one study in British sociology of education to that date which did focus on social structure, process, and change at the level of the total educational system and total society, namely Olive Banks’s *Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education* (1955).

While it is true that the bio-organic analogy and social evolutionism are no longer a part of British academic-professional sociology, this is not to say that they are altogether dead. At least one social analyst has in recent years been employing such an analogy within an evolutionary framework in order to describe and interpret the structure and development of (in his case, higher) educational institutions and systems, namely Sir Eric Ashby.

Ashby has described the university as

‘a mechanism for the inheritance of the western style of civilization. It preserves, transmits, and enriches learning, and it undergoes evolution as animals and plants do. Therefore one can say that the

pattern of any particular university is a result, on the one hand of its heredity, and on the other hand of its environment.

Let us carry this biological analogy one step further. Among communities of organisms, and among communities of universities, there are episodes of innovation and hybridization, when new forms appear' (Ashby 1967a: 3; cf. 1967b).

He goes on to give an account of the development of the German university following von Humboldt's foundation of a university in Berlin in 1810 which embodied a fresh concept of 'humanism' to which later was to be added 'empiricism'. British and American scholars were to travel to Germany throughout the nineteenth century and return with ideas and forms that were incorporated in their own university systems. In transplantation there was to be a 'British adaptation of the German inheritance':

'It is common knowledge in genetics that when a gene enters a new environment its manifestation may change. This is what happened to German concepts of a university as they crossed the Channel. Confronted with a different academic tradition in a different society, the German concepts were assimilated but transformed. There were many reasons for the transformation. One important reason was that there was no effective competition among British universities, such as existed among the universities in the German States. In Germany rivalry between universities stimulated them to adopt new ideas' (1967a: 4).

But in England the newer institutions could not compete with the pre-eminence of Oxford and Cambridge, and they therefore 'acquired by a process of social mimicry, some of [their] prevailing assumptions about higher education' (1967a: 8), especially a commitment to the cultural socialization of a select minority. By the mid-nineteenth century German humanism and empiricism had become wedded to the English stress on elitism and character-formation in the evolving English higher educational system.

In the USA the adaptation took a different form. The German ideas, in entering a 'different environment underwent different modifications':

'And so in the bloodstream of American and British universities there is a precious inheritance from the German universities . . . the

nineteenth century idea of a university is a hybrid with a heredity derived from Germany, Britain, and America' (1967a: 8).

Considering the universities today Ashby focuses on their adaptability to further environmental changes:

'Formerly they were detached organisms, assimilating and growing in accordance with their own internal laws. Now they have become absolutely essential to the economy and the very survival of nations. Under the patronage of princes or bishops they were cultivated as garden flowers of no more significance to the state's economy than the court musician. Under the patronage of modern governments they are cultivated as intensive crops, heavily manured, and expected to give a high yield essential for the nourishment of the state. Universities are, as I have said, mechanisms for the inheritance of culture. Like other genetic systems, they have great inertia. They are living through one of the classical dilemmas of systems in evolution. They must adapt themselves to the consequences of their success, or they will be discarded by society; they must do so without shattering their own integrity, or they will fail in their duty to society ... forces from outside the university, which formerly had only a marginal effect upon its evolution, are in the next generation likely to exert a powerful influence on its evolution.'

It is a melancholy fact that universities have not devised efficient built-in mechanisms for change. There are, of course, some virtues in inertia; but not if the inertia is so great that change has to be imposed from outside. For changes from outside are often so violent that they endanger the university's heredity. Anyone with experience of universities knows that academic evolution, like organic evolution, is accomplished in small continuous changes. Major mutations are generally lethal' (1967a: 16).

Ashby is not, of course, a professional sociologist, but a seal of approval has been put on this analysis by such a professional, namely Talcott Parsons (1967).

Parsons maintains that Ashby has given the clearest perspective on some of the principal phases of nineteenth-century university development which have provided a basis for contemporary university structure. He expresses a particular sympathy with Ashby's

'use of what many would with some disparagement call the biological analogy between the genetic constitution of species and the

cultural heritage of societies. A very good case can be made for the view that this is much more than an analogy in the usual sense; that in the human phase of the evolution of living systems an important part of the functions of maintaining continuity of pattern and the delicate balance between stability of such patterns and their openness to evolutionarily creative change has in fact been taken over by "culture", i.e., by symbolic codes and the resources for expression, communication and evaluation which are organized through them . . . the much more pronounced differentiation of the intellectual disciplines from the rest of the cultural heritage has introduced an enormously important new dynamic factor into the social process. . . . In line with the principles of biology, Sir Eric quite rightly emphasizes the importance, if the functions of this pattern-system are to be fulfilled, of maintaining the structural autonomy of the university system, especially *vis-à-vis* the primary operative subsystems of the society, notably its governmental organization and its system of economic production' (1967).

For at least two social analysts, therefore, there is still value in the organic analogy. They set themselves the tasks of isolating, first, the genetic components and the inheritance of university structure; second, the transformation that takes place as the 'home' environment changes; and, third, the changes that take place as transplantation from one environment to another occurs. In the case of Germany they point to the commitment to education through training in specialized scholarship and science, realized in structural terms in the development of the research 'Institutes'. In England they indicate the emphasis on education as 'cultural socialization', structurally embodied in the Oxford and Cambridge colleges. For the USA they emphasize the demand for 'instrumental value' ('practical pay-off') in higher education, seen in the foundation of the land-grant colleges with their open-door admission policies, and the growth of departments in any and all locally relevant, applied disciplines. The German pattern was transplanted to England but in this new environment it was to undergo transformation. (For example, *Lernfreiheit* was never established here. The university has always controlled the direction of undergraduate studies and life, standing, so it is said, *in loco parentis*.)

The initial acceptance of 'German' ideas has in the English case been short-lived. For example, whereas specialized 'honours' studies at the undergraduate level in disciplinary-based departments as a

preparation for graduate research became a part of the 'provincial' English university, there has been a reaction in the new foundations and a restatement of the original English ideal and structure (cf. Halsey 1961a and b; 1962; Cross & Jobling 1969; Jobling 1969; 1970). The new universities have reactivated a genetic predisposition towards elitism and cultural socialization. This is in part a matter of adaptation to changes in the environment, but the form of the adaptation is set by their inheritance. Ashby and Parsons give attention to environmental pressures stemming from demographic and cultural changes. Both kinds of change lead to increased applications for undergraduate admission. In the USA the universities cope by spawning new campuses of the state university and/or differentiating into four-year and two-year institutions ('universities' and 'community colleges' for example). Admission figures rise, as do undergraduate failures—which are dealt with by a variety of cooling-out structures and processes (cf. Clark 1960). In England the elitism of the existing system is basically unaltered. More universities are founded and the admissions procedures are to a degree centralized and bureaucratized in the form of UCCA<sup>1</sup> (but the actual decision to admit or not is left with the individual university) and are now based on a combination of competitive achievement and ascribed factors. But the pyramid of prestige remains unaltered (Halsey 1961b). If anything it is more solid. And the social composition of the undergraduate population is unaltered.

As in the USA the higher education system differentiates. On the one hand, the universities themselves bifurcate. There are now 'universities' and 'technological universities'. Both help to cope with demographic changes but the latter also respond to an increasing demand from the 'environment' for instrumental value (practical payoff) and to this extent the English pattern of development follows that of the USA. Max Weber directed attention towards such a cultural reorientation in a contribution subsequently taken up by Halsey in an analysis of the English situation (Weber 1948; Halsey 1962). But it is also true that the 'non-technological' new universities have been structured to cope with a pressure of a different kind. It has been believed not only that there are more applicants now who have the formal qualifications necessary for higher study, but that many of these applicants, while intellectually capable, are culturally undernourished. There is a 'new', first-generation student who must be given special attention, for the university, in the English heritage, traditionally per-

forms the function of awakening charisma, and engages in the 'pedagogy of cultivation'. Its graduates must be broadly educated men, not technical specialists. Therefore in curriculum, teaching method, social organization, geographical location, physical form, pattern of government, etc. there has been a tendency for the English new universities to imitate not only 'Oxbridge', but a version of it less contaminated by miscegenation than the contemporary form. One of Durkheim's central concerns, (moral) socialization and social integration, is therefore a relevant focus for contemporary sociologists analysing higher education.

The other major structural differentiation is a product of the binary policy. To cope with environmental pressures an entirely new organizational form has been created, namely the polytechnics. These have a genetic structure which differs in significant respects from that apparent in the universities and stand in different relation to the encompassing environment. Whereas, as Ashby and Parsons maintain, the key element in the organization-environment relationship in the case of the universities is the preservation of autonomy, in the case of the polytechnics it is their lack of autonomy—their more total and immediate responsiveness to environmental pressure and indeed control—that is the most striking feature. The universities do 'bargain' with government, the major source of finance, but in the shape of the University Grants Committee, whose members are themselves university academics. By withholding the 'title' of university the government has cut the polytechnics off from their inheritance. Non-university institutions have no *right* to independence. Nor have they a right to refuse non-degree-level studies—especially those of a directly instrumental or locally relevant character—as have the universities in the English tradition. The binary policy is an important instrument of social control in the hands of the government. A second of Durkheim's concerns is therefore relevant to contemporary educational analysis.

It might be argued that the new technological universities are similar in structure and function to the polytechnics—especially since in a sense they seem to share a common inheritance, the former having been only recently 'converted' from colleges of advanced technology. But the technological universities *are* essentially *universities*. As universities they are free to develop their inherited relative autonomy, for example. They do accept responsibility for applied studies, but this is now as much a characteristic of universities as of non-university institutions, provided they are of degree level. There is some indica-

tion that the new technological universities may be quite firmly emphasizing other traits they have inherited from their university 'parent'. Thus, for example, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bath emphasizes that the relationship between staff and students has changed in the transition from CAT to university (Moore 1966). In the 'Technical College' the 'students are probably living in the neighbourhood and are therefore likely to be the "nine to five" type. You haven't got that essential "living together", that community atmosphere that one would hope to establish in a university' (Moore 1966: 27). He goes on to stress the importance of physical location and site, and architectural form, in this connection. He agrees with the suggestion that 'being in Bath, which is a beautiful town with agreeable associations . . . may help to *upgrade* (my emphasis) the whole idea of a technological university in the minds of parents and headmasters and headmistresses, and of course, of prospective students as well' (Moore 1966: 28). He also 'feels it is absolutely necessary' to 'turn out graduates with a wide outlook', because 'a world which is ruled by narrow-minded scientists is a world which is to be dreaded' (Moore 1966: 30). The difference between the technological universities and the other new universities (Lancaster, Essex, etc.) is 'not going to be quite as great as some people imagine' (Moore 1966: 32). The Vice-Chancellor of this new technological university at any rate sees his institution in terms remarkably reminiscent of those expressed by Thistlethwaite, James, Templeman, *et al.*, the Vice-Chancellors of the non-technological new universities. These terms are in conformity with the 'English ideal'. There is further indication, moreover, that the very processes of converting a CAT into a university have, in the case of Bath, resulted in some movement in the social-class composition of the institution towards that of a traditional university, i.e. the proportion of the undergraduate population coming from working-class backgrounds has declined (Walters 1966; Sandford *et al.* 1965). A similar process may be seen in operation at Bradford University of Technology (Musgrave 1967). This is a more basic change than going from mainly non-residential, perhaps part-time, to residential, full-time students. It is a change in social structure and function of a more fundamental kind. At least some of the former CAT's have in fact already taken the first steps towards becoming 'universities', not only in name but in the full, traditional, 'English' sense.

However, as a result of the binary policy the universities do have a significant new factor in their environment, not previously present—

and unforeseen by Ashby. Ashby contends that the nineteenth-century foundations could not compete with Oxford and Cambridge, and therefore had to imitate them. No new steps were taken along the evolutionary path. This is to underestimate the extent to which the German influence enhanced the adaptive capacity of the universities during the late nineteenth and the twentieth century. Moreover, the universities must now compete with the polytechnics which cannot be too imitative of the universities since their very genetic structure does not permit it. Yet still the competitive struggle is weighted in favour of the universities. The clear instrumentalism of the technological sub-species, including its readiness to engage in contract research for industry as well as government, and to educate professionals for industry, does constitute a significant evolution. The species 'university' has moved on with its adaptive capacity enhanced so that it can the better compete with its rival in the contemporary English environment, the species 'polytechnic'—for the time being anyway. University autonomy cannot be attacked on the grounds that as a higher educational form it is totally unresponsive to community concerns and needs.

The organic analogy must therefore, if it is to be of value, involve phylogeny as well as physiology; must focus on the reproduction and evolution of the species as well as on the survival of individual organisms (Buckley 1967). An organic model of higher education implies perpetual conflict in a 'struggle for structure'. It is derived from Lester Ward rather than from Spencer. Instead of seeing higher educational systems and institutions as 'tending to maintain a relatively stable equilibrium by way of continuous processes which neutralize endogenous and exogenous sources of variability that would change the structure' (Buckley 1967: 12-14) (as Ashby and Parsons appear to be maintaining), we see them not only as *structure-maintaining* but also as *structure-elaborating* systems. We must conceptualize an inherently unstable system bringing out dynamic, processual, and potential-maintaining properties. A useful concept is therefore morphogenesis. In order to maintain a steady state (rather than equilibrium) the system may have to change some elements of its particular structure. In a sense the most important focus is not the level of the individual organism and its survival (Has any university 'died' in England since Stamford?), but that of the aggregate or population (cf. Buckley 1967: 12-14). Such a focus enables us to be

functionalist and yet avoid the perils of excessive conservatism and failure to recognize conflict processes.

Recent developments in organizational analysis indicate the direction that analysis of the structure and development of higher educational institutions and systems might take in the future. F. E. Emery & E. L. Trist, for example, have explored the relevance of general systems theory and find it 'most appropriate' to the study of organizational phenomena where one seeks to understand the nature of interdependencies (1965). They follow von Bertalanffy (1950; 1956) in maintaining that living entities evolve by importing into themselves certain types of material from the environment, transforming these in accordance with their own system characteristics, and exporting other types (1965: 21-2). By this process the individual organism obtains the additional energy that renders it 'negentropic'. It is capable of attaining stability in a time-independent steady state, which, unlike an equilibrium state, does not follow the second law of thermodynamics whereby no work can be done once it is attained. The openness to the environment of a steady state maintains the organism's capacity for work, i.e. it is adaptable and predisposed to evolution.

Emery & Trist concentrate on the establishment of ideal types of environment, maintaining that there has been little effort to understand this element in the evolution of systems (1965; cf. Terreberry 1969). They suggest four types of organizational environment. First there is the 'placid, randomized' environment in which positive and negative forces on the organization are randomly distributed and relatively unchanging. The firm operating under classical market conditions 'experiences' such an environment. The 'placid, clustered' environment involves positive and negative forces which are unchanging in themselves, but clustered. An economist could point to the concept of imperfect competition. The 'disturbed-reactive' environment is characterized by the existence of similar organizations in the field. Here one could say that the universities operate in such an environment. Oxford competes with Cambridge, London, *et al.* All compete against all. But to minimize the damage that might result from mutually aggressive acts, coalitions are formed. 'Oxbridge' protects itself against the rest, for example. The universities as a whole protect themselves against the polytechnics. They develop new structural forms, for example the 'technological' university, and cooperative bodies, for example the Committee of Vice-Chancellors. The fourth type of environment is a 'turbulent field'. Under such conditions

the accelerating rate and complexity of interactive effects exceed the capacities of the organizations for prediction, and hence for control over the consequences of their actions. For the universities, the existence of the polytechnics, and the emergence of a plethora of governmental and private organizations in the higher educational field, constitute an increasingly complex and unpredictable environment. The problem is made more acute by the fact that the pace of change has increased. Current functioning is impinged upon by pressures issuing from the field—for which no calculation has been made, nor could have been. Forward planning is even more difficult.

In such a context the analysis of university structure must take place in a frame of reference orienting us towards short-term adaptations to meet external conditions, especially increasing competition between universities and polytechnics, bearing in mind that the genetic inheritance restricts the range of alternative adaptations, and that the polytechnics have yet to show that they are constitutionally strong enough to preserve their structure and truly compete. Clearly, however, the analysis of any element of university structure—undergraduate admission, staff recruitment, curriculum content, governmental form, etc.—must take into account the existence of other species of higher educational organization in the field—*perhaps in England for the first time*. Our attention must now be directed towards the sources of the new variety of higher educational institutional form.

Other than Ashby and Parsons, only two sociologists appear to have consciously begun to explore the sorts of issue raised here. Burton Clark has briefly examined interorganizational patterns in education (1965), and Clark Kerr has attempted to trace the evolution of the university in the USA (1963). Others have touched upon the problem. Floud & Halsey did so in 1958, but in their suspicion of functionalism and the system model they neglected to see that these need not commit the analysis to concepts like equilibrium which admittedly do not help in the analysis of change. An open-system model using the concept of a steady state does orient one towards morphogenesis and even significant conflict processes. It is through concentration on the conflict between types of educational organization in the higher education field, and also on the transactions between the universities and government, that one sees an evolving structure. Finally, it should be noted that *any* change that improves an organization's transactional advantage will also be conducive to adaptability. Organizational innovation is more likely to be imitation than invention. Thus the terminological/

conceptual predisposition of sociologists working in the field of education towards functional analysis need not necessarily be a weakness. Even use of the organic system analogy may orient us towards significant problems, though if the recent history of organizational theory is any indication a complex, adaptive, evolving general systems model may prove more fruitful.

### Note

1 Universities Central Council on Admissions.

### References

- ABRAMS, P. 1969. *The Origins of British Sociology, 1834-1914*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- ASHBY, E. 1967a. The Future of the Nineteenth Century Idea of a University. *Minerva* 6: 3-17.
- 1967b. Ivory Towers in Tomorrow's World. *Journal of Higher Education* 38: 417-27.
- BANKS, O. 1955. *Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- 1968. *The Sociology of Education*. London: Batsford.
- BELLAH, R. N. 1959. Durkheim and History. *American Sociological Review* 24 (4).
- BERTALANFFY, L. VON. 1950. The Theory of Open Systems in Physics and Biology. *Science* 111: 23-9.
- 1956. General Systems Theory. *General Systems* 1: 1-10.
- BUCKLEY, W. 1967. *Sociology and Modern Systems Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- CLARK, B. R. 1960. The 'Cooling-out' Function in Higher Education. *American Journal of Sociology* 65: 569-76.
- 1965. Interorganizational Patterns in Education. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 10: 224-37.
- COHEN, P. S. 1968. *Modern Social Theory*. London: Heinemann.
- COUPER, M. 1965. Why Some Prefer CATs. *New Society*, 4 Feb., 5 (123): 12-13.
- CRITTENDEN, B. S. 1965. Durkheim: Sociology of Knowledge and Educational Theory. *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 4: 207-54.
- CROSS, M. & JOBLING, R. G. 1969. The English New Universities: A Preliminary Enquiry. *Universities Quarterly* 23: 172-82.

- DURKHEIM, E. 1938. *L'Évolution pédagogique en France*. 1, *Des Origines à la renaissance*. 2, *De la Renaissance à nos jours*. Paris.
- 1956. *Education and Sociology*. (Translated by S. D. Fox.) Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- 1961. *Moral Education: A Study in the Theory and Application of the Sociology of Education*. (Translated by E. K. Wilson & H. Schnurer.) New York: Free Press.
- EISENSTADT, S. N. 1965. *Essays on Comparative Institutions*. New York: Wiley.
- EMERY, F. E. & TRIST, E. L. 1965. The Causal Texture of Organizational Environments. *Human Relations* 18: 21-31.
- FLOUD, J. & HALSEY, A. H. 1958. The Sociology of Education. *Current Sociology*. 7 (3).
- FORTES, M. 1938. *Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Talleland*. London: Oxford University Press.
- HALSEY, A. H. 1961a. University Expansion and the Collegiate Ideal. *Universities Quarterly* 16: 55-8.
- 1961b. A Pyramid of Prestige. *Universities Quarterly* 16.
- 1962. British Universities. *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 3.
- HOGBEN, L. T. (ed.) 1938. *Political Arithmetic: A Symposium of Population Studies*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- JOBLING, R. G. 1969. Some Sociological Aspects of University Development in England. *Sociological Review* 17: 11-26.
- 1970. The Location and Siting of a New University. *Universities Quarterly* 24.
- KERR, C. 1963. *The Uses of the University*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- KIMBALL, E. P. 1932. *Sociology and Education: An Analysis of the Theories of Spencer and Ward*. New York.
- MOORE, G. H. 1966. To Create Something Original (a conversation with Kenneth Hudson). In G. Walters (ed.), *A Technological University: An Experiment in Bath*. Bath.
- MUSGROVE, F. 1967. Social Class and Levels of Aspiration in a Technological University. *Sociological Review* 15 (3): 311-22.
- PARSONS, T. 1937. *The Structure of Social Action*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- 1966. *Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- 1967. The Future of the Nineteenth Century Idea of a University. *Minerva* 6: 267-71.
- SANDFORD, C. T. et al. 1965. Class Influences in Higher Education. *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 35.

- SCHNORE, L. F. 1958. Social Morphology and Human Ecology. *American Journal of Sociology* 63: 630-34.
- SPENCER, H. 1851. *Social Statics*. London.
- 1874. *The Study of Sociology*. London.
- 1904. *The Principles of Sociology*. London.
- TERREBERRY, S. 1969. The Evolution of Organizational Environments. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 14: 590-613.
- WALLER, W. 1932. *The Sociology of Teaching*. New York: Wiley. Reissued 1965.
- WALTERS, G. (ed.) 1966. *A Technological University: An Experiment in Bath*. Bath.
- WARD, L. F. 1883. *Dynamic Sociology*. New York.
- WEBER, M. 1948. The Typological Position of Confucian Education. In H. H. Gerth & C. W. Mills (eds.), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. London: Kegan Paul.

© Raymond Jobling 1973

PAUL HIRST

## *Some Problems of Explaining Student Militancy*

---

British sociology finds itself in the position of the man who has 'no particular objection to blacks' waking up one morning and finding that 'they' have arrived in his own street. The development of a politically militant student movement in the last three years or so has produced a direct challenge to the scientific and academic position of sociology in the universities. It has placed theoretical debates about the scientific status of sociology, and methodological questions as to the role of the social inquirer, into an immediate and sharp focus.

This challenge posed by the student movement has a number of aspects.

i. Sociology students have, actually or allegedly, been a key force in university unrest and wider political agitation. Sociology has been condemned as a major cause of this unrest by a number of establishment figures, ideologues, and newspapers, and it has probably come to be held in some suspicion by academic policy-makers and members of other disciplines. Sociology has been charged with giving birth to a monster, and, by implication, with being in its very intellectual character a monstrous agency of subversion and of the destruction of cherished social values.

Faced with the very recent growth and expansion of sociology, with the absence of established legitimations for its ideas and role, and with the possible threat of the curtailment of its development in the interests of academic and social harmony, a number of sociologists have tended to adopt two types of defensive reaction. To adopt the status of victims: 'Oh no! Not us, we are innocent, blameless, as much taken aback and in the dark as you are.' To attempt to outdo the established authorities in soundly condemning the militant students and applying forms of sociological explanation to that task. Of these

reactions neither can be said to contribute much to sociology's scientific standing or to its salvation from the powers that be.

If, indeed, sociologists are blameless, then they are useless; they have been unable to predict, discover, or explain social movements developing on their own front doorstep. If, indeed, sociologists can do little more than reiterate the conventional wisdom about 'student unrest' in social scientific jargon, then they should leave it to the ideologues and journalists who can do it marginally better. Sociology, as an ideology, even when it works to defend its own interests, cuts a miserable figure. So might both the establishment and the militant students conclude from the published pieces of this type.

Such reactions, if they were the whole of the matter, would stand as a clear practical demonstration of sociology's failure as a theoretical and empirical social science. I intend to discuss an example of such a reaction and the manner in which it has employed the theoretical positions from which it derives.

2. Sociology has been particularly singled out for criticism by those militant students who are concerned with social theory. This criticism of sociology as an ideology with the function of maintaining the established order in theory and practice has been widely dismissed as a product of the half-formed ideas of undergraduates, as utopian and unscientific, or as deriving from theories of society long since transcended by sociology itself and inadequate to explain modern society, such as Marxism. But such criticism touches a sore point in that it often provokes these violent and dismissive reactions. That sore point is the conceptual anarchy of sociology.

Sociology is both the basis for and the object of criticism because of its particular position in the human sciences. Of all the social sciences that provide a definition of modern society it is, as a science, the most indefinite. It is the intellectual area in which a total, rather than a sectoral, challenge to conventional modes of thinking about society can most easily emerge.

Sociology raises general epistemological problems of the nature of social knowledge because the existence of its scientific field is predicated upon the necessity of a conception of the fundamental nature of social relations. Sociology does not study a determinate aspect of social relations, like economics or political science: its potential field is that of social relations as a totality. Yet it does not possess an adequate and accepted theory of the nature of that totality. Its vaguely

defined field is occupied by competing American, French, and German total 'theories', each of which implies a radically different definition of the character and scope of sociology. No particular research strategy is generally accepted as a mode of resolving this confusion empirically.

Sociology is therefore exposed to general and philosophical criticism. It occupies an area traditionally occupied by general ideological systems, and by philosophy, which has often been the source of such systems. It cannot purge this general ideological or philosophical debate from within its own confines because it has no adequate and agreed scientific riposte.

Sociology is therefore the framework within which a fundamental debate about the nature of modern society as a whole can take place, and that debate is part of the intellectual fabric of sociology itself. Because its very existence as a subject raises the totality of social relations as a *question*, sociology is a potential breeding-ground for radical critics oriented towards the questioning of the modern social system as a totality.

A critical orientation of this type demands a theoretical centre, a definite standpoint, if it is not to remain a criticism of the centrelessness of sociology. This is particularly so if those attracted to that orientation do not wish to remain within the confines of a critical *theory* but seek to transform it into the basis of a 'practical criticism' of modern society. In such circumstances, students seeking an intellectual basis for their political rejection of modern society are driven beyond sociology into the definite acceptance of a theory as the basis for action: into Marxism, anarchism, phenomenology, even to religion. In going beyond sociology's own anarchic scepticism, beyond its commitment as a science, not yet scientific, not to change the world but to interpret it, they reject the very basis of sociology. Sociology's refusal to change the world and its inability to interpret it become for them the constituent elements of its character as a reactionary ideology, its conservatism and its obscurantism.

*Consequently, sociology's 'subversive' role has a basis in fact, if not in the intentions of sociologists.* It both produces and attracts criticism. It is both the source and the unwilling victim of radical criticism. The cry of innocence when confronted with the charge of subversion is only a partial truth, and like most truths of this kind the part that is hidden is the most serious and unpalatable aspect of the whole of the matter. Such reactions are ideological, but primarily in the following

sense, that they are ideologies of self-deception. They are a means of not facing the very real failures of sociology.

In this respect the criticism of militant students has a positive function. It brings us face to face with our own self-deceptions. It challenges our own interpretation of the problems of our situation. The student-teacher confrontation in the universities redefines and gives sharp point to the rambling debate about the scientific status of sociology; a debate without end, because no end was, in point of fact, required. It is no longer so easy to argue about the means to give sociology a scientific status in the manner of a pauper dreaming of riches.

It may well be that the circumstances of the student revolt are not those in which such fundamental questions can be settled in a clear and objective manner. It may be that they cannot be resolved at all at this juncture. So much the worse. But at least the situation makes such fundamental thinking urgent. It may be that the student revolt has already passed its climax.<sup>1</sup> If so, it would be a serious failure if the passing of this challenge provoked no thoroughgoing reappraisal of the state of sociology by the discipline as a whole.

3. Attempts are being made to conduct empirical studies into the causes of student militancy, and its relation to the milieux and attitudes of students and youth in general. This, somewhat belated, attempt to get to grips with the phenomenon raises as many problems as it solves.

Whatever the agency sponsoring the research may be, whatever the objects of the research, whatever the capacity and intentions of the researchers, such inquiry, whether conducted within a given university or among a wider sample of students and youth, becomes in itself a minor *casus belli*. Such activities provide the militants with a practical example of sociology as a tool of social manipulation and control. Given the fact that such research is a response to the development of student militancy, given the existence of a hostile division between students and faculty, it may plausibly appear as an attempt to provide the necessary information for the control of students by the university authorities and the state.

What is the student consciousness that gives rise to these suspicions?

'The transition from an academic sociology, the vassal of philosophy, to an independent sociology, with scientific pretensions, corresponds to the transition from competitive capitalism to organized capitalism.'

Henceforth, the rise of sociology is increasingly tied to the social demand for rationalized practice in the service of bourgeois ends: money, profit, and the maintenance of order.<sup>2</sup>

If one regards one's own social situation, the knowledge one is taught, and oneself as a means to ends fundamentally opposed to those one would constitute for oneself, then everything within that situation is potentially a negation of one's very being. Everything constituted by that situation must potentially be opposed in order that one can survive as a recognizable human being to oneself. This 'oppositional consciousness' cannot be put into uncompromised practice even in the form of madness. Accommodations have to be made if one is to survive in that situation. But any innovation within that milieu, any move made by the 'enemy', is a potential focus for the crystallization of that consciousness. This oppositional consciousness is exhibited in some degree by militant students; particularly those of a libertarian orientation. A research project into 'us' is precisely such an innovation.

If researchers recognize the problems of this separation between the attitudes of the most militant students and their own, and attempt to 'bridge the gap', serious problems arise. If one is so radical as to attempt to make the objects of inquiry agents of the inquiry, if one discusses the object of the research, the theory and methods to be employed, with them as a semi-cooperative project, demands will be made that are impossible to meet. Engagement will be demanded. A critical perspective will be demanded. The inquirer himself must become an agent of the struggle. Clearly, such a position is impossible for the university teacher/researcher. Yet if he offers less he will be even less well received.

But in this situation it is particularly necessary to be able to communicate freely and honestly with the group one is studying. Participant observation is necessary for a genuine understanding of the ideas, attitudes, and actions of militant students. For two reasons: one, to understand fully the meanings militant students attribute to their experiences and activities; two, to get a clear idea of the character of militant actions and organizations. Few of those sociologists attempting to explain student militancy have, for example, participated in and experienced a sit-in throughout its duration. One can take this sort of thing too far, but one point is obvious from the numerous statements of student participants, that the experience of social situations like sit-ins involves for participants a profound transformation of the

quality of their social life. The semi-mystical terms in which the meanings of such experiences are described can be incomprehensible to non-participants.<sup>3</sup>

The problem of understanding militant students is not merely one of duality of meanings; it is not merely a problem of generation gaps or subcultures; it is a problem of power. It is difficult enough for a sociologist to comprehend the ideas and values of groups in the wider society, such as the hippies, but militant students are a group who share a common milieu with the researcher, and a milieu divided by differences of power and interests. The student and the sociologist stand on different sides of a conflict which has, in the attitudes of some of its participants, the potential character of an irreconcilable polarity. To attempt to reduce that potential is in itself a move within that conflict situation. To bridge the gap, to reduce the differences to the point at which they may be mutually understood, is to raise the spectre of collusion, co-optation, and 'cooling out'. It confirms oppositional consciousness by threatening its oppositional character. Unless the sociologist changes the other's definition of his behaviour by changing his own behaviour, by contradicting his status either as sociologist or as university teacher, a genuine accommodation cannot be reached.<sup>4</sup>

If he does so, then the genuineness of that accommodation is threatened for himself; he has ceased to be the objective social scientist he knew himself to be. Participant observation, although necessary, has no place here. In this case the participants demand he should be either participant or observer. Moreover, there is no university to return to where he can seek to comprehend his over-participation, redefine it and analyse it. The university is in a large measure the situation in which these dilemmas arise. For others: he has ceased to be the objective social scientist they thought he was. The conflict in the universities, when it becomes extremely antagonistic, allows no refinements of role distance. The expectations of roles harden and the demands of institutional position become total. On both sides a complex loyalty is demanded and must be given. Such conflicts are the potential norm in universities.

To the university administration and the majority of academic staff the participant observer is potentially a participant traitor: all the more so since he is a practitioner of the new and questionable discipline of sociology. Faced, on the one hand, with the militant to whom such role is anathema, and, on the other, with administrators whose

authority has been put into question, a mediator has a rough enough ride. The man who is trying to 'understand the students' is at best a lunatic; he is trying to conceive the inconceivable, to share a definition of the situation which is a threat to the university as we know it.

If such are the problems, why not ignore the militants as such or university-centred research altogether? But to do so is to limit severely the possibility of explaining student militancy. It is limiting in the following ways.

The meanings the militant students attribute to their actions and constitute by their actions are one of the most interesting things about the new militancy. Students have engaged in political action before, they have been violent before, but they have not previously thought of themselves as a social group with distinct values and a specific political vocation. The problem of determining the content and character of those values is a difficult one. It cannot be discerned from a study of their literature: this literature is often literature *given* to militant students; it is often written by persons with a long-standing and different political orientation; and militant literature cannot be read out of the context in which it was written, for the meanings in it are often specific situational meanings not directly translatable into the repertoire of public concepts. Militant attitudes are seldom formed systems of attitudes, but rather attitudes in the process of formation and crystallization. The process of crystallization is very often the activity of militancy and the situation of confrontation itself. Such processes are, as we have seen, the most difficult to study, and the shift in position that takes place is difficult to calculate.

The militant students obviously do not exhaust the range of students' attitudes. But the study of other groups may reveal very little about what the militants are like and why they are militant. Neither the 'silent majority' nor the 'hard core' reveals the focus of student militancy. What is commonly thought of as the hard core has a particularly problematic status in that it is often composed of socialists and communists with a fundamentally different orientation towards the values and experiences of the mass of the involved students. These groups are more likely to be prepared to discuss, question, and reason with the 'enemy' than one might imagine. Theirs is not an oppositional consciousness, but a position that emphasizes the necessity of understanding society and working within its objective limits to transform it. The silent majority dissolves into the real diversity of backgrounds, milieux, interests, academic and social

statuses which make up the student population of the universities.

The decisive context for the study of what militants are like is militancy itself. A week before or even a week after a major conflict will reveal a very different picture of student society from that offered by the struggle itself. Student militancy is spasmodic; its primary form is the conflict of more or less limited duration. Of course, I am not arguing that the causes of the conflicts are to be found in the conflicts themselves, but rather that conflicts indicate most clearly the character of the student movement and that their causes must be sought in relation to its character. We cannot simply define student militancy in terms of our own limited perceptions and then seek causes in relation to that definition. This is what has been the case in too many instances, and the most amazing misconceptions, favourable and unfavourable, have resulted.

In the remainder of the paper I intend to consider three attempts to explain student militancy: first, a general theoretical explanation by Bryan Wilson; second, an explanation of a particularly important aspect of the new militancy, its 'violence', by Paul Rock & Francis Heidensohn; third, a research strategy proposed by Tom Burns.

In comparison with the American output, British sociology's contributions to the literature on student militancy have been few and slight. But we should remember that the *annus mirabilis* of 'our' revolting students occurred only in 1968. More militancy and more prognostication can be expected. I shall deal with aspects of this British literature as a snap response: a harbinger of things to come. It is important to consider these responses since they may establish the lines of future, more systematic, work by elaborating a body of problem definitions.

I shall therefore ignore the American literature, whatever its explanatory value, partly because the situation of American and British students appears to be very different, partly because explicit use of American findings has not figured significantly in the pieces published so far, but mainly because the reactions to student militancy on the part of sociologists are as interesting as the phenomenon itself.

#### TRADITIONAL EXPLANATION OF BRITISH STUDENT DISSENT

In 'Youth Culture, the Universities and Student Unrest' (in Cox & Dyson 1969), Bryan Wilson attempts to present a general explanation

of student unrest in relation to fundamental change in the social structure of Britain. His main line of argument centres on the consequences of changes in the occupational structure for the basic values of British society and the position of youth within it.<sup>5</sup>

The shift from ascriptive to achieved patterns of determining placement within roles and modes of role performance has transformed the age-status system in favour of youth. The 'generation gap' is structurally built into modern societies and confirmed by their basic developmental trends. The means to achievement and the possible levels of achievement in relation to institutionalized roles are provided by the educational system. As this system operates in a selective manner the great majority of youth are limited in their opportunities for mobility. Other, less routinized, avenues to mobility exist, notably the 'pop' entertainment industry. This industry has exploited the situation of youth debarred from further advancement, and yet possessing substantial and uncommitted incomes. The industry has promoted the values and life-styles of deviant youth as a means of symbolically binding youth in general to high levels of entertainment consumption. In the process it has legitimated, and promoted as role models, the drop-outs and deviants who can sing. It has undermined the fundamental social values against which these deviants are reacting, in particular the values reinforcing achievement through legitimate means.

The established agencies of social control have collapsed in the face of this 'youth culture'. The failure of established authorities to defend necessary standards reflects the wider uncertainty about values and the weakening of traditional authority in modern society. Values have been undermined by the technical-instrumental rationality of modern industrial society. The institutional demands of modern industrialism, producing rapid social change, have weakened traditional authority at its roots. In the absence of a strong value consensus, socio-technical means have become ends in themselves and the basis for policy decisions.

This collapse into technologism is nowhere more evident than in the universities. The traditional functions of the university as a guardian of civilization have been subordinated to its functions as a means of providing personnel for the technological system. New disciplines have developed with no organic connection to the values of humanistic learning. The vast expansion of student intake has led to the fetishization of mere intellectual ability and the introduction into

the universities of a mass of students inadequately socialized into the values of elite culture, without definite expectations and uncertain of their role. 'More has meant worse.' The expansion of the teaching staff has led to the occupation of the junior posts by men uncertain of their own role, unprepared for and ignorant of their responsibilities. Worst of all, among the students the values of pop culture have become a source of identification owing to the failure of socialization processes.

This unprecedented expansion of educational opportunities has outrun the real possibilities of social mobility. Goals have become increasingly open-ended, higher levels of expectation have developed, and the real opportunities are limited. Most students will become occupants of limited technical roles, of mediocre status and rewards. Most junior lecturers will not become professors. The opening vistas are rapidly foreshortened by the experience of the reality of the mass university. The consequent 'anomie', in the absence of effective cultural constraints, of justifying and rewarding values, attaching men to their actual position in society, has led many to reject the system that has placed them in this position. This generalized discontent is focused by political groups and agitators. In these hastily expanded and shambling universities the objects of militancy are not difficult to find. Among students dissatisfied with their position, already prey to the deviant values of pop culture, the ideas of political deviancy find a reception.

The universities have collapsed because their will to resist has been weakened at the centre. The mass university is the product of the failure of governments and administrators to take seriously the social function of the university as the guardian of civilization. The necessities of economic development, the pressure of demand for university places, such technical-instrumental criteria have filled the minds of leaders—minds already clouded and uncertain as to the values of our society. To the treason of politicians must be added the *trahison des clercs*: the treason of academic entrepreneurs concerned only with the outward signs of intellectual life.

Wilson's argument is a very traditional one. Stripped of its 'Black Paperisms', it does no more than apply conventional and widely accepted concepts to this problem area. It is undoubtedly the most systematic and intelligent attempt in the Black Paper to come to terms with the 'crisis in the universities'. It has the advantage of tracing student militancy to deep-seated structural causes. But it contains

fundamental ambiguities; ambiguities that are not merely aberrations, but part and parcel of the way in which these concepts are often employed.

These ambiguities centre on the status of social values and their relation to fundamental structural processes. The problem in essence is the antagonism in this type of explanation between the socio-sacred character of the value system and the determining character of the technical-institutional structure. The antagonism exists because Wilson is committed to the values that he claims are being undermined by the fundamental social processes he outlines and by the administrative policies which are reflections of them. The socio-sacred character of these values derives primarily from their sacred status for the theorist. Wilson accords the 'traditional' university the role of guardian, repository, and primary inculcator of certain cherished values. This may indeed have been its function for the groups who participated in this university culture, but to raise those values to the level of necessary elements of the social order seems inappropriate. Wilson seems to regard the values of the traditional university as the subject of a general public consensus. The problem with this conception is that it contains the assumption that this definition of the role of the university was never in question and that the consensus of the participants in this definition, *their* evaluation, was a just and reasonable one. This double assumption may be doubly questioned. It is probably true that among the majority of the participants in the university system its role was never in doubt, but it was not in doubt because it corresponded to the position of those participants.

Humanistic scholarship there may have been, but the universities were largely closed institutions of privileged elites; institutions whose consensus as to function and ends was sustained because they were self-recruiting, self-perpetuating institutions of the elites themselves. A humanistic education was accepted as necessary to the social order because it confirmed these elites' view of themselves as necessary to the social order. Members of those elites had every reason not to doubt the rightness of their culture or their right to it.

But undoubtedly others did. It is precisely this rejection of the traditional role of the universities and of the privileged character of education as a whole, by the progressive middle classes and the labour movement, combined with the political power they were able to exert, that has been a crucial factor in the expansion of educational opportunities. Wilson ignores this aspect of the changing structure of higher

education in favour of an explanation in terms of changing occupational structures. Undoubtedly these changes in occupational structure are a major cause of the changes in the educational sphere and of the 'fight for education', but to ignore the fact that these changes have, in part, taken place through the power struggle of social groups is to de-ideologize the whole process. This process of de-ideologization allows Wilson to neglect the status of the social values, into whose fate he is inquiring, as ideologies. It allows him to give them an unquestioned and necessary status for the social order over and above the various conflicts within it. In doing so he is able to neglect the particularistic and ascriptive character of the traditional university and its culture, and the fact that it is this aspect of the situation that has led to the progressive rejection of these values by powerful groups in the society.

This refusal to consider established value complexes as ideologies, a refusal in effect to subject them to serious sociological investigation, is a deformation of the theoretical tradition from which Wilson's conceptual basis is derived. Such a shift in the level of application of this theoretical tradition is a common one, particularly in American works. The concepts Wilson is using are mainly derivations from Durkheim.

Durkheim based his work on the problem of the fundamental antagonism between the socio-economic structure of modern societies and the existing forms of cultural and social integration. But he did not pose the issue merely in terms of rescuing or preserving the social values then dominant. He raised to a more abstract level the problem of the socio-sacred character of morality, the necessity of moral and value integration, in a fundamentally competitive, individualistic, divisive, and rapidly changing social structure. He sought to develop a rational, secular ethic which, while in harmony with the basic structural features of modern society, would limit and counteract their potentially divisive effects. A new moral order and new means of institutionalizing that order were necessary.

Anomie for Durkeim is a problem of the nature of the prevailing value systems: their lack of specification to specific roles, their chronic open-endedness and indefiniteness. Anomie for Wilson is largely a sectoral problem: a failure to maintain moral controls and to internalize values, a maladjustment of means and ends, among certain groups. Nothing is wrong with the established value system that a little firmness and resolution on the part of established authority could not cure. Anomie is not a disease of the prevailing value system itself,

which is accepted wholeheartedly by Wilson, but a matter of restoring it and maintaining it. This whole tendency in Wilson's article runs counter to the basic propositions of his own structural explanation. He resembles in this respect the Catholic who, after reading Durkheim's *Suicide*, demands compulsory conversion to his religion as the means of reducing the incidence of suicide.

Criticism of this type of shift in theoretical level is by no means new, yet this mode of employing established theoretical traditions while transforming their basic orientation still persists.<sup>6</sup> One can only conclude that it persists because of its ideological functions. It enables the sociologist concerned simultaneously to inherit the prestige of an accepted theoretical tradition, to locate the problem concerned in fundamental social processes, and yet to place his own position in society and the values that go with it in the category of necessary and ineradicable constituents of the social order.

This is an obvious and oft-repeated truism. But in the present situation it has further corollaries. These ideological operations are now being performed upon a group which includes not entirely mindless and incapable members of the discipline. Such ideological positions are not difficult to detect and criticize. It is a respectable and popular activity in sociology. The result is to provide a further demonstration of the ideological character of sociology to militants and to sociology students in general. Perhaps that is the intention. If so, it further reduces the standing of sociology: it positively assists the student revolt within sociology.

There is another aspect to Wilson's article which is equally disturbing. One gains the impression that universalistic criteria of role occupancy and performance have run riot in Britain:

'Hitherto, an individual might anticipate old age with pleasure, as a time when declining physical energy would be compensated by social esteem for experience; in industrial society, old age is but a time when physical decline is compounded by negative prestige, parsimonious charity and, often, by social neglect' (Cox & Dyson 1969: 71).

The impression given is that the old are a universally powerless group, rotting on the margins of society. Indeed, this may be the general position of the aged in our society, but only because it is the position of old persons drawn from the groups that compose the bulk of the population. They are the aged versions of the disadvantaged

youths Wilson refers to; they are the future those youths have to look forward to. But the aged in the social groups who subscribe to the values Wilson is so anxious to preserve do not find themselves in the general and wretched position of the aged in our society. For people in these groups old age offers a different prospect, because they have access to power and resources deriving from their social position; as much ascribed as achieved.<sup>7</sup>

Wilson assumes that the political character of student militancy is an epiphenomenon: an expression of other social concerns peculiar to the status of student. In much the same way as Durkheim regarded socialism, so Wilson regards the politics of student militants: 'Gradually the issues became increasingly political, as ideologies made the natural and normal tensions of institutional life into causes of dissension' (Cox & Dyson 1969: 74).

Wilson's position is possible only on the basis of the de-ideologization of education and an absence of reference to any of the major social conflicts in British society. Student politics may often have shallow roots, be lightly accepted and easily rejected, but the position of the student as the possessor of a privileged access to power and resources, education, in a society where this access is denied to, or cannot be realized by, the bulk of the population, gives him an ambiguous status — particularly if he is both upwardly mobile himself and identifies with youth in general, as Wilson suggests.

If this ambiguity is resolved by identification with those who are structurally deprived and by rejection of the values of the groups traditionally associated with this deprivation, why should we be surprised or shocked? — unless we ourselves have resolved this ambiguity by identifying with the groups who have traditionally enjoyed this privileged status. Student militancy cannot be reduced to a mindless attack upon culture; it is not *merely* a reaction to the immediate concerns of the student himself: among the most serious and determined of the students (not necessarily the most activist) it reflects not a lack of orientation, not an identification with howling guttersnipes with guitars because one is unsure of one's own status, but an orientation towards social justice. If values are rejected and cultures attacked we may reasonably ask whether it is not because of certain of their inherent features. If there is a weakening of 'traditional' values may it not be because they contradict values of a higher order for large numbers of people?

Student militancy may be seen in the context of a longer and more

fundamental struggle, a struggle that is not generational and has previously been closely associated with the labour movement: the struggle for social justice and social equality. It may be seen in the context of the failure of the apparent main agency of that struggle, the Labour Party, to carry it on in an effective manner. Thus we cannot dismiss out of hand the adherence of many students, militant or otherwise, to Marxist or socialist conceptions of society as entirely inappropriate trimmings of a sectional conflict or a generational conflict. These conceptions may themselves be ideologies, but so equally are liberalism and the 'traditional values of the university', and we cannot *a priori* argue that as ideologies they have no connection with the students' situation.

This aspect of student militancy does not exhaust its orientations or its causes, but to dismiss this widely proclaimed position of student organizations, militant and moderate, would be to neglect the students' commitment to social change in a more general sense and the moral basis of this commitment.

#### STUDENT VIOLENCE IN PERSPECTIVE

Wilson has attempted to explain the causes and character of British student dissent as a whole. Others have turned to the more specific aspects of militancy which represent new departures in the forms of student political action. Paul Rock & Francis Heidensohn (in Martin 1969) consider the question of changing attitudes to student violence. They outline the object of their paper, 'New Reflections on Violence', as follows:

'We propose to discuss only two facets of student violence. The first is the manner in which the popular image of the student has changed from that of a person who is prone to healthy excess into that of a dangerous subversive. The second is the new ideology which justifies and prescribes violent solutions to political dilemmas' (Martin 1969: 104).

In this study of the changing attitudes and stereotypes of press and public in respect of acts of violence by students, and the militants' own definitions of violence, Rock & Heidensohn stick to the facts. They appear to have no bias for or against the students. But this very reasonableness becomes a serious block to the interpretation of the problem. 'Violence' is torn from its political and social context in the

mere description of the shifts in definitions. The structural context of these changing definitions of behaviour remains residual in their work.

In an examination of changing evaluations of behaviour, the reason why one of a possible range of categories which could be applied to the behaviour is chosen in preference to others ought to be the initial point of analysis. Unless one treats such terms as violence as ideological terms, and ideologies as *systems* of terms related to the political and social situations of the groups concerned, one cannot explain the application of particular categories to particular situations. The particular categories and their structural context become taken for granted: one is driven *within* the context of the operation of these ideologies and one cannot explain the basis of that context. In describing movements within an ideological system (that is, shifts in the definition of others' behaviour) one remains within the movement of the ideology.

Why has the definition of militant behaviour as violent become a primary negative symbol? Why has it been employed as the most consistent weapon in the armoury of those opposed to the militants? Why, indeed, are people opposed to the militants and to violence? To answer these questions we must consider the nature of British political culture as a whole, and the politically viable symbols within it for certain social groups in the current political context. What follows can be only a statement of opinion, but it is hoped that this opinion will provoke thought and discussion on the problem.

The British political system has survived many radical transformations of social structure and many serious social conflicts more or less unscathed. Despite these changes, the political culture has been founded upon a consensus of the major political groups within and without the state. This consensus centres upon a complex of definitions of the political system and the possible modes of action within it; commonly referred to as 'the British style of politics'. It is widely held that this consensual definition is the reason for the absence of violence in British political life, of the absence of socio-political conflicts fought to the bitter end in the pursuit of certain interests, and of the high degree of political stability. Thus British political culture has a history of stability and success which reinforces this consensus.

What is the nature of this consensus? It is that parliamentary democracy is founded upon legitimate procedures of political action, and primary among these procedures is that parliament is the mode of pursuing and accommodating interests within the society. Parliamentary democracy controls, limits, and compromises the conflict of

interests and goals within the society. It provides legitimate means for the pursuance of interests without resort to open conflict. Thus the definition of the British political system, and the British political culture, is that a particular mode of political action has a supreme value, over and above any given goals of action. British democracy raises the means of political action to the level of ends: the primary values of British political culture are specified by a body of existing institutions. These institutions and their maintenance have become the primary political goals.<sup>8</sup>

The legitimation of these values is an empirical one since these values have an empirical foundation. Necessarily, it refers beyond the political system itself (since it embodies no substantive social goals with theoretical/ideological legitimations) to other political systems. The validity of British democracy is specified in the failure of other political systems. Its validity is a negative positive: it is legitimated more by what it does not do than by what it does.

To see the operation of this process of legitimization we have only to refer to recent history; to the situation since the 1930s. Yet recent history indicates a challenge to this political culture: the events of this history have both reinforced and transformed the orientation of British politics. I refer to the dominant events of the last forty years: the rise of fascism and the advent of the Cold War.

These events reinforced the fundamental traits of British politics in that Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union presented concrete alternatives of totally unacceptable political systems and the threat of adherents to these alternatives in Britain who rejected the British political system and sought to overthrow it. British democracy retained mass public support, despite a serious economic crisis; it did so because, for the mass of the population, the absence of substantive democratic freedoms in Germany and the Soviet Union was directly correlated with manifestly higher levels of state coercion.

However, the demands of political mobilization in defence of democracy also transformed the ideological basis of British political culture. The fundamental consensus over democratic values changed its basis from an assumed and empirical 'rightness' of this mode of politics into a system of political ethics by which the actions of politicians and the policies of states should be judged. Democratic *means* became *moral* ends: standards by which the citizen should measure the validity of political acts. This ethicization of the policies of states took on its most extreme form in the Cold War. Politics became an ethical activity

in so far as the immorality of other states' political actions was constantly invoked by political leaders as a justification of their own acts. The machiavellian nature of Soviet policy was endlessly contrasted with the probity of Western actions and intentions.

Furthermore, as Nazi and Soviet policy and ideology were pre-eminently systems of political action geared to proclaimed ends with an elaborated rationale, Western and British political leaders were forced to counteract that rationale and offer other substantive goals as a positive basis for the political mobilization both of their own peoples and of those of neutral states. Peace, social justice and equality, anti-authoritarianism, and anti-machiavellianism became more and more the 'built-in' goals of the political cultures of Western states.

The student movement in Britain must be understood in this relation to the political system. It must be understood specifically in relation to yet more recent events. With the reduction in the hardened opposition of international blocs as a result of the 'thaw' in the Cold War, with the emergence of new political forces distinct from those of the Western democracies and yet not aligned with the Soviet Union, the whole either/or character of the political options of the Cold War has been transformed. Political movements can no longer be stigmatized as contributing to the power of an enemy state, Soviet Russia, if they adhere to political goals which differ from those legitimately specified in liberal democracies. The post-50s world has produced a blurring of the political alignments which gave the negative definitions of democracy their force.

The ethicization of politics established standards by which the liberal state should be judged: standards which it had proclaimed as the basis of its own actions. The thaw in the Cold War provided the context in which it could be judged. The conclusion has inevitably been that it has failed to measure up to them.<sup>9</sup> A machiavellian definition of political reality by the state provides no such basis for the charge of political immorality. Yet the modern generation of youth has received a political socialization into a studied innocence by the liberal state. The 'student revolt' on an international scale began its apprenticeship in such an innocent moral reaction against this very antagonism between moral ideology and the practical machiavellianism in the liberal state.<sup>10</sup> In England it was the CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament); in France the opposition to the colonial war in Algeria; in Germany the rejection of militarism and laws contrary to liberal

principles. The pitch of this moral reaction has been the worldwide student protest against American involvement in the Vietnam war.

But the student revolt did not long remain a reaction to international events. The political concerns of students within Britain are clearly related to this 'failure' of liberal democracy. The wider concerns of students in respect of their demands for social justice rest upon an assessment of the failure of the political parties in this country to 'deliver the goods' and to live up to their own objectives. Similarly, the demand for representation in university government, the clear but largely unspoken assumption that all institutions should be controlled by their participants—an idea quite alien as a basic attitude to their elders—cannot be separated from the contemporary political situation.

When the values of democracy were apparently *shared* by students and teachers the structure of university government mattered less. When the problems of politics were posed as part of a global contest between social systems, the problems of the government of universities could appear trivial, beyond concern, to politically involved students.

If there is a generation gap, it is as much a gap of political generations as of 'adult' and 'youth' cultures. The modern generation of students is composed of children of the Cold War and its thaw. It is a generation which has come to political maturity in a period when the political system of its society appears to have betrayed its proclaimed values by its actions. It is a generation which has come to political maturity in a period when the either/ors upon which the certainty of its elders' values was based, and which the past experience of those elders confirms, are no longer real enough for the young to neglect the behaviour of their own governments. The political experiences of the two generations are quite different. The formative political events for the students *now* at university are in all probability the failure of the Wilson government to fulfil its electoral promises and the American débâcle in Vietnam.

It should not be assumed that the militants have rejected democracy for authoritarian orientations. If there is one thing that the militants (and students in general) have in common it is a passionate adherence to the concept of democracy. What they have refused to accept is that parliamentary democracy is the only valid form of democracy. It is the democracy of means as ends that they have rejected.<sup>11</sup> Their concept of democracy is one committed to definite goals. One of the key assumptions is that ends, not forms, are dominant; that democratic

politics is not the mode of institutionalization of conflicts whereby various ends and interests are accommodated. Democracy is a form of thinking out and working towards common ends and interests.

The teach-in rather than the debate, the prolonged sit-in—generating a common basis for action through the elementary solidarity they produce among their participants, rather than the political meeting proceeding by institutionally prescribed rules—these are the political forms of the new militancy. Democracy is a creative and constructive activity. It creates a new social unity and new interests pertaining to that unity. In university conflicts one can observe the development of this elementary solidarity in the change from demands for formal representation, *through* the collective activity of sit-ins, to the point where such demands appear less meaningful than the forms of social action developed in the struggle for representation itself. Thus one can see the context of the ‘revolution of rising expectations’ among the militants, and one of the reasons why they are never ‘satisfied’ with the concessions of formal representation offered by the university authorities.

The kind of democracy the militant students demand and practise is in total opposition to the kind of democracy they are offered and expected to accept. Their brand of democracy threatens the institutionalized modes of political action which are legitimately available. Militant democracy is not pacific, accommodating, or legitimately institutionalized, nor do militant democrats set any store by the legitimacy of institutionalized procedures when these conflict with their goals. ‘The rule of law’ is a concept fundamentally alien to them, in its liberal constitutionalist sense. This turbulent and unstable democracy must appear as violence, disorder, and destruction to liberal constitutionalists precisely because it violates their basic expectations as to the type of political action that will be followed in the society.

Moreover, the devil has stolen all the best tunes. The students are judging their elders with their own values and pronouncing a sentence of failure. None of the stigmas previously applied to the ideas and goals of political opponents is strong enough to grasp and characterize the threat the students pose. To call them communists or fascists is neither strictly accurate nor a very powerful stigmatization in the present political situation. ‘Communist’ is a less and less effective negative symbol as the hard and fast antagonisms of the Cold War break down.

Instead one must turn to fundamentals if one wants to counter

them 'ideologically' and politically challenge the threat they pose. Accuse them of deviating from what is fundamental in British politics and in the accumulated experience of their elders. Name the fundamental threat they pose to the political system: the erosion of its fundaments. 'Violence', 'unconstitutionality', 'illegitimacy', are the primary negatives applied to the militants' actions. Negatives in a double sense: in that these charges negatively define their behaviour, and challenge none of their positive content and rationale, merely the 'way they have gone about things'.

'Violence' as a negative symbol applied to others' political actions enables one to raise the spectre of irresponsibility without making oneself responsible for countering that action at the level of its goals and rationale. It is the ideological term which evades the problem of ideology. In the present situation this evasion of ideology is necessary for ideologists of liberal democracy because the political goals that have been adopted by the liberal state in the last forty years have been turned against it, and the political alternatives that reinforced its basic presuppositions no longer have the same negative reality. The conditions that explain the prevalence of violence as an ideological term at the present time also explain the political character of the movement to which it is applied, and its appearance at this time.

Whether or not this particular explanation is satisfactory, it should be clear that such an approach is necessary to explain why particular terms are used and not others. In the absence of such an approach, one is driven, in explaining ideologies, from a structural and political sociology into a descriptive 'social psychology' of definition and counter-definition, stereotype and counter-stereotype.

#### RESEARCH STRATEGY AND THE CRISIS IN THE UNIVERSITIES

Several research projects are now in progress as a more or less direct result of the upsurge in student militancy. It is in this context that it is interesting to look at T. Burns's paper on the problems of developing research strategies in this area (Burns 1968).

Burns discusses the rationale for research by posing the challenge of militancy for sociology:

'... being members of universities seeing our own students caught up in these events, professing a discipline which claims not to have,

indeed, but to be especially equipped to *find* the answers, we are directly involved, whether we like it or not. We are morally obliged to participate; I would rather our participation took the form of empirical analysis rather than polemics' (Burns 1968: 6).

No one would disagree with this reasoned statement of the basis of commitment to research in this area. But, as Burns recognizes, the problems of research are complicated by the commitments of researchers:

'Nevertheless, we are still creatures of our society and in so far as we are concerned with current social problems, sociologists must necessarily reflect the total situation of their society and culture' (Burns 1968: 6).

Burns proposes the following solution to this problem. Socially derived perceptions and evaluations must be recognized and their implications for the definition of the research thoroughly worked out in terms of the type of object of analysis they imply and the methods relevant to that object. Thus he argues:

'The kind of interpretations in good currency determine the basic formulation of the research ... If the university is being equated with industrial organization, then student unrest is visible as akin to industrial unrest' (Burns 1968: 8).

It is because this analysis of the socially derived evaluations at the heart of the definition of social 'problems' is not widely followed 'that sociology sometimes seems to exist as a kind of fashion centre for current ideologies' (Burns 1968: 6). Burns is referring here to the 'conceptual anarchy' of sociology. He envisages the end of this anarchy in the elaboration of a body of *Wertfrei* empirical research based upon the transcendence of value preoccupations.

He recognizes, however, that one cannot merely take account of the implications of a value position, and then employ it as a definition of the problem. We cannot accept a simple concept of value-related study because, in studying a system of action in which actors have different definitions of the problem, it is exactly these differences of meaning, and the situational determination of these differences, that should be the main focus of study. Thus to adopt a value position within that system is to be unable to study the multiplicity of positions of which it is constituted. We must therefore study the reasons for the emergence of these differences:

'The answer lies in the very variety of interpretations itself. What has been happening—among students and within universities and to society—to give rise to these interpretations and render *all of them*, in some measure, plausible' (Burns 1968: 9).

This attempt at handling the problems of values involved in studying phenomena which are themselves systems of evaluations has the advantage that, far from merely invoking the stance of 'objectivity', it faces the problem of the definition of the research in relation to the specific nature of the object to be studied. However, it merely raises the problem of value in social research to a higher level, in that Burns's specification of the three aspects of his research strategy has very little of a substantive nature to say about the types of sociological theory to be employed.

The choice of theoretical framework is the crucial problem. How can one study these differences of evaluation unless one can adopt a theoretical system which enables one to locate the range of differences, and the likely relations between them, and which specifies the types of social structural feature from which they are likely to be derived? A theoretical system of this type must be able to relate this multiplicity of evaluations to its social basis, and must be able to distinguish between attributions of social basis in the systems of evaluation used by the actors and the actual social basis from which these attributing evaluations derive. It must include a concept of ideology. The type of social derivation of ideology that the theory indicates is, by implication, a model of the social system as a whole, since it must deal with the dominant factors that determine ideas and actions in social situations. There are several such general theories of social systems within the orbit of sociology. One returns, therefore, to the problem of the conceptual anarchy of sociology, since each of these competing systems claims to be omnicompetent within the field. If one chooses a theoretical position, one cannot do so on the basis of any clear scientific superiority of one to another. The reasons for that choice cannot be strictly scientific.

At the end of his paper Burns seems openly to accept this problematical status of concepts. Having confined himself to elaborating a range of possible interpretations and the problem areas they define, he ventures to suggest a specific approach but only in the tentative manner of calling it a 'general hypothesis'. This general hypothesis

relates to the social structural features that give rise to revolt among students in particular.

Burns argues that 'the fundamental *political* fact is the differentiation of roles and the segmentation of social milieux under advanced industrialism' (Burns 1968: 11). Modern society is undergoing the process of the differentiation of social roles and groups to such an extent that there are no collective forces which find it *necessary* to challenge the given forms of institutional control in their social situation; because the participants are performers of specific and limited roles. Total roles in the area of public life are diminishing; that is, the dominant role in a role-set is no longer an occupational or power-related role. This is a variant of the privatization thesis.

Burns suggests that the role of student is one of the few total role situations in modern society. But the total character of the student's role is an ambiguous one in respect of political action. What *interests* attach to the role of student which lead him into conflict with others? Even if the worker performs a specific role, rather than a complex of roles defined by his position as worker, that role still entails certain definite interests for him in relation to other role performers, and, indeed, interests that affect his other role performances. Those interests centre upon his wages. In the last resort his wage packet in relation to the cost of living, others' incomes, and the effort and satisfactions of the work, affect his performance of his roles within the family and the wider society.

Students, by reason of their varied backgrounds, institutions, subjects, ages, and future vocations, by reason of the transitory nature of the role of student, have no all-encompassing interests, as a collectivity, which they must promote and defend. They do not have a world to gain or lose. They have only the status of student and its potential rewards to lose if they overstep the mark. But this threat, unlike the threat of unemployment or a reduction in real wages for the worker, does not involve immediate and calculable hardships, and is not a collective threat. Student political activism cannot be sought within the constituent occupational characteristics of the role of student.

The theses of student 'proletarianization', of the discrepancy between aspiration and real level of achievement, of the bureaucratic polarization of universities, all entail the application to the student of the model of a role like that of the worker. Yet the political character and composition of student militancy seem to deny this. If these are the causes, then student militancy is one of the most displaced and

ideological forms of political action in its response to the social situation that has produced it. Student politics have been highly *political*. The most militant students are by no means drawn from those sectors of the student body which might suffer the effects of these causes. The very diversity of demands, ideologies, *casus belli*, seems to suggest that student militancy is not the product of such common structural factors producing a conflict of interests.

The emphasis of this paper has been that the causes of student revolt must be sought within the political system in general; it should be further emphasized that the particular basis for the high responsibility of certain groups of students to political factors lies in their freedom to respond. Freedom, that is, from interests which they must defend at all costs. Politics for student collectives is not a zero-sum game: there are few tangible fruits of victory and few perils that accrue from defeat. Students can respond to political pressures in a more immediate way than most groups since they have fewer immediate status-related interests. Workers, industrialists, farmers, professional politicians, are all tied to interests which they must preserve and defend, within the given situation of action, against others with whom their interests clash.

It is the very indefiniteness of the students' role in respect of occupationally derived interests that makes their sporadic but intense political activism possible. The students' relative freedom from interests limits their political effectiveness as a group. It also contributes to explaining the extra-parliamentary mode of politics. Since students have few interests they must further in competition with those of others, they are not constrained to adopt the forms of political activity that workers or industrialists must adopt if they are not to lose out relative to other groups. Workers' interests must be permanently defended; as a consequence, the mode of that defence takes permanent and socially legitimate forms: the trade union and the political party.

Burns argues that it is the correspondence of a total role with a consciousness of relative deprivation that results in collective political action. But in what sense do students have a consciousness of relative deprivation? The tendency to oppositional consciousness, outlined earlier in this paper, indicates that the potential horizon of dissatisfaction among militants is absolute. Since it has little immediate specification in terms of the social distribution of resources, students' consciousness of their situation is capable of the most general or specific dissatisfaction: from food prices in the canteen to the social

system. Because that consciousness of dissatisfaction has no definite set of interests that require satisfaction, it has no definite objects it must oppose or change to fulfil its demands. A situation of relative deprivation is structured and yields a range of definite objectives; even if those objectives include the overthrow of the whole existing system of the distribution of resources. When the militants seeks a structural location for their dissatisfactions and struggles, a coherent social reference point and a coherent set of objectives, it is a location in which *others* are placed. The relative deprivations the students embrace are those of others. The most hardened and determined political activists have a more or less strong adherence to socialism and the class struggle.

If we are to explain these problems (what is the social situation of the student, and why does it lead some students to political militancy?) we should regard them less in the context of the role of the student and more in the context of the social situation of an intelligentsia. In so far as the student is relatively free from the constraints that result from a definite set of occupational demands and interests he is relatively free to think and act: he can be more politically committed because he is less socially committed.<sup>12</sup> This is most true of students of the humanities and the social sciences; the orientation of whose disciplines, moreover, focuses their intellectual attention upon society and its history.

Such relatively uncommitted intelligentsias have been a breeding-ground for radical ideologies. They have been a prominent source of political radicalism, terrorism, and an orientation towards 'going among the people'. The Russian intelligentsia of the nineteenth century gave rise to student movements of this sort: study circles, terrorist groups, and the Narodniki. Such intelligentsias are most responsive to the overall political situation of society. It is their very functionless character, if only in the transitory context of being students, that yields this possibility of forms of political action that depart from the institutionally given forms.<sup>13</sup>

'Intelligentsia' is a category that is seldom employed in relation to Britain. Evidently it has been hitherto largely inapplicable since the position of intellectuals has been more or less coterminous with that of the social and political elites in British society. Intellectuals have been closely tied to the various elites in their attitudes, status, patterns of sociality, and political concerns. An 'independent' intelligentisa has existed in only the most marginal sense.

The recent expansion of university intake has broadened the social basis of recruitment to include wider strata of the middle classes, and it has weakened the direct connection of the student body with the various elites. The expansion has been as much an expansion of the humanities and the social sciences as of vocational and instrumental disciplines. It has been as much a response to 'effective demand' for higher education among the middle classes as a response to the demands of economic and technical modernization. Large sections of the students are trained for no definite social task in their higher education. The student must seek that place in society on the basis of his own attainments and choices. We may therefore be witnessing the emergence of a relatively uncommitted intelligentsia among sections of the students; if only in the sense that the student is uncommitted and potentially an intellectual while he is a student.

#### IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION

It should not be assumed that the arguments in this paper are considered a sufficient explanation of student militancy; rather, they have placed emphasis on those aspects of the phenomenon that have been relatively neglected in other explanations. Sociologists have tended to consider student militancy as a consequence of long-term changes in the occupational structure, and of changes in the structure and functions of higher education. These explanatory factors tend to neglect two major aspects of the phenomenon. First, its timing: why has student militancy developed in the latter half of the 1960s? Second, its political orientation: why has student militancy developed along the lines of radical political activism? These aspects have been given prominence in this paper because they have been the least considered even though they raise the most difficult questions of sociological explanation. It is hoped that the paper will contribute to the discussion and resolution of these questions.

#### *Notes*

1 Nisbet (1970) argues that this is the case.

2 D. Cohn-Bendit *et al.*, 'Why Sociologists?', in Cockburn & Blackburn (1969).

- 3 A good example of this mystical formulation and the failure to read any recognizable meaning into it by a non-participant is John Sparrow's encounter with M. Postic, a young French militant, through the agency of the pages of *Le Monde*. In Martin (1969: 183).
- 4 The dangers of employing graduate students or student informants from the ethical and methodological points of view are obvious.
- 5 I have attempted as thorough a summary of Wilson's argument as possible because the Black Paper is more often quoted than read and readers may not be familiar with it.
- 6 A very able example of such a critical approach is Horton (1964).
- 7 The fact that Wilson pays no attention to the data on income distribution is in itself surprising, since such data are of vital significance to the question he is addressing, and the work of Titmuss, for example, is among the most solid achievements of British sociology.
- 8 Crick (1964) presents a brilliant exposition of the characteristics of this 'British style of politics'.
- 9 Of course, no state could; but it is the specific circumstances of recent political history that have resulted in the *official* rejection of the rationale of 'reasons of state' by the state itself.
- 10 In Britain, since we are concerned with the specifics of British student militancy, this antagonism has been most severe, since there is no tradition of political violence and cynicism in Britain like that of other Western democracies such as France or the USA.
- 11 MacPherson (1966) illustrates simply and clearly the different institutional forms of democracy and their social basis.
- 12 We might note in this context that the most vocationally oriented students — accountants, lawyers, engineers, etc. — have been the least militant of all student groups.
- 13 Venturi (1960) is invaluable for a study of the political involvement and social situation of the Russian intelligentsia.

## References

- BURNS, T. 1968. The Revolt of the Privileged. *Social Science Research Council Newsletter*, no. 4, November.
- COCKBURN, A. & BLACKBURN, R. (eds.) 1969. *Student Power*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- COX, C. B. & DYSON, A. E. (eds.) 1969. *Fight for Education: A Black Paper*. London: Critical Quarterly Society.
- CRICK, B. 1964. *In Defence of Politics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- HORTON, J. 1964. The Dehumanization of Alienation and Anomie. *British Journal of Sociology* 15 (4).

- MACPHERSON, C. B. 1966. *The Real World of Democracy*. London: Oxford University Press.
- MARTIN, D. (ed.) 1969. *Anarchy and Culture*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- NISBET, R. A. 1970. Who killed the Student Revolt? *Encounter*, February.
- VENTURI, F. 1960. *Roots of Revolution*. New York: Knopf.

© Paul Hirst 1973



Taylor & Francis  
Taylor & Francis Group  
<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

BRIAN DAVIES

# *On the Contribution of Organizational Analysis to the Study of Educational Institutions<sup>1</sup>*

---

No justification need be offered for the expenditure of effort upon the systematic analysis of educational organizations. While schools are familiar objects to us all, and colleges to many, our ability to explain and generalize about how they work in any degree of depth is still severely limited by the shortcomings of organizational analysis itself and by the paucity of worthwhile empirical studies within education. This paper sets out to try to show what sort of contribution can be expected from organizational analysis and what sorts of investigation it will require, against the background of existing studies in education and what appears to be helpful work elsewhere. The following shortcomings are freely acknowledged:

- (a) The relative lack of attention to post-school education. Unless otherwise stated, the referents of remarks are usually secondary schools.
- (b) The lack of a sufficient cross-cultural approach: the work drawn upon is almost exclusively British and American in origin.
- (c) The tendency to slip into easy over-generalization in the face of inadequate evidence. This is from time to time so palpable that the obvious intention is simply to provoke discussion.

## THE EXPECTED CONTRIBUTION: CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Few acknowledgements are required of existing or widely agreed conceptualizations of the scope of organizational analysis in education. With honourable exceptions, the research efforts and speculative in-

genuities of sociologists interested in education have not notably been expended upon the study of organizations.<sup>2</sup> In Britain, the work that is available is at the level of schools rather than of further or higher education. The only aspect of school structure to have received any really systematic attention is that of the grouping of pupils for teaching purposes, particularly the practice of 'streaming by ability'.<sup>3</sup> Research in this area has grown increasingly more sophisticated and has thrown up suggestions pointing to relationships between teachers' values and methods, children's backgrounds and abilities, and the organization of teaching groups, which remain at the present rather tentative and theoretically limited. Much of the information we have is cast in a narrow mould of correlational links between children's backgrounds, school factors, and measured achievement. Despite some recent work like that of Hargreaves (1967) and Turner (1969), one must still inevitably agree with Floud (1962) and Floud & Halsey (1958) that we lack anything like an adequate sociology of the school, and that one aspect of that lack is in terms of our knowledge of schools as organizations.

Hoyle (1965) has suggested that this lack may in part be due both to methodological difficulties and to theoretical inadequacies in the area. The general methodological difficulties of research in organizations have been rehearsed adequately in several places.<sup>4</sup> Some of the most characteristic features of educational establishments seem to enhance, others to inhibit, the possibility of their research. For instance, the youthfulness and institutionally inferior status of pupils might ease access, while the cynicism and suspicion of some teachers towards 'academics' and the difficulty of maintaining 'normality' in a teaching situation observed by an outsider might increase the obstacles (Hargreaves 1966: 193-205). The haziness and dissensus that characterize educational procedures and outcomes (as will be argued later) may also provide a further origin of resistance to institutional research designed to penetrate the relationship between values and procedures. At the same time, it may be that, negatively, the pressures towards efficiency in resource utilization which prompt much of the work in industrial organizations are foreign to the inclinations of educationalists and relieved by the distance at which most educational enterprises stand from conventional market tests. Or, even more simply, given that these general criteria would apply equally well to, say, the mental hospital, where a great deal of very good quality organizational work has been produced (Levinson & Williams

1957; Strauss *et al.* 1964), it may be the case that only relatively recently have organizational features of educational establishments seemed to present 'problems' that did not seem unimportant in comparison with other factors, as viewed by teachers, administrators, and researchers.

The theoretical inadequacies of the area are not those of education alone. In cases that have been variously argued elsewhere (Scott 1964; Mouzelis 1967; Mayntz 1965), it has been fully shown that 'there does not yet exist a single, widely accepted theory of organizations' (Scott 1964: 485). Indeed, if such a body or group of theories were ever to exist, they could certainly not be exclusively sociological. Work on organizations has originated in all branches of the social sciences (March 1965: Introduction). It is marked by wide differences in emphasis and levels and it would be fruitless to argue the demarcation disputes entailed in an exclusively 'sociological' approach. It may be much more helpful to start from an appreciation of Scott's view (1964: 489) that 'while organizations furnish a common locus of research for many sociologists as well as members of sister disciplines, these investigators are by no means interested in finding answers to the same sorts of questions'. Investigators tend to work at one of three levels, defined in terms of what phenomena they treat as their dependent variable, that of the behaviour of individual organization members, that of the functioning of some particular aspect or aspects of organizational structure, or at the level of actions of the organization viewed as a total entity. Bearing these analytical perspectives in mind may make it easier to evaluate the relative usefulness to the study of educational institutions of the usual categories and concepts applied in organizational studies.

The choice of approach at first sight appears to be quite bewildering. Historically, there have been successive schools of thought which have partly converged but which also partly live on in sectarian separation.<sup>5</sup> The divisions reflect, to a very large extent, the historical divisions within sociology—the unreconciled differences between conflict, social action, and systems approaches, between rational change and natural growth, power and consensus, and so on. The working surface of organizational studies appears to be occupied by a number of distinct sets of protagonists, each characteristically emphasizing one level, one approach, one or a few aspects of organizational structure or process as the 'best basis' or starting-point for the analysis and comparison of organizational phenomena. Burns (1967) has succinctly

shown the difficulties inherent in basing typologies of organizations on a single taxonomic principle. He argues, for instance, that both Etzioni's typology based on compliance and Blau & Scott's prime beneficiary principle seek to explain rather than merely identify. Both seek to explain 'by subsuming particular instances of relationships, or of social norms or routines, under more general headings' and hence involve discrimination between different modes of variable (Burns 1967: 120). Burns suggests that the unfortunate consequences of misplaced concreteness inherent in such approaches may be avoided by aiming at a system of analytical categories which would be reasonably logical and comprehensive in the sense that a thesaurus meets those criteria. To this end, he constructs a schema for the comparative study of organizations cross-culturally and over time, which incorporates eight categories ranging from 'organizations in society' to 'definition of individual social identities in organizational setting', set against three possible theoretical models (Burns 1967: 120).

While Burns's work may be a badly needed attempt to provide a common index or catalogue for workers in this field, the fact is that if there is an ecumenical stir in the air, then it consists in a convergence towards 'systems' approaches, noted by many commentators.<sup>6</sup> The movement is by no means uniform, complete, or without its critics (Silverman 1968; Smith 1967). Its strengths rest upon the promise inherent in viewing organizations as 'open systems', linked to both societal and individual needs. What can be argued, of course, is the inadequacy of deriving these from any *a priori* classification. The establishment of organizational goals and structures via empirical work leads much less quickly to what may be called 'theory' (Lambert and colleagues, paper in this volume). But a theory that does not allow the generation of testable hypotheses seems to be even less desirable than a situation where there is much worthwhile information upon differing organizational features, for instance authority and compliance, control, decision-making and external relationship, technology, communications, human relations, and so on, albeit only very partially integrated, but at least doing justice to the nuances of 'social invention'.

All these differences in foci and levels are further complicated by the tradition of managerialism chronically present in organizational studies from Taylor to Tavistock. Much of the work lies clearly on the prescriptive side of the line between normative and descriptive study. Many of the less desirable features of the urge to 'technologize' organizational information prematurely or inappropriately appear

historically in the US tradition of administrative theory in education. Callahan (1962) shows convincingly how 'scientific management' proved irresistible to the vulnerable US administrators of the early part of this century. The pressure to prescribe is still discernible in the writing of men no less eminent than Daniel Griffiths (1964), the over-generality of whose systems and decision-making approaches involves a regular slippage from the empirical to the axiomatic (see Hoyle 1969: esp. 38-47). It hovers over the relationship between executive professional leadership, school morale, and pupil performance demonstrated by Gross & Herriott (1965). Clearly, all research reflects the values and commitments of those who conduct and finance it, and, on these grounds, it is not surprising that leadership, morale, decision-making, and the like figure in the administrative tradition and that emphasis should be laid upon planning, manipulation, and change. Indeed, sociological studies of educational organization exhibit their own fashions—traditionally showing a concentration upon studies of pupil subcultures and, currently, a vogue for 'micro-studies' at the level of pupil-teacher, classroom relationships.<sup>7</sup>

The conceptual, theoretical, empirical, and even ideological obstacles to organizational studies in education are, therefore, real though probably no greater than those existing in any other area, whether at the one extreme one hopes to push the boat out by taxonomizing on the basis of newly operationalized 'traditional' concepts (Hinings *et al.* 1967) or, at the other, attempts to face the issues with a determination to generate and ground (Glaser & Strauss 1967). What is certainly the case is that there can be no substitute in the study of educational organizations for empirical work on schools, colleges, and educational administrative bodies themselves. It would appear equally clear, however, that the specification of research problems does rest on the conceptual framework within which they are conceived. This may be usefully sensitized and sharpened by ideas and findings already thrown up by work in other sorts of organization. If instead of simply seeking to bludgeon educational facts into the shape of typologies and concepts derived from elsewhere (useful though this may sometimes be for imaginative and pedagogical purposes) one attempts to remain as fully aware as possible of the crucial differences between schools and other institutions, there may be a great deal to be gained from them. The danger is, of course, not merely one of exaggeration but, as Burns points out, of distortion. What is always indefensible is the sort of selective suppression involved in pushing the 'heuristic

device' through to the status of revealed truth, closed to any real debate, in the testless universe characteristic of social philosophy. What is most important is that the demands of any comparative schema should not be allowed to prevent the development of a conceptual apparatus appropriate to educational institutions themselves.

To the fact that organizational analysis is not one but many things, we must add the complication that educational institutions vary enormously along a number of dimensions. There is a large gap between the paucity of our empirical knowledge of educational organizations (considering the British and US output together) and our willingness to make assumptions about the similarities and shared features of schools and colleges. In part, the tendency to adopt the linguistic and conceptual apparatus of the systems approach invites the danger.<sup>8</sup>

While it may be unexceptionable, or even helpful, to approach school organizations (or any other) expecting to find an input, an output, and a process (not to mention a tendency towards entropy), it becomes another matter when these conceptual boxes are rapidly filled in *a priori* fashion. It may be useful to conceptualize the whole complex of educational institutions as comprising a 'system', so long as we do not allow the neatness and simplicity of the model to become reality. Perhaps all educational institutions display certain 'essential features', all, for instance, having basic 'functional prerequisites', 'boundary problems', or 'staff and student echelons'; perhaps they all can usefully be thought of as contributing towards the system's 'functions' of culture transmission, selection, allocation, and so on. The point is that this whole apparatus of terms used to display relationship, fit, and order obscures certain sorts of issues by sharpening our awareness of others. What comes to sensitize stays to suppress. For instance, in the general sense, it must remain problematic as to what degree of overlap exists between the features and tasks of, say, nursery- and medical-school education. Or specifically, Parsons's assumption (1959) that 'probably the most fundamental condition underlying the process'... of socialization and selection in the elementary school '... is the sharing of common values by ... the family and the school' ought to be treated as hypothesis and not established fact. One needs to be thoroughly sceptical about the mixture of reification and over-generality constantly found in systems approaches, without denying their possible heuristic value (Hoyle 1969). Moreover, if schools are to be thought of as open systems, then the sheer fact that this openness has clearly varied over time and differs between existing schools

should serve as a reminder of the lack of historical perspective in systems approaches generally. This characteristic might make it difficult to handle the influence of certain sorts of very important factors in educational change, for instance, the influence of previous patterns of organization and ideologies upon staff entering newly reorganized schools. The importance of a historical dimension is clearly recognized in Musgrave's description (1968: Ch. 2) of the four goal areas of the British educational system, though the arbitrariness of his categories is as evident as is that of Shipman's (1968: Ch. 9) four organizational ends of the school.

#### GOALS IN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

No discussion of organizations can in fact escape starting from a definitional base which entails some treatment of goals. With varying verbal or substantive reservations, all organizational definitions come down to Parsons's position (1956: 63–4) that it is 'primacy of goal orientation' that provides the main feature for distinguishing organizations from other social structures. All organizations, though not bureaucracies in the Weberian sense, are, up to a point, embodiments of human reason and purpose. They are created and modified as instruments in the pursuit of explicit objectives. However, organizations, once created, develop a 'life of their own'. That is to say, activities and aims are generated whose purposes have less to do with official goals or the specification of the organization's 'charter' (Bakke 1959; Albrow 1968) than with the interests of the members or groups of members themselves. The initial problem in discussing organizational goals must therefore be 'whose goals?' (Gross 1969; Rhenman 1968). No Parsonian extension of the notion of contract (Parsons 1956: 237), to the point where it is suggested that, in a business firm, the fact that workers choose voluntarily to remain in a given employment may be taken as evidence that they accept management goals, can remove the issue. Landsberger (Black 1961: 221–7) suggests that, at the best construction, Parsons may here be read as attempting to specify what states of affairs need to be the case if equilibrium or survival is to be achieved organizationally. Leaving aside the problem of how meaningful the term 'equilibrium' may be in this context, the validity of a 'contract' model in respect of the school would inevitably be attenuated. While staff would count as 'workers', pupils by and large could not. Parsons (1957) is certainly aware of the nature of this

difference, making clear in his discussion of mental hospitals that there are crucial differences between organizations that have their customers or clientele inside and those that have them outside. But in his explicit discussion of educational institutions (Parsons 1958b), he dissolves the problem by simply treating pupils as materials to be processed, albeit raising motivational problems not posed by physical resources in so far as their cooperation has to be sought and induced.

While there are special and obvious features about the status of personnel which schools possess, shared up to a point with other people-processing agencies, the fact remains that 'pupils' have aims, objectives, and goals just as staff have them. What constitutes motivational goals for either cannot be assumed to be the official aims of the school. For some educational establishments there will, of course, be some sort of documentary expression of official purposes. For all, there will exist a diffuse amalgam of obligations, prescriptions, and the like stemming from legal sources, contractual obligation, or established practice. Within any given institution, the only thing we may be sure about in advance of investigation is that what different individuals and groups of individuals are working towards will be partly common but often different. How far objectives are shared could be established only by empirical means. Minimally, we should expect to have to distinguish activities and tasks in which many participate and values and symbols they are invited to share, on the one hand as officially 'interpreted' and, on the other hand, from the point of view of their meaning to individuals and groups of actors (Silverman 1968). Lambert's work has explored in the context of boarding education the extent to which pupils accept a range of school objectives (Lambert, Hipkin & Stagg 1968). No one reading the articulate and heartfelt views of pupils expressed in *The Hothouse Society* (Lambert & Millham 1968) could doubt that pupils are organizational members as well as 'raw material' and that they come to perceive and variously accept or reject or modify or even create school goals. There are no doubt many special features of goal-setting in school organizations. While by no means attempting to offer an exhaustive checklist, one might suggest that it would prove interesting to explore the following:

- (a) The influence on goal-setting of the beliefs of teachers and parents that there are areas of choice-making from which pupils ought to be barred on account of their youth (and hence unpreparedness to choose).

- (b) The nature of the accommodations reached in schools of differing sorts (e.g. large-small, selective-unselective, primary-secondary, etc.) between the traditional 'autonomy' of the British headteacher and the wishes of staff to participate in decision-making and goal-setting. The way in which many heads appear to define their task seems to fit in quite closely with Selznick's description of 'institutionalized leadership' as involving distinctively the guardianship of the organization's 'character', the deployment of expertise in the 'promotion and protection of values' (Selznick 1966 edn: 8). It might be interesting to explore under what pressures the 'new men' of William Taylor's (1969a) forward-looking comprehensives are moving towards differing leadership styles; and how they manage the seemingly growing departmentalism of many school organizations. On the latter score, it might be fruitful to examine the nature of staff interest groups and coalitions and their impact upon school policy-making, utilizing not only the perspectives of decision-making theory but also those of Strauss and others in viewing the social order as something to be worked at, 'negotiated', and reviewed (Strauss *et al.* 1963; Buckley 1967: 149-51).
- (c) The resistances to, and the consequences of, school staffs' assuming greater autonomy in goal-setting, particularly in respect of curriculum change.
- (d) The processes of modification and assimilation of objectives as schools merge, particularly under comprehensive reorganization.

None of this ought to be taken as necessarily implying that schools are characteristically highly effective 'goal-seeking' organizations. In fact, Etzioni (1960: 259) argues that any goal model of an organization's performance involves the mistake of 'comparing objects which are not on the same level of analysis . . . when the present state of an organization (a real state) is compared with a goal (an ideal state) as if the goal were also a real state'. Despite the delicacy about handling the status of human purposes here, Etzioni goes on convincingly to suggest that all organizations may score very low on goal effectiveness. Schools certainly can survive, and indeed be held to be operating adequately, when 'real states' are very highly discrepant from official goals. Etzioni (1960: 261) suggests that a system model provides a far more adequate approach for conceptualizing organizational behaviour, where it is recognized that 'a social unit that devotes all of

its efforts to fulfilling one functional requirement, even if it is that of performing goal activities, will undermine the fulfilment of this very functional requirement, because recruitment of means, maintenance of tools and the social integration of the unit will be neglected'. All of this explicitly follows Parsons's conceptualization of organizations.<sup>9</sup>

#### SYSTEMS APPROACH STRENGTHS: THREE REMINDERS

The Parsonian categorizations, while elegant in their symmetry, may safely be regarded only as a series of 'reminders', particularly apposite in sensitizing us to the necessary differences in level required of an exhaustive organizational analysis. Three issues are chosen as relatively neglected problems in the analysis of educational organizations in respect of which this sort of 'reminder' helps.

##### (a) *External Relationship and Boundary Maintenance*

Organizations exist in a social and value context. They may well be, as schools and colleges usually are, a small sub-part of a wider administrative complex. At this level, organizations differ widely in terms of the control they may exert over the nature of their inputs, the definition of their boundaries, and the legitimizing of their goals and processes. A number of basic factors impinge upon school organizations at this level. For instance, schools are, in the terminology of Blau & Scott, 'service' organizations whose prime beneficiary is the part of the public in direct contact with them, that is to say pupils and students who are typically believed not to know what will best serve their own interests (Blau & Scott 1963: 51).

Moreover, what will 'best serve' their interests is subject to two major difficulties: that of defining those interests and that of stipulating in terms of activities and processes that may realistically occur in educational establishments how they may efficiently be met once defined. Largely in consequence of these difficulties, schools and colleges are staffed by 'professionals', whose expertise and commitment to a 'service' ethic provide the institutionalized answers to the necessity for dispassion and independence in judging the interests of clients, particularly when a variety of parties—parents, employers, various associational interests, other educationalists, government, and so on—are putting forward a variety of competing versions of these interests.

Educational institutions, with their predominantly 'service' aspects, are rarely subject to the rigours of a free, market economy at the level of the individual client.<sup>10</sup> The state is frequently the provider of the majority of the money resources available to education, in this country with its influence mediated via the LEAs. What is generally argued about public authorities in British education is that, although they are the providers of resources and the determiners of ages and stages in education, in comparative terms they have not to any great extent sought to determine the content of what educators transmit.<sup>11</sup> This is not to say, of course, either that schools of different types and in different areas experience the same sort of relationship with educational administrators or that one can assume that it is teachers within individual schools who determine the content of what they teach. On the former score, Lewin's (1968) study of comprehensive reorganization in the outer London boroughs provides evidence enough of difference of treatment not only of teachers, but of parents and public as well, by authorities. On the question of curriculum, there is certainly an impressive detachment, in the main, from problems of its content and change on the part of the LEAs. The inability or unwillingness of teachers on their part, too, particularly at the secondary level, to control or change content has produced a gap filled historically by examining boards, the perceived wishes of establishments of higher education, and an assorted range of specialists and agencies with varying degrees of influence—the textbook writer, the training-college lecturer, the Teachers' Centre, and the larger-scale 'developer' such as Nuffield or Schools Council.

If we conceive of the individual school in the sort of way suggested above, as having an existence basically shaped by conditions laid down by government and the legal system, and additionally receiving value-determined demands from the local community, parents, industry, curriculum developers, and a host of other minor agencies,<sup>12</sup> then we would expect to find either that schools are highly successful at reconciling a number of widely differing demands, or that they tend to develop devices for insulation against some of the pressures facing them (see Clark 1960a). It might well prove fruitful at the level of schools and colleges, in both the private and the public sector, and having differing degrees of selectivity, to examine which types of exterior 'demand' differing organizations tend most frequently to block out, and with what consequences for their internal structure and processes. It might be equally interesting to employ this (albeit partial)

perspective in an examination of competing value positions or ideologies in education, given particularly that educationalists have persistently spent more time and effort in 'getting their concepts straight' (the current euphemism for the urging of value positions) than in establishing the most elementary facts concerning the social origins or functions of such positions within education.<sup>13</sup>

At the level of demand-making agencies, parents in one sense threaten as the most real source of discord for the school organization. The rigidity of the boundaries thrown up by the great majority of British schools against parents cannot simply be explained in terms of a 'quiet life' conspiracy on the part of teachers or a 'culture gap' between them and working-class parents. The problem is partly a common one of relationships between any complex organization and the primary groupings with which it comes into contact (Litwak & Meyer 1965). It has special intensity in the context of the school, which shares an interest of a long-term, developmental kind with parents over their children. What Litwak & Meyer suggest is that the relationship of schools to their community (including parents) is a question of administrative style; that which sort of style is adapted—whether 'open', 'closed', or 'swinging door'—will depend on the nature of the tasks which teachers define as having before them. Fundamentally, these tasks may be defined as uniform and unambiguous or non-uniform and ambiguous. The tendency to polarize task-decisions (which will relate to grouping, teaching methods, content, and so on) one way or another, towards either the '3 Rs' or the 'progressive education' approaches, will tend to be largely determinative of school-parent relationships, in the sense that given sorts of orientation towards children will 'go with' complementary attitudes towards their parents. Litwak & Meyer in a tentative but interesting way are pressing the necessity for viewing the explanation of internal processes, boundary maintenance, and external relationships of schools as being strongly related. Their inspiration for doing so stems clearly from a systems perspective.

#### (b) *Formal and Informal Organization*

If we approach the individual organization's structure and process using this sort of perspective (not to mention any more extreme version of the systems approach), then what immediately comes into question is the usefulness of the traditional distinction between the

formal and informal aspects of organization as opposed to its 'real' or working structure. In a fundamental sense, of course, the formality of an organization's structure is its distinguishing feature and *raison d'être*. The rationality embodied in the formal specifications of the rights and duties of its members gives the organization relative freedom from reliance on individual participation. It tends to facilitate efficient recruitment and succession, reaching its fullest expression in bureaucracy. But while organizations are always 'formal' they also tend to be 'complex' and their complexity is done insufficient justice if we talk in terms of characteristics of the formal structure invariably giving rise to or 'causing' informal structures. In her analysis of manufacturing industry in south-east Essex, Woodward discovered in the course of detailed case studies of firms a very complex relationship between formal and informal organization, with objectives frequently achieved through the latter and formal organization having to adjust in consequence, particularly in relation to technical change (Woodward 1965: 239). Her report that, as research progressed, the dividing-line between the two facets of organization became increasingly less well demonstrated<sup>14</sup> ought to act as a salutary reminder to those analysing educational institutions, where the extent of formal grouping, categorization, and ranking among both staff and pupils tends to be considerable and where commentators in the past have been prepared to distinguish not only formal and informal but 'semi-formal' structures (Blyth 1965: 14-17), and where the gap has often stood wide between the organizational chart and the simplicities of sociometrics. Or again, in respect of an extensive piece of research work, Lambert's model of some aspects of the public school as an organization embodies the distinction between the school's formal organization, which has numerous subsystems and exists to coordinate activity towards three groups of goals, instrumental, expressive, and organizational, and its informal organization—'the patterns by which people actually interact within or without the system which is officially designed for them' (Lambert 1966: xxv). While the model appears to place emphasis on the importance of 'official design' and the distinctiveness of goal areas (without exploring the difficulties inherent in either conception), the research has thrown up the 'fundamental point' that in 'the public school' (and especially the boarding kind) the demarcation between formal and informal organizations is indistinct in many areas of its life' (Lambert 1966: xxv); more so, it is suggested, than in the state school, which has a less 'total' approach.

What is being argued, then, is that the formal, official specification of goals, structures, roles, and values which may be discerned as being that of 'the school' is analytically distinct from, and may be used as a yardstick against which to measure, the actual relationships existing within it. We are not told from whom we draw the description of the formal organization.<sup>15</sup>

(c) *Output and Self-maintenance*

The third sort of area in respect of which a systems approach points a strong 'reminder', and which has already been alluded to, is the inevitability that much of the activity that occurs within an organization will be geared to repair and self-maintenance rather than to the production of an explicit, official output. Indeed, in the educational establishment, the range of goals that people are known to hold (Lambert & Millham 1968; Schools Council 1968; Stevens 1960; King 1968) is so wide as to make any distinction of this sort slippery. There may also, in any given school, be such a heightened problem of compliance<sup>16</sup> that it has given rise to a large-scale rejection or displacement by both pupils and staff of official ends and produced an institution that is nearly wholly custodial or anarchic.<sup>17</sup> The 'output' of schools of all kinds may be conceived of in Bidwell's terms (Brim & Wheeler 1966: 70) as being made up of the relatively specific capacities of their recruits gained by virtue of their 'role socialization' and the relatively general attributes gained through their 'status socialization'. Role socialization is held to be training and preparation for the performance of specific tasks, and status socialization a broader training or preparation for general adult status. Assuming that the difficulties of categorizing school activities in terms of their contributions to one area or another are surmountable, it might be interesting to explore, both at the level of different schools and at classroom level, how institutions and individuals in a system such as ours, 'streamed' both between and within schools, with no developed specialist echelon of 'status socializers' at the staff level, allocate their energies to these two sides of the school process. There are intimations of the diversity in Stevens's (1960) depiction of staff attitudes in grammar schools (see also King 1968), in Hargreaves's (1966) picture of a secondary modern, and in Lambert & Millham's (1968) evidence on different emphases in boarding education.

A fuller explanation than is currently available of the attributes and

styles of teachers of different subjects, with differing educational and training experiences, along these dimensions would be interesting. What is evident is that the growth of specialist 'status socializers', in particular the school counsellor, has begun in this country.<sup>18</sup> In an educational community where the purpose and what is often construed to be the ideology of the counsellor are frequently regarded as suspect,<sup>19</sup> it might help to establish the need for and the most desirable form of school-counselling if we clarified the nature of its origins. In Bidwell's terms, perhaps there is a built-in tendency towards increasing specialization in role and status socializatory tasks as schools grow in size (and possibly complexity) (Smith 1968). The second NFER Report on comprehensive schools (see Monks 1968) reveals a tendency towards a growth in the percentage of graded posts held on 'non-academic' grounds as school size increases (though complicated by non-size factors, e.g. geographical region). Possibly the task of status socialization in schools is increasing in intrinsic difficulty, given changes in wider social conditions and expectations, and therefore requires more specialized expertise. Or possibly the counselling function is increasingly required within the secondary system to 'cool out' and adjust the overheated expectations of individuals to levels more realistic in terms of their capacities (Clark 1960 a and b). One puts this forward in respect of British experience very tentatively, since on all available evidence the internal and external examination systems that schools employ perform this latter service as thoroughly as only an agency utilizing exactly one hundred mutually exclusive and unambiguous categories could. In terms of the value placed upon the 'outputs' of the British secondary system, there are differing opinions among pupils, parents, and teachers. The findings of the Schools Council investigation, which asked school-leavers of varying ages, their parents, and a sample of their teachers which among a suggested list of various school objectives they thought to be relatively important, show children and parents to be much more firmly interested in the rolesocializatory (or instrumental, job-oriented) aspects of the school process than are their teachers (Schools Council 1968: 31-83). Musgrove & Taylor (1969: Ch. 5) show areas both of difference and of mutual ignorance lying between parents and teachers, depending upon a number of factors such as age of child, type of school, social-class background of the parents, and so on. They also show that whereas teachers, particularly non-graduates, 'placed great emphasis on the personal qualities of a good teacher ... children at all stages placed

emphasis on his teaching skills. The need which pupils want teachers to satisfy is above all the need to be taught and to learn' (Musgrave & Taylor 1969: 27).

#### COMMITMENT AND COMPLIANCE

In general, it is being argued that a more sensitive conceptualization of goals in educational organizations needs to be combined with the strengths of a systems approach. Together, they allow some sort of order to be brought to the discussion of the crucial problems of compliance and commitment of school personnel. Goals in education are perhaps necessarily rather diffuse, overlapping, and even contradictory. They exhibit a degree of indeterminacy which is shared by educational procedures and evaluatory techniques. They, and hence the teacher's claim to professional prerogative in interpreting his client's interests, will tend to be endemically open to public challenge and debate. One pressure upon the educational organization must at least be to 'de-diffuse' goals and procedures for both staff and pupils or students. The existence of vague and overlapping goals may in some senses strengthen official power by protecting schools from external criticism and increasing the manipulatory powers of teachers. In this latter respect, vagueness, ambiguity, or conflict of goals would tend to encourage 'selective enforcement' of standards by staff.<sup>20</sup> While objectives must at least up to a point be made reasonably plain and procedures specified whose adoption may lead in principle, and relatively in practice, to an adaptation of behaviour in their pursuit, the notion that they exhibit variety and are partly negotiable would help to explain how school 'culture' changes.

There may be three broad ways in which problems of commitment and compliance are tackled in educational organizations.

1. The problem may be partially solved by *selective recruitment of the organization's personnel*, at both staff and student levels. At the student level, the degree of selectivity possible, in the state sector, is only marginally within the discretion of the school itself. The school is largely the creature of its administrative authority's definition of catchment areas. There tends to be a parallelism between the degree of selectivity exercised over pupil intakes and a school's power to attract (and hence to choose among) staff. The 'pecking order' built into tripartism is probably the primary determinant of the differential

attractiveness of state secondary schools for teachers, spreading its influence down into primary schools in terms of their '11-plus reputation'. This is overlaid by the higgledy-piggledy nature of comprehensive reorganization and the differential attractiveness of schools in varying social and geographic areas. A thorough study of the nature of 'commitment' to teaching as an occupation along the lines recently suggested by Hextall would help us to understand more fully some of the issues underlying teacher career patterns and turnover, partially touched on elsewhere.<sup>21</sup>

The role of pupil is, of course, one that cannot be avoided. In some senses, it may be salutary to remember that 'students have something in common with the members of two other of our social institutions that have involuntary attendance: prisons and mental hospitals', that 'many seven-year-olds skip happily to school, and as parents and teachers we are glad they do, but we stand ready to enforce the attendance of those who are more reluctant. And our vigilance does not go unnoticed by children' (Jackson 1968). This dominantly ascribed character of the pupil role may have important implications for pupil-teacher relationships. More important for the present argument is the fact that all children, from the willing to the wayward, must find a place in some educational organization. While all educational organizations ultimately release their successes, only some may, during the course of the school process, get rid of their more troublesome 'failures'. In a highly selective secondary system, schools may therefore differ significantly in terms of the organizational importance (though the problem may be marginal in terms of numbers) of having to hold within themselves pupils whom other institutions have already 'rejected' and passed on. In effect, then, what is being suggested is that, in so far as some schools may ease their problems of the involvement of personnel in organizational objectives by selective recruitment, other schools will be faced with a heightening of the same sort of difficulties.

2. All types of school organization, selective and unselective, may move towards a second method of solution by *creating a series of settings which will intensify the socializatory pressures upon the individual*—in Goffman's terms (1961), they may exhibit some of the features of a 'total institution'. If we regard 'totality' as a set of attributes which may be more or less displayed in formal socialization settings, then we might explore the particular forms taken by the

'encompassing' tendencies of schools. Lambert has shown how, in the context of English boarding education, pervasive and often very subtle pressures are brought to bear on pupils to bring about their internalization of the wide, explicit, and constantly stressed goals of the school. He shows the importance of the school's ability to 'cut off' its pupils from the outside world and of the efforts of staff to 'use' the informal relationships of pupils for the official ends of the school. Perhaps equally importantly, his work shows that a basic limitation upon this tendency is the extent to which parents and other outsiders have, or want to exert, autonomy in controlling the child. In respect of many children in boarding education, there is considerable continuity between the culture of the home and that of the school, a greater sharing of values and expectations than may be the case in much day-school education. In the light of a variety of evidence, Waller's contention (1932: 68) that 'parents and teachers are natural enemies' appears as a half-truth; Lambert suggests the existence of a highly efficient conspiracy in boarding education; Stevens (1960: Ch. 7) hints at a state of mutual incomprehension in the grammar school; while Plowden (1967: App. 3), if anything, points to parents' relative lack of knowledge of teachers and schools rather than to parent-teacher enmity. We have some evidence, already referred to, that teachers in both primary and secondary education tend to define their own task more globally and in less instrumental terms than do parents or children (Schools Council 1968; Musgrove & Taylor 1969; King 1968). Certainly, the degree of consensus that exists between teachers, pupils, and parents as to the legitimate extent of the child's life-space that the school has a right to control is central to whether a school is allowed to develop an authority system pervasive and demanding enough to be termed 'total'. If the concept is to illuminate the way in which schools work then we should have to recognize that while they all, up to a point, handle 'many human needs by the bureaucratic organization of whole blocks of people', they are not all from the point of view of their inmates simply 'established the better to pursue some worklike task ... justifying themselves only on these instrumental grounds' (Goffman 1961:5-6).

If we take up the inmates' frames of reference, we might well find that many features of school structure and culture exhibit the characteristics of what Goffman has depicted as different kinds of total institution. To ask whether the school 'is' a total institution is to imply a misunderstanding of Goffman's general and descriptive

construct whose use can only be to sensitize us towards the consequences for members of being in an organization where staff not only may, but do, exercise considerable power and authority over lower-order participants. That in schools they may and often do is not in doubt, although equally it is clear that fewer and fewer schools can be characterized as places 'where the form of social integration was mechanical' and where the school as a 'community would tend to become sealed-off, self-enclosed and its boundary relationship would be sharply defined' (Bernstein 1967: 352). If schools are tending to become more 'open' in terms of Bernstein's description (for whatever reasons), then one of their essential characteristics will be that they become altogether more penetrable to outside people, agencies, and things. Pupils will tend to be given greater autonomy and choice.

3. In this changing school context, a third sort of answer may be emerging to the problem of how schools may satisfactorily involve their students in organizational goals. This answer has two analytically distinguishable variants. *Either a school may drop the official pursuit of certain kinds of goal (often on the expressive side) or else it may, particularly on the instrumental side, settle for a more or less thorough relativization of conventional standards of academic achievement.* Charity James (1968) has argued the case for secondary schools with curricula where the emphasis rests upon 'appraising', rather than evaluating, children in collaborative learning situations, freed from the constraints of a narrowly conceived subject-based hierarchy. It is recognized that the widespread production of change in this respect would require considerable reorientation of the expectations of parents and employers and of schools. Perhaps even more importantly, such a view stands at odds with the values that most teachers hold in respect of children's abilities, of the divided nature of knowledge, and of desirable levels of subject mastery. We have little direct evidence of teachers' values in these areas, but we can note that the only two school areas (outside the 'progressive' sector) into which the child-centred rather than the subject-centred ethos has penetrated with any completeness are in primary (and particularly infant) education, where many feel the latter to be inappropriate, and at the secondary level with children who are 'available' because they are below the level tapped by public examinations.<sup>22</sup> To argue this is not to deny that, in all sorts of schools, teachers may be increasingly recognizing the need to take individual differences more fully into account in their

classroom arrangements. This can be done, clearly up to a point, within schools and school systems conventionally stratified by age, sex, and ability, where teaching is subject-centred. It is, rather, to argue that some schools have already attempted, and many more may attempt, an individualized solution to the problems raised by what Henry (1960: 278) referred to as the tendency towards 'jamming the machine'—giving the children tasks to perform, usually under severe pressure of time, which are beyond their immediate capacity; urging them onward towards a culturally determined standard of mastery, under 'rules of order' which are such, particularly in relation to physical behaviour, that they effectively filter out all except those who can combine attention to subject-matter with a high degree of self-control. Many schools have attempted a thorough individualization of the expectations laid upon children. Doing this almost certainly entails a movement away from conventional views of subject-specialized class-teaching, paced in terms of an imagined, 'average' pupil. The 'problem areas' of pupil involvement and pupil-teacher interaction would not be dissolved by such a shift, but some of them might certainly become less crucial, at the same time as new ones emerge.

It ought by now to be tolerably clear that an attempt to generate ideas for an organizational approach to schools must look predominantly for its inspiration to the literature on formal socialization settings. Schools are organizations where one type of member is recruited on the basis of achievement and given the explicit task of deliberately changing the intellectual and moral attributes of another type of organization member recruited predominantly on ascriptive criteria. It is in this light that we should begin to think of the particular forms that communication, decision-making, human relations, boundary maintenance, technology, or whatever, may take within them. All school organizations will be faced with the problems of ensuring the compliance of their adult employees—teachers, administrative and ancillary staff—as well as with what tends to be the much greater problem of pupil/student compliance.

There are, no doubt, features peculiar to the compliance and commitment patterns that exist among school staffs. Certainly, it is as well to remember as a counterweight to the rather supportive belief in the 'selfless teacher' (Plowden Report 1967: 311-12; Wilson 1962) that many of the features of school life exist for the benefit of staff rather than students. Explorations of the staff underlife in schools have yet

to be attempted, except in literary form. As often as not, when such an attempt is made, the aim is at humour, the juxtaposition of the complex needs and morality of the adult and the relative (but often only just so) simplicity of youth being allowed to emerge as comic. Whatever reasons exist for this literary tendency, the fact is that we have little objective information about the non-teaching side of staff roles and no firm grounds upon which we might begin to evaluate the relative importance played, in inducing commitment to teaching, by 'classroom' and 'non-classroom' aspects of school life.

We have far more information about pupils of various kinds, although much of it tends to concentrate more upon what Lambert refers to as the 'informal society' of pupils than upon other aspects of their school participation.<sup>23</sup> The variety of information we have would certainly prompt the view that in Etzioni's terms schools have, in respect of their lower-order participants, multiple compliance systems. Etzioni's (1961: 45-6) own argument concerning schools is that they tend to exhibit predominantly normative involvement on the part of their members, while having secondary coercive features. His evidence is drawn mainly from the self-reports of school principals as to the disciplinary measures they employed and the treatments used by 'experienced' grade teachers. Without questioning the basis of his data drawn from studies carried out in 1935-6, it is clear that his ability to conclude that schools have (rather than hope to have) predominantly normative compliance systems rests upon a rather narrow, physical view of coercion and the extended nature of the 'social' component in his definition of normative power (Etzioni 1961: 6). He realizes, at the same time, that on a number of counts 'we would expect to find in general a higher degree of alienation in schools than in typical normative organizations' and locates a range of possible reasons in terms of both the organizational characteristics of schools and the latent identities of their members (Etzioni 1961: 47). Indeed, only if one accepts the notions of 'strain' and 'equilibrium' built into Etzioni's conception of 'congruence' (1961: 12) is it necessary to disbelieve that some schools may become chronically 'stuck' at the level of incongruent and multiple compliance relationships. Given the heterogeneity of pupil intakes in some schools, or the extent of the possible discontinuities between the intentions and preferences of some pupils and the goals and values of staff, the sort of congruent relationship between kinds of power and involvement anticipated by Etzioni may remain for long periods in a school more of a Parsonian expectation

than an empirical possibility. The degree of incongruence is liable to rest quite importantly upon the degree of selectivity of the pupil intake and the nature of the pupils' social backgrounds and occupational expectations as well as upon the peculiarities of the demands of the school.

The peculiarities of these demands ought to be seen in the context of the school's being, in Wheeler's terms, a developmental and 'processing' agency whose tasks are both massive and lengthy. The 'objects' of the process are social, hence there is a built-in probability that they will succeed in socializing or changing the agents of the process just as they themselves are changed. Indeed, given that the criteria upon which educational recruits are organized tend to be age, sex, and ability, giving most schools and even colleges sharply stratified, hierarchic structures, and given that schools and colleges are characterized by serial, collective intakes of recruits, the very basis of their organization can, on the evidence of many studies, be shown to be such that it 'may provide the recruit with support, should he care to resist the efforts of the socializing agents to change his beliefs, attitudes and behavior' (Brim & Wheeler 1966: 56-8, 61, 64). The pictures of the rather powerless and manipulated pre-adolescent presented by Henry (1955; 1960), Jackson (1968), and Dreeben (1968) give way to the more complex patterns of influence and power in classrooms evoked by Waller (1932), Geer (1968), and Webb (1962); or reported by Gordon (1957), Coleman (1961) and Hargreaves (1967), among others. If the objections to school of the elementary- or primary-school pupil are still too inchoate to surmount the subtleties of the 'hidden curriculum'<sup>24</sup> and are relatively individualistic when they do emerge, by the time of the secondary- or high-school period they may have reached a level of articulation and importance where they form the basis of widely shared 'student subcultures'. At the level of tertiary education the objections have at times, of course, led to complete disruption of organizational functioning. The student or pupil subcultures described by Gordon, Coleman, and Hargreaves may be seen largely as responses by students to features of school treatment and processes which constitute 'problems' as they define them. In Gordon's study of Wabash High, the dominance of the 'grade system' over school achievement (see also Becker *et al.* 1968), the existence of a non-supportive principal, and some features of the extra-curricular activities, give pupil-teacher relationships an especially manipulatory air.<sup>25</sup> In Lumley Road, the refinements of the streaming system com-

bined with the tendency in staffing to match imputed pupil competencies with corresponding staff inabilities led by the IVth year, which Hargreaves studied, to a sharp dichotomization of pupils into 'academic' and 'delinquescent' groups. Coleman's very well-known sampling of the pupils of ten high schools led him to depict a variety of student subcultures whose orientations were predominantly non-academic and pro-fun, dominated by each school's 'leading crowd' for whose attentions neither school nor home was currently competing very successfully. While the findings of these studies ought to be evaluated in the light of the differing methodologies employed in each case, and while there may be particular grounds for suspecting the artefactuality of Coleman's findings, they amply evidence the vitality and importance of pupil-generated values and activities and the extent to which these may affect the availability of individuals for the official school-learning processes.

#### LABELLING

They also shed light on a process that is common to all organizational life and may be particularly evident in the school whose 'business' is, at least in part, people-'processing' and '-labelling'. The process is that which tends to 'the placing of recruits into categories along with associated labels that express something about each category' and may be called the generation of social types (Brim & Wheeler 1966: 75). The development of these types by recruits themselves emerges as a response to the problems of institutional life. Pupils and students use them to categorize not only one another but their teachers too; teachers, no less, tend to type pupils along a number of dimensions. Indeed, this latter process merges and interacts at the formal and informal levels wherever students are assorted on one criterion or another into relatively homogeneous teaching groups. The pressure to adopt stereotyped views of important others in the conventional teaching situation is very strong. On the child's side, his peers are numerous and his superiors powerful; in different ways, there are compelling reasons for 'understanding' them as quickly as possible. On the teacher's side, his peers tend to operate autonomously to the point of secrecy, while his subordinates are many; they threaten discord and dishonour and must equally compellingly be 'understood' in order that they can be handled.

The peculiar force with which stereotypes are held in education,

particularly by staff of students and vice versa, can be understood only in the context of the technology of educational processes. The relative unclarity of goals, procedures, and evaluatory devices is matched by the limited development of techniques in education.<sup>26</sup> Children, however, must be arranged, taught, and processed, in varying states of enthusiasm, and in the absence of sufficient agreed, objective information about their attributes, and the attributes of knowledge and of effective learning situations, beliefs or values about all of these things assume a greatly magnified importance. Given also that teachers and pupils, particularly at the secondary-school level, interact very segmentally, the generation of pupil and teacher stereotypes, and the blinding (and so simplifying) extension of the half-truths they usually involve, may be seen as a surrogate for technology. Indications that they must be taken at this level of importance stem from a number of researches. Lacey (1966), for example, has shown how, early on in the grammar-school career, the process of labelling by teachers and pupils may begin as an almost random and certainly chancy business and go on to be highly determinative of the individual's self-perception and performance. Indeed, the whole literature on pupil organization and classification attests at one level of objectivity or another to the importance of 'What's in a name?' (or what sort of treatment goes with having a certain name), currently crowned by the recent researches of Jacobsen & Rosenthal (1968: 180; but see Snow 1969: 197-9) which attempt to quantify and explain in a controlled school situation 'how teachers brought about intellectual competence simply by expecting it'.

Any hope that the frailty of relying on teachers' beliefs might be overcome by means of the objectivity or dispassion that common sense might impute to a counselling system is dispelled by the findings of Cicourel & Kitsuse (1963) in their phenomenological approach to the bureaucratized talent hunt at Lakeshore High. In their pursuit of the answers to the larger question of 'how the high school in American society operates to provide equal access to high educational facilities to those of equal capability', their investigation focused upon the bureaucratization and professionalization of the school's counselling system and set out to reveal how, in the counsellors and school social workers, 'the clinical orientation of their professional training leads to the fusion of academic problems with personal problems of students'. Their study led them to suggest 'the emergence of a different form of the ascription or sponsorship principle of placement implemented by

a bureaucratic set of procedures . . .' where, with a variety of educational, personal, and social information available to counsellors, 'the contingencies of social mobility would be controlled within the bureaucratic setting where professional, educational doctrines, policies and practices are fused with clinical and common-sense conceptions to interpret such information and to differentiate the potentially successful from the failures' (Cicourel & Kitsuse 1963: 14, 41). The processes to which they refer, although clearly different in scale and complexity, are not different in kind from those involved when, say, the head of an ILEA junior school designates children as 'good grammar-school material', in a procedure partly dependent upon ability/attainment-testing, but also partly contingent on his perception of the personality and background factors he considers relevant in respect of the child's 'suitability' for selective secondary education.

#### DECISION-MAKING AND CONTROL

In considering the labelling and arrangement of the educational organization's recruits, we have come to the heart of the matter as to the nature of control and decision-making processes in the school. The basic decisions to be taken in education concern who is to be taught what? when? and how? Answers to 'who' type questions generally produce stratified hierachic school structures which superficially have the pyramidal appearance of a Weberian bureaucracy.<sup>27</sup> It would be a thorough misconception of the nature of school organization and of Weber's ideal-type to attempt to view the organization of the student body as essentially bureaucratic. At the level of staff and administration, obviously some educational institutions show more fully bureaucratized features than others—the university college or the college of further education would tend to be more bureaucratic than the small primary school. At the staff level in any educational organization there will tend to be some degree of recruitment of talent, delimitation of task areas, differentiation of authority and responsibility, and the existence of a career structure. At the level of the administrative structure outside schools and colleges, on the staff side of the local education authorities for example, this would be even more evidently the case. With an increase in scale and in the degree of bureaucratization of educational organizations, one might expect pressures towards specialization, departmentalization, and the formalization of communications to exist, with a consequent decrease in the

individual staff member's sense of power and autonomy. Moeller's (1964) work in American elementary schools suggests that the matter is more complex than this—that increases in scale and in the degree of bureaucratization may increase teachers' sense of power as rules, routine, and constancy in the larger school replace the potentially irregular and capricious channels of the smaller. Beyond this study, there is little empirical work that has explored the bureaucratic elements of the individual school. Most of the literature that explores the usefulness of the concept is United States in origin and focuses upon the administrative level in education and on the relationships between superintendent, school board, principal, and teachers, at which level the concept is salient and relatively easy to research. At this level, what emerges is that if schools are to be thought of as bureaucracies then they must be thought of as bureaucracies which employ predominantly professions. The dilemmas of such organizations have been discussed in general by Blau & Scott (1963: 51-4), and by Blau, Heydebrand & Stauffer (1966) in the context of public-service agencies. They focus on the clash between positional and professional authority, a clash which has particular force in a number of ways within educational organizations with the result that both inter- and intraorganizational relations within education tend to be marked by what Bidwell (1965: 976) called 'structural looseness'.

The wider context against which this structural characteristic has to be seen is the school's task of differentiating talent or ability in terms of universalistic, achievement-oriented criteria. We have already noted Parsons's suggestion that the nature of what is regarded as 'achievement' changes with the age of the child. Over time, the criteria used tend to become more impersonal. Fairness and resource limitations are often taken to call for clear ability groupings, standardized examinations, reliance upon 'objective' testing, and the other paraphernalia of the 'talent hunt' (Goslin 1963; 1965: esp. Ch. 6). While the certification process demands impersonality, however, the pressure within the teaching situation in the individual classroom will tend to pull the other way. The teacher is inclined to manipulate pupil motivation via the establishment and use of particularistic and ascriptive, solidary and affective ties, the effects of which are, as Bidwell (1965: 991) points out, clearly debureaucratizing. Within the individual classroom (and school), rules will exist whose functions will be of the same order as those of the bureaucratic rules described by Gouldner in his study of an industrial organization (1954: esp.

Ch. 9). They will exist, among other purposes, to screen and depersonalize authority; they may be arrived at via processes of consultation, collusion, or fiat; they will be more or less agreed to and exhibit the 'grey areas' described by Geer (1968: 562); they will often be rather alarmingly capable of the vicious spiral of growth which begins with an imputation, by those in authority, of intellectual or moral turpitude to the governed. But they will be equally liable to attempted unilateral suspension or radical redefinition by staff at moments of crisis. In some schools, pupils may be endemically creatures potentially without rights, and classrooms places of power rather than authority. In others, particularly where from teacher's point of view there is little or nothing desirable left that he can threaten to withhold, the balance of power may have shifted the other way. While this is clearly an area where, in the light of Lambert's evidence, all generalization is a shaky activity, one can probably say that the distancing and defence mechanisms that this state of affairs often forces upon staff and pupils give school some of its most characteristic flavours; they are not those of Weberian rationality.

As far as teachers are concerned in their relationships to superiors, there is almost always a tension produced by the bureaucratic urge for clearly demonstrated criteria of 'successful' performance and hence justifiable resource utilization, on the one hand, and the claim of the teacher to judge the appropriateness of technique, content, and evaluatory methods as a 'professional', on the other. Of the American experience, particularly in elementary education, Bidwell (1965: 993) argues that the associated moves from 'faculty' to 'dynamic' psychology and from subject- to child-centredness in teaching have entailed a move among teachers from bureaucratic to professional orientations, the latter being characterized by a highly nurturant form of the teacher-pupil relationship. Here he reflects an American tendency to equate professionalism with child-centredness in teaching, which certainly has sympathetic echoes in Plowden (1967: 311-12). As the Plowden recommendation (1967: 161-2) of the new, universalistic device for checking individual dossiers shows, however, greater autonomy for the teacher and greater child-centredness in teaching and curriculum cannot dispense with the need for devices to evaluate student (and hence, implicitly, staff) performance. Moreover, this 'picture' of what professionalism means in education is too simple to take into account the state of affairs in, say, British secondary education where subject-centred commitments continue to have a powerful ex-

istence and where the nurturance of primary educators is viewed in some quarters with suspicion.

At all levels, the classroom teacher's task is dominated by two characteristics. In the first place, despite the beginnings of movements towards cooperative or team teaching, most practitioners still live an occupational life of 'private performance', unseen and often unhelped by colleagues, certainly hardly ever legitimately criticized. In the second, the teacher will commonly interact with a single class, or a small number of classes, over a relatively long period of time (most commonly, a year). Over this period, he will have to reach a very large number of judgements concerning a variety of human and curricular material, on the basis of limited objective evidence. Both features reinforce the teacher's claim for individual autonomy, both set limits to the possible administrative pressures for speed and standardization. We have, in fact, virtually no systematic research information as to what different teachers expect to be within the province of their decision-making powers or what is within their discretion. Very speculatively, one might say that British schools show a considerable degree of institutionalization of the 'senior colleague' solution to authority among professionals in the school 'allowance' system. Degrees of autonomy allowed to heads, deputies, post-holders, and assistant teachers differ between authorities, schools, and departments. Teachers have little control over whom they teach,<sup>28</sup> more over what they teach, and most over how they teach. From the point of view of curriculum development, it may be easier (though evidence is limited) to change the content of what the teachers teach than their teaching methods. Just as, in a prison, the introduction of a new, therapeutic ideology may meet resistance in the authoritarianism of the older guards, leading to antagonism, attempted blockage, and the necessity of strategic replacements as described by McLeery (1961), so, in a school, curriculum innovation may sit rather incongruously against the subject-centred 'telling' orientation of the older teacher.

Which schools are engaging in such change and who within them are initiating and sustaining it? Many schools are so vexed by the problems of succession of personnel<sup>29</sup> that the focusing of sufficient energy for conscious improvement, and then the creation of circumstances which ensure that momentum is maintained by a 'second generation' of teachers, may be more than they can manage. The whole story cannot lie, nevertheless, in staff turnover. Innovation has proceeded fastest at school stages in this country where turnover problems

are most vicious—at the level of infant and junior education (Razell 1968: esp. Ch. 5). One must suspect at the secondary level a change-inhibiting fit between the academicism of a subject-centredness which specifies standards of expected mastery that ensure the normality of failure for most children, and what teachers define as being in their occupational interests or what squares with their values concerning knowledge. It would appear that in many cases only when those interests are threatened at their very roots, that is to say at the level of prolonged threat to the teacher's control, is the idealism of the curriculum developer likely to meet sufficiently well-prepared ground. Given that organizational power to some degree rests upon the ability of individuals to withhold something desirable (and also upon the ability to solve a crisis),<sup>30</sup> the area where this threat is likely to prove most lively is where less able children are offered a fairly unrelieved diet of intrinsic motivation by teachers stiffened by a belief in the illiberality of anything other than learning for its own sake. In such contexts, the school experience may take on a quality of irrelevance which teachers find impossible to surmount by traditional methods. Where less able children are banded together by streaming procedures, the discipline problems may become acute enough to prompt planned change in the factors within the school's control that help to produce them.

In an unselective, comprehensive system as in the United States, research shows how pupil subcultures tend to 'define out' the relevance of academic achievement. The teacher from Waller to Gordon responds by manipulating the pupil subculture via the use of extra-curricular activities, the grade system, and so on. In Waller's (1932) closely observed depiction, he exercises 'dominative authority' in a context of uneasy organizational equilibrium. Gordon (1957) shows how the balance of power may fall into students' hands under the necessity of getting 'good grades'. Hargreaves, in many ways, offers the 'straightest' situation where the school provides many children with very little in academic terms, neither has it more than minimal non-academic activities liable to induce their commitment to official values. The orientation of pupils could hardly be other than alienated in such a situation and the development of counter-school values must be seen both as inevitable and as functional for pupils. In such situations, where the strong, subtle, overlapping and semi-autonomous controls depicted by Lambert are unavailable, teachers may come to realize that the control relationships may be modified by relativizing achieve-

ment; for example, via project-type work, and changes of the Interdisciplinary Enquiry, Certificate of Secondary Education (especially mode 3) type, all of them involving modifications in traditional technology.<sup>31</sup>

The basic organizational feature of traditional secondary-school life is its divisiveness. School, from the consumer angle, is separate classrooms, single teachers, different subjects, individual extra-curricular activities. Schools have a structural looseness within that requires constant repair. At the cultural level, attempts may be made to counterbalance the separateness of years, forms, and groups by clearly emphasized and often ritualized common activities and the sharing of common symbols (Bernstein, Elvin & Peters 1966). Some ritual in education emphasizes separateness and difference rather than providing an expression of consensus. Schools display enormous differences in terms of salience within themselves of uniforms and assemblies, mottoes and games, school songs and house loyalties. Given the 'total' task of the public school, it is not surprising to find in Lambert's work evidence of the great vitality of what he terms the 'organizational' goals of the school. There is equally nothing odd about the absence of these things in the 'open' primary school. Their existence depends upon the separateness of the school from outside society; it springs from the wish to deny individual identity, while containing allegiances to relatively small groups within the school within a commitment to the whole. Where schools are more permeable to outside influences and where treatment is increasingly individualized, then so would we expect changes in their moral (and ritual) concerns (Bernstein 1967).

The structural looseness of schools within, springing both from the generality of goals in education and from the autonomy of the individual teacher (and hence the separateness of classrooms and departments), is matched by an indirectness in the external control of educational establishments. In Britain, the chain of control begins with the determination of public policy and finances at a national level; local education authorities, drawing on local finance and receiving local pressures, carry out statutory and permitted activities under the supervision of their committee; they employ administrators who come into relatively specialized contact with schools and colleges. There is considerable scope for autonomy within and difference between authorities (and their administrative employees) in terms of their disposition of resources within the limits of their statutory obliga-

tions, particularly over the shape of secondary education (Lewin 1968; Monks 1968), and emphasis within it, and over the provision of nursery and further education. There is evidence and work in progress to suggest that the role of Chief Education Officer admits of considerable discretion and power in conjunction with a suitably handled education committee, although we have no evidence available on British administrators that compares in any sense with the quality and range of US work on the superintendent and the school board (Gross, Mason & McEachern 1958). What we do have is enough impressionistic evidence at least to show that the autonomy of heads of school establishments is greater here than in the United States (Baron & Tropp 1961); and that, within the resource limitations determined by the authority, it is in fact very considerable in respect of grouping methods and curriculum content. A respondent to the Black Paper argues that

‘teachers mostly have a remarkable autonomy. What we teach and how we teach in the primary school is largely our own affair. The decisions a head makes about the organization of his school are largely his own; inspectors and advisers inspect and advise but the choices are his. He will decide whether or not to stream, to timetable, to encourage his teachers to combine and make use of each other’s strengths, to play down competition, to make his school an open place where parents are welcome and where people do not need to hide behind a mystique’ (Bensley 1969).

Secondary-school heads are often less free in respect of the curriculum (specified by examination syllabuses) and grouping procedures (determined by who shall prepare for given syllabuses). And all heads must live with their staff and with parents. Among staff, traditional decision-making theory would sensitize us to the formation of staff cliques and coalitions, which operate over time between themselves and with their chief executive to bargain out specific school goals (at the concrete level of forms, subjects, space, and timetables), which arrive at balances between their contributions to the school organization and their ‘take’ from it, which develop ‘side-bets’ within the organization and learn to ‘satisfice’ rather than endlessly empire-build in respect of their objectives.<sup>32</sup>

All these categories merit consideration in an attempt to get at how decisions are made within schools. The usual ‘administrative theory’ categories of types of decision are particularly limited in such an

analysis, given the classroom autonomy of teachers (e.g. Griffiths 1958). An empirical approach is badly needed which recognizes that patterns will probably differ widely and will be subject to a large number of external influences, and, not least, that the overriding 'special circumstances' in which schools find themselves concern their freedom from the need to attract clients (externally but not always within) and from the rigour of any direct application of market tests of profitability (except, perhaps, in respect of a small number of proprietary schools). There can therefore be no simple picture of school decision-making either in the pursuit of clearly articulated organizational goals or in terms of activities subject to sharp tests of economic fitness. Differences in opinion concerning the nature of children and knowledge will effectively complicate the former and give rise to differences in administrative style as suggested by Litwak & Meyer (1965), while notions of academic freedom as well as the commitment to nurturance provide defences against the latter.

Many of these school attributes are captured in Carlson's (1964) evocative depiction of schools as 'domesticated' organizations, characterized by a lack of control, on the part of both the client and the organization, over admission policies, where 'a steady flow of clients is assured. There is no struggle for survival for this type of organization ... Existence is guaranteed ... funds are not closely tied to quality of performance', and they are relatively slow to adapt. Corwin (1967: 216) suggests that domesticated organizations with their guaranteed clientele and other resources are highly susceptible to outside forces for change in their objectives, to which they are capable of rapid adaptation 'while jealously guarding existing *internal procedures* which outsiders have not attempted to control'. What he appears to mean is that teachers have a remarkable capacity for carrying on much as before under officially changed circumstances. The NFER work on streaming in the junior school seems to attest to this to some extent (Barker-Lunn, forthcoming). In a general sense, a comparison of the sorts of change that have occurred in primary education in recent years with the floundering of secondary reorganization would seem to suggest that significant changes in curriculum, organization, and pedagogy depend upon two important factors. First, upon change in teachers' values—their ideas concerning the validity of existing procedures—and, second, upon the tightness of interorganizational relationships within the educational system. Organizations may differ

in status and in the degree to which they are tied down to the necessity of supplying a flow of particular sorts of recruit to another.

#### TECHNOLOGY

In one way or another, all this is to argue for the necessity of considering the technology of educational organizations from the standpoint suggested earlier. This standpoint would lead to the idea that there are fundamental links between the ideologies held by educators (in respect of aims or goals and criteria for the evaluation of organizational success) and educational organization. The connection is not dissimilar to that between aspects of a known production function and the organization of a business unit—the difference lying in the knowledge about possibilities available to the production manager and the beliefs about possibilities available to the teacher. In Perrow's terms, we should expect to find links between the state of the art of analysing raw materials and the technology chosen.<sup>33</sup> Perrow regards technology, defined in terms of 'how the work is done'—how raw materials are directly operated on—as the independent organizational variable. Organizational structures, including goals, are defined as all interactions arising from the technical and are regarded as being dependent upon it. Analysis of organizational structure must begin, therefore, with an analysis of the raw materials used, from the standpoints of their nature and variability as perceived by the users. Crucially, materials, he argues, may be well understood or not well understood; perceived as uniform and stable or non-uniform and unstable. In terms of education, as in the general area of the control of deviancy, Perrow argues for the importance of 'normal stereotypes' which enable sufficient categorization of people to allow the possibility of their routinized treatment.<sup>34</sup> If we widen his view of raw materials in education to encompass not only children but knowledge too, then we might argue that, in the British context, school types range from, at the one extreme, situations where children are believed to be well understood and their natures to be relatively uniform and stable, views that would effectively underpin early selection and streaming and, where combined with a similar orientation towards knowledge, would point to the subject-centred curriculum; to, at the other extreme, views of children and of knowledge which tend to depict both as relatively not well understood and non-uniform in nature, which would point teachers towards the

individualization of learning through means, depending upon the premium placed upon the social, varying from programmed instruction to IDE.

Two things deserve emphasis. The first concerns the extent to which teachers' values, which may differ enormously, about children and knowledge, are determinative of school organization. Obviously, explanations of organizational structures cannot be allowed to rest satisfactorily at the level of 'values' imputed to their members. The questions of the origins and persistence of those values themselves must be sought not only in terms of the member's organizational experience but also in terms of his extraorganizational connections and identities. In terms of teachers, their social and educational backgrounds, their training experiences, and the conflicting demands of the various components of their role-set (Merton 1957), as well as the day-by-day development of the 'demands of the job',<sup>35</sup> would be regarded as having a bearing. All that is being argued is that it is possible to 'cut in' to a consideration of the interactions between task, values, and structure at any level in order to initiate the analysis. The other thing that requires emphasis is that the essential flavour of Perrow's argument (1967: 203) rests in his pointing to the determinative nature of the 'task'; he suggests that the organization will be subject to strong strains unless its structure and goals adjust to its technology, a clear reversal of the traditional, 'rationalistic' approach to organizational processes. This is the sort of 'adaptation' that might be fully anticipated in a systems approach; it has been explored by Burns & Stalker (1961) in the context of rapidly changing technological and market conditions in the Scottish electronics industry, and by Woodward (1965) in her study of firms with widely differing production systems in south-east Essex.

An immense amount of work that centres upon the system-plus-task nature of organizational life has become associated with the Tavistock Institute. The concept of the 'open socio-technical system' combines attention to the technological and social components of productive systems and 'helps to provide a more realistic picture of how they are both influenced by and able to act back on their environment' (Emery & Trist 1968: 293), in the pursuit of their primary task. The approach has been used with undoubtedly benefit in the consultancy work in which Tavistock members have engaged. It can be argued that the work has managerialist and sometimes Freudian overtones.<sup>36</sup> Equally, it may be argued that those who have received advice have

found it very rewarding. The chief difficulty that one envisages in applying the socio-technical approach to schools begins, however, with the notion of 'primary task'. Where, as in the contexts of longwall coal-mining, an Indian textile mill, dry-cleaning, and air transportation there would be little disagreement in respect of each enterprise about 'the task that it must perform to survive' (Miller & Rice 1967: 25), it is difficult to believe, in the context of the school organization, in the straightforwardness of 'the proposition that every enterprise, or part of it, *has*, at any given moment, one task which is primary', inappropriate definition of which by organizational leadership, or insufficient agreement on which by leaders and followers, will jeopardize the survival of the organization (Miller & Rice 1967: 27-8). Not only do these conceptions have a strongly tautologous ring, it is difficult to see what they refer to beyond being a sophisticated and extended way of analysing how business may go bust. While the inappropriateness of this emphasis in the analysis of most educational institutions is clear, there are other elements in this approach that are useful. At a general level, it offers a boldness of conceptualization and connection between organizational problems which has considerable heuristic power.<sup>37</sup> More specifically, it emphasizes the determinative nature of the task and the relationship of 'task' and 'sentient' boundaries (Miller & Rice 1967: Part I), and in the sociology of education it is these sorts of issues—at the level of 'what is taught and learnt? how? and with what consequences for interpersonal relations?'—that have been consistently neglected. This neglect is less than defensible if we accept the argument put forward by Bernstein (1969) that curriculum organization, pedagogy, and the form of pupil-teacher relationships are necessarily related.

If in the organizational analysis of educational institutions there needs to be an emphasis on task considerations, equally we need to remember that schools and colleges are organizations through which recruits move over time. Their careers must be viewed processually as things emerging out of the interaction of organizational and individual factors. As Wheeler (Brim & Wheeler 1966: 110-13) suggests, the outcomes of the procedures that exist in socializatory agencies depend upon intervening mechanisms on the organizational side—such as the capacity to present clear norms, the provision of performance opportunities, and the capacity to reward selectively—and on the side of the individual—the capacities to learn and perform and the motivation to perform.

The degree of selectivity the organization exercises over its recruits or pupils marks a very important distinction between educational agencies, and the relative elite or non-elite status of recruits tends to condition their whole movement through the organizational structure.<sup>38</sup> Wheeler (Brim & Wheeler 1966: 83–99) suggests that the movement of recruits through the structure over time may be considered in terms of a number of categories, beginning with the possibility of anticipatory socialization, and then including a study of entry procedures, the effect of the availability of knowledge concerning the recruit, the fate of role failures, the nature of time and timing procedures, exit procedures, and the control exercised by the organization over the later career of the recruit. All these categories might be usefully explored for pupils and students at all educational levels, and indeed for their teachers and administrators as well. Schools specialize in the output of people, processed over time; to understand schools, we must understand the processes that people undergo there.

#### CONCLUSION

A review of an existing field of knowledge ought always to show a positive and generous face. Most of the opinions expressed in this essay concerning existing contributions to organizational studies in education have proceeded from two initial assumptions. The first is that, in the present underdeveloped state of the sociology of the school, it is better to explore than to deny existing organizational categories and approaches in relation to schools. The second recognizes that more is involved than simply intellectual obeisance to paradigms lost when we keep consciousness of the cumulative nature of knowledge and research in an area. To reflect the present state of such a cumulation is sometimes to mirror the relatively formless; but it is not necessarily to be looking at all the wrong pictures. There is certainly too much of value in the available variety of organizational approaches for them to be dismissed as useless or trivial because they are not the ‘something else’ that is currently exhorted to be at the heart of our designs as sociologists of education.

When the lesser difficulties are pointed out and accepted, there are still two major points that have to be underlined to give balance to a view of what can be expected from organizational approaches. Both have already been alluded to, but they and their origin need re-

emphasizing. The first is that, in this area, the urge to generalize between organizations has usually tended to depress the importance of focusing on differences stemming from the relatively unique tasks of organizations or broad types of organization, and this depression has been not least evident in some ostensibly task-oriented approaches. The origins of this weakness are partly shared by the second overriding difficulty with existing approaches, the insufficient attention paid to organizational biography. The common origins of these weaknesses are the ahistoricity of systems approaches in general and managerialist perspectives in particular. If we take the importance of these realizations seriously in our framing of organizational questions of the school, then we shall go a long way towards a more sensitive, practical, and demystified awareness of how much socially organized knowledge is formally transmitted.

## Notes

- 1 I should like to pay particular thanks to Basil Bernstein, Ian Hextall, Mike Smith, and Michael Young for their helpful criticisms.
- 2 Surveys of the field worthy of attention are Bidwell (1965), Corwin (1967), and Hoyle (1965).
- 3 An exhaustive bibliography is hardly feasible here. Among the fuller surveys of the field are Yates (1966) and Svensson (1962: esp. Ch. 2). For an insight into the variety of primary school streaming see the Plowden Report (Central Advisory Council for Education 1967: Appendix 11) and on the need for caution in accepting the term 'unstreaming' see Barker-Lunn (forthcoming). For recent discussions of the 'meaning' of ability see Butcher (1968: esp. Chs. 10-11) and Jensen (1969).
- 4 For short reference see Scott (1964) or Blau & Scott (1963: 15-26). More exhaustively, see the 'Methodologies' section in March (1965: Chs. 5-8).
- 5 For references see Scott (1964), Mouzelis (1967), Mayntz (1965), and Waldo (1969).
- 6 For example, Mayntz (1965), Mouzelis (1967), Buckley (1967), who argues for a 'complex adaptive system model' towards which he sees modern theory and research to be moving, and Blegen (1968).
- 7 Among the former, Waller (1932), Gordon (1957), Coleman (1961), Stinchcombe (1964), and Hargreaves (1967). Among the latter, Dreeben (1968), Geer (1968), Jackson (1968), Young & Beardsley (1968). See also the earlier work of Henry (1960).

- 8 It need hardly be emphasized that there is no single agreed systems version. Minimally there are three important variants currently in vogue. First there is what might be called the organizational version of the 'general systems' approach, drawing its inspiration from, for instance, von Bertalanffy (1956), which recognizes unity between 'systems' in the physical world, in biological life, and in social organization. Organizations are conceptualized as open systems having inputs which, via a synergic process, are transformed into outputs. They experience feedback, are capable of equifinality, and have homeostatic provision for ensuring equilibrium. For a good example of the genre, see Katz & Kahn (1966: esp. Chs. 1-3). This predominantly biologicistic approach is widely held among organization theorists, particularly those whose aim is to integrate knowledge of the individual, group, and organization. See, for instance, Argyris (1960), or consider the balance of contributions to Haire (1959). Second, there is Parsons's approach, whose terms have been frequently and explicitly taken up in further conceptualization and research. See Parsons (1956); on educational organizations, see Parsons (1958b). For comment on Parsons, see the contributions of H. A. Landsberger and W. F. Whyte to Black (1961: 214-49 and 250-67). And, third, there is the approach to the 'socio-technical system' which has become particularly associated with organizational studies produced by those connected with the Tavistock Institute and which combines a focus on system, technology, and personality; see Emery & Trist (1968). For comment, see Brown (1967).
- 9 In this scheme of things, educational organizations belong for Parsons in the 'integration' and 'latency' sections of his four societal 'problem areas', having the particular tasks to perform of knowledge and value transmission, new knowledge creation, and the production of a 'talent' output; see Parsons (1958b: 55). Each school organization separately, and then the system they collectively make up, also experience the same four problems. At the level of the school system, the adaptive or goal-attainment (or 'technical') levels belong predominantly with teacher in the classroom; the integrative level is solved by school heads, principals, and administrators; while the latency problem rests with the school board (or, in British terms, governors and LEA) (1958b: 41-5). The same four categories are used to analyse the school department or class. Parsons speculates with considerable insight upon some of the functions of the school class, particularly at the US elementary level. Here he attempts to indicate the nature of some of the relationships between what are taken to be the major manifest functions of schools—the socialization of the young over long periods of time and their differentiation on an achievement basis—and some of their structural features. While

his arguments are always interesting and frequently penetrating at the level of specifics, for instance, concerning the 'undifferentiated' nature of elementary-school achievement (see Parsons 1961: 439-41 in Halsey, Floud & Anderson 1961), they also frequently have a strongly self-confirming air, for instance, concerning the production of 'role-types' at the secondary or high-school level (see Parsons 1958a: 31-4).

- 10 Obviously there are exceptions, e.g. in certain forms of vocational or correspondence courses.
- 11 Some LEAs do now assign responsibility at the administrative level for curriculum development; and Teachers' Centres may be run with a more or less explicit 'curriculum policy' in mind. But, generally, the circumspection of LEA, Schools Council, and Inspectorate (at both levels) in respect of the direction of content is considerable.
- 12 This is not to forget that a large number of schools are run and dominated by religious bodies.
- 13 It might be interesting, for instance, simply to examine the tenacity of 'liberal education' in this light. At the level of considering the relevance of values held by educators of teachers, see Taylor (1969b).
- 14 Such an observation, though particularly well done here, is not new; see, for instance, the quality of the discussion on this issue in Roethlisberger & Dickson (1939, reprinted 1964: 524-48 and 578-85).
- 15 On the general issue of varieties of meanings invested in the terms 'formal' and 'informal' see Mouzelis (1967: 146-9).
- 16 Used in Etzioni's sense to include the type of power exercised and the orientation of the lower-order participant towards it (Etzioni 1961).
- 17 For an example, intuitively drawn, of such a school, see Webb (1962).
- 18 We might also ask whether the rise of social studies, the demise of RI, and the discovery of the Newsom child are related by more than the accident of time. See White (1968; 1969).
- 19 For the sorts of reasons raised concerning their operation by Cicourel & Kitsuse (1963), as well as many more ignoble.
- 20 The terms used are those of Frank (1959); see discussion in Buckley (1967: 158). Among the interactionist studies which have explored this area in the field of higher education, see Becker, Geer & Hughes (1968).
- 21 Hextall (1969) utilizes the perspectives of Hughes, Becker, Glaser, Geer, and others, and dwells specifically upon the possible importance of the training period in teaching. On career patterns etc., see Floud & Scott (1961), Bernbaum (1967), Newsom Report (Central Advisory Council for Education 1963: 245-9), and Razell (1968: esp. Ch. 5). There is a variety of usefully collected evidence in Kelsall & Kelsall (1969) and Morrison & McIntyre (1969).

- 22 Change has of course also taken place in sectors of higher education particularly in the context of the new universities, for possibly quite different reasons.
- 23 And as Royston Lambert and his colleagues point out in their paper in this volume, studies tend to concentrate upon pupil relationships and attitudes rather than on the learning process.
- 24 The term is used by Jackson (1968: 34) and deserves everything that it gets.
- 25 The book is unfortunately out of print and virtually unobtainable. See the fairly full summary in Bidwell (1965).
- 26 This in turn may be related to a variety of factors, for example, the lack of success by psychologists in making progress with human learning theory, and the inevitable existence of disagreements about ends, content, and methods in education in a pluralistic society.
- 27 For a full discussion of Weber's conception and more recent refinements see Mouzelis (1967: Chs. 1-3). For a shorter version, see Blau & Scott (1963: 27-36).
- 28 This is of course most true in the state sector in the sense that the school's recruitment policy will in the main be determined by the LEA. But in more particular senses it requires qualification. For example, children, particularly middle-class children, sometimes pass several primary schools on the way to the one of their parents' choice; heads of department, especially in secondary schools, often tend to teach the older and brighter; gentle and usually unofficial canvassing of pupils by subject-masters is not unknown at the point of sixth-form entry; and voluntary-aided and controlled grammar schools have always had marginal discretion over their pupil intakes; of direct-grant, religiously founded, and higher education, one would have to say very much more.
- 29 A good test for the salience of succession problems is the existence of what Gouldner called the 'Rebecca Myth'. Staff and form rooms are often saturated by tales of 'How much better it was . . .' under previous régimes populated by more than faintly apocryphal characters.
- 30 The ideas are drawn from Crozier (1964), particularly the study of the tobacco monopoly.
- 31 In a situation of this sort, the obvious alternative to change in the direction of new conceptions of knowledge and pedagogy might be to emphasize sport and extra-curricular activities, in the way advocated by Carlson in respect of the high-school 'drop-out' (Carlson 1964: Part II).
- 32 None of these decision-making concepts has been explored very fully in respect of school organization. For discussion in the context

- of organization literature generally, see the contributions of Taylor, and Feldman & Kanter in March (1965).
- 33 See Perrow (1967). This line of approach has much in common with that of Bernstein *et al.* (1966) and Litwak & Meyer (1965).
- 34 See Cicourel (1968) for evidence of this tendency in the context of two American police and probation departments.
- 35 See Plowden Report (1967: Appendix II, 557-84) and Barker-Lunn (forthcoming) for an insight into the interaction between organizational structure and teachers' values in streamed and unstreamed junior schools. A further development of the 'demands of the job' approach would certainly necessitate the use of a 'processual approach' as argued for by Hextall (1969).
- 36 See Kelly (1968) for an evaluation of the Glacier project under Brown and Jaques; and Brown (1967) on the Tavistock contribution generally. For examples of managerialist and Freudian overtones, see, for instance, Miller & Rice (1967), Part I and, say, their dry-cleaning study.
- 37 As is clear in many of the Miller & Rice case studies.
- 38 The research reported by Himmelweit & Swift (1969) emphasizes the crucial nature of the difference between the 'strong system' of the grammar school and the 'weak system' of the secondary modern.

## References

- AGERSNAP, T. (ed.) 1968. *Contributions to the Theory of Organizations II*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- ALBROW, M. 1968. The Study of Organisations—Objectivity or Bias? In J. Gould (ed.), *Penguin Social Sciences Survey*, pp. 146-67. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- ARGYRIS, C. 1960. *Understanding Organizational Behaviour*. London: Tavistock.
- BAKKE, E. W. 1959. Concept of the Social Organization. In M. Haire (ed.) (1959: 16-75).
- BARKER-LUNN, J. (forthcoming). *Streaming in the Primary School*. London: National Foundation for Educational Research.
- BARON, G. & TROPP, A. 1961. Teachers in England and America. In A. H. Halsey *et al.* (eds.) (1961: 545-57).
- BECKER, H. S., GEER, B. & HUGHES, E. C. 1968. *Making the Grade*. New York: Wiley.
- BELL, R. R. & STUB, H. R. (eds.) 1968. *The Sociology of Education: A Source Book*. (Revised edition.) Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey.

- BENSLEY, P. 1969. A Practical Comparison of Styles in Education. *The Times*, 4 October: 7.
- BERNBAUM, G. 1967. Educational Expansion and the Teacher's Role. *Universities Quarterly* 21 (2): 152-66.
- BERNSTEIN, B. 1967. Open Schools, Open Society? *New Society*, 14 September, 10 (259): 351-3.
- 1969. On the Secondary School Curriculum. (Unpublished.)
- BERNSTEIN, B., ELVIN, H. L. & PETERS, R. S. 1966. Ritual in Education. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, series B, vol. 251, no. 772, pp. 429-36.
- BERTALANFFY, L. VON. 1956. General Systems Theory. *General Systems I*: 1-10.
- BIDWELL, C. E. 1965. The School as a Formal Organization. In J. G. March (ed.), *Handbook of Organizations*, pp. 972-1022. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- BLACK, M. (ed.) 1961. *The Social Theories of Talcott Parsons*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall.
- BLAU, P. M., HEYDEBRAND, W. V. & STAUFFER, R. E. 1966. The Structure of Small Bureaucracies. *American Sociological Review* 31: 179-91.
- BLAU, P. M. & SCOTT, W. R. 1963. *Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- BLEGEN, H. M. 1968. The System Approach to the Study of Organization. In T. Agersnap (ed.) (1968: 12-30).
- BLYTH, W. A. L. 1965. *English Primary Education—A Sociological Description*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- BRIM, O. G. (Jr.) & WHEELER, S. 1966. *Socialization after Childhood: Two Essays*. New York: Wiley.
- BROWN, R. K. 1967. Research and Consultancy in Industrial Enterprises: A Review of the Contribution of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations to the Development of Industrial Sociology. *Sociology* 1 (1): 33-60.
- BUCKLEY, W. 1967. *Sociology and Modern Systems Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- BURNS, T. 1967. The Comparative Study of Organizations. In V. H. Vroom (ed.), *Methods of Organizational Research*, pp. 113-70. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- BURNS, T. & STALKER, G. M. 1961. *The Management of Innovation*. London: Tavistock.
- BUTCHER, H. J. 1968. *Human Intelligence: Its Nature and Assessment*. London: Methuen.
- CALLAHAN, D. 1962. *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*. Chicago: Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press.
- CARLSON, O. 1964. Environmental Constraints and Organizational Consequences: The Public School and its Clients. In D. E.

- GRIFFITHS (ed.), *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration*, pp. 262-76. National Society for the Study of Education Yearbook, Pt 2.
- CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION (ENGLAND). 1963. *Half Our Future* (Newsom Report). London: HMSO.
- 1967. *Children and their Primary Schools* (Plowden Report). 2 vols. London: HMSO.
- CICOUREL, A. V. 1968. *The Social Organization of Juvenile Justice*. New York: Wiley.
- CICOUREL, A. V. & KITSUSE, J. 1963. *The Educational Decision-makers*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.
- CLARK, B. R. 1960a. *The Open Door College*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- 1960b. The 'Cooling-out' Function in Higher Education. *American Journal of Sociology* 65: 569-76. Reprinted in A. H. Halsey *et al.* (eds.) (1961).
- COLEMAN, J. S. 1961. *The Adolescent Society*. New York: Free Press.
- CORWIN, R. G. 1967. Education and the Sociology of Complex Organizations. In D. A. Hansen & J. E. Gerstl (eds.), *On Education: Sociological Perspectives*, pp. 156-223. New York: Wiley.
- CROZIER, M. 1964. *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon*. London: Tavistock.
- DREEBEN, R. 1968. *On What is Learned in School*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.
- EMERY, F. E. & TRIST, E. L. 1968. Socio-technical Systems. In F. E. Emery (ed.), *Systems Thinking*. (Penguin Modern Management Readings.) Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- ETZIONI, A. 1960. Two Approaches to Organizational Analysis: A Critique and a Suggestion. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 5(2): 257-78.
- 1961. *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations*. New York: Free Press.
- FLOUD, J. 1962. The Sociology of Education. In A. T. Welford *et al.* (eds.), *Society: Problems and Methods of Study*, pp. 521-40. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- FLOUD, J. & HALSEY, A. H. 1958. The Sociology of Education. *Current Sociology* 7 (3).
- FLOUD, J. & SCOTT, W. 1961. Recruitment to Teaching in England and Wales. In A. H. Halsey *et al.* (eds.) (1961: 527-44).
- FRANK, A. G. 1959. Goal Ambiguity and Conflicting Standards: An Approach to the Study of Organization: *Human Relations* 17: 8-13.
- GEER, B. 1968. Teaching. In *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 15: 560-5.
- GLASER, B. G. & STRAUSS, A. L. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago: Aldine.
- GOFFMAN, E. 1961. On the Characteristics of Total Institutions. In E. Goffman, *Asylums*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books.

- GORDON, C. W. 1957. *The Social System of the High School*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- GOSLIN, D. A. 1963. *The Search for Ability*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- 1965. *The School in Contemporary Society*. Glenview, Ill.: Scott Foresman.
- GOULDNER, A. W. 1954. *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- GRIFFITHS, D. E. 1958. In A. W. Halpin (ed.), *Administrative Theory in Education*, pp. 119–49. Midwest Administrative Center, University of Chicago.
- 1964. The Nature and Meaning of Theory. In D. E. Griffiths (ed.), *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration*, pp. 425–36. NSSE Yearbook, Pt 2.
- GROSS, E. 1969. The Definition of Organizational Goals. *British Journal of Sociology* 20 (3): 277–94.
- GROSS, N. & HERRIOTT, R. E. 1965. *Staff Leadership in Public Schools: A Sociological Enquiry*. New York: Wiley.
- GROSS, N., MASON, W. S. & MCEACHERN, A. W. 1958. *Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendent Role*. New York: Wiley.
- HAIRE, M. (ed.) 1959. *Modern Organization Theory*. New York: Wiley.
- HALSEY, A. H., FLOUD, J. & ANDERSON, C. A. (eds.) 1961. *Education, Economy and Society*. New York: Free Press.
- HARGREAVES, D. H. 1967. *Social Relations in a Secondary School*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- HENRY, J. 1955. Docility or Giving Teacher What She Wants. *Journal of Social Issues* 2: 33–41. Reprinted in R. R. Bell & H. R. Stub (eds.) (1968).
- 1960. A Cross-cultural Outline of Education. *Current Anthropology* 1 (4): 267–305.
- HEXTALL, I. J. 1969. The Concept 'Career' and its Relevance for an Analysis of Teaching, etc. MA (Ed) thesis, University of London.
- HIMMELWEIT, H. T. & SWIFT, B. 1969. A Model for the Understanding of the School as a Socializing Agent. In P. Mussen *et al.* (eds.), *Trends and Issues in Developmental Psychology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- HININGS, C. R., PUGH, D. S., HICKSON, D. J. & TURNER, C. 1967. An Approach to the Study of Bureaucracy. *Sociology* 1 (1): 61–72.
- HOYLE, E. 1965. Organisational Analysis in the Field of Education. *Educational Research* 7 (2): 97–114.
- 1969. Organisation Theory and Educational Administration. In G. Baron and W. Taylor (eds.), *Educational Administration and the Social Sciences*. London: Athlone Press.

- JACKSON, P. W. 1968. *Life in Classrooms*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- JACOBSEN, L. & ROSENTHAL, R. 1968. *Pygmalion in the Classroom*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- JAMES, C. 1968. *Young Lives at Stake*. London: Collins.
- JENSEN, A. R. 1969. How Much can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement? *Harvard Educational Review* 3 (1): 1-123.
- KATZ, D. & KAHN, R. L. 1966. *The Social Psychology of Organizations*. New York: Wiley.
- KELLY, J. 1968. *Is Scientific Management Possible?* London: Faber.
- KELSALL, R. K. & KELSALL, H. 1969. *The School Teacher in England and the United States*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- KING, R. A. 1968. A Case Study of Changes in Social Values held by Pupils of Different Ages in a Maintained Grammar School, etc. PhD thesis, University of London.
- LACEY, C. 1966. Some Sociological Concomitants of Academic Streaming in a Grammar School. *British Journal of Sociology* 13 (3): 245-62.
- LAMBERT, R. J. 1966. The Public Schools: A Sociological Introduction. In G. Kalton (ed.), *The Public Schools*. London: Longmans.
- LAMBERT, R. J., HIPKIN, J. & STAGG, S. 1968. *New Wine in Old Bottles?* London: Bell.
- LAMBERT, R. J. & MILLHAM, S. 1968. *The Hothouse Society*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- LEVINSON, D. & WILLIAMS, R. H. (eds.) 1957. *The Patient and the Mental Hospital*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- LEWIN, R. R. 1968. Secondary School Reorganisation in the Outer London Boroughs. MA (Ed) dissertation, University of London.
- LITWAK, E. & MEYER, R. J. 1965. Administrative Styles and Community Linkages of Public Schools. In A. J. Reiss (ed.), *Schools in a Changing Society*, pp. 49-98. New York: Free Press.
- MARCH, J. G. (ed.) 1965. *Handbook of Organisations*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- MAYNTZ, R. 1965. The Study of Organisations: A Trend Report and Bibliography. *Current Sociology* 13 (3): 95-119.
- MCLEERY, R. H. 1961. Policy Change in Prison Management. In A. Etzioni (ed.), *Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- MERTON, R. K. 1957. The Role-set: Problems in Sociological Theory. *British Journal of Sociology* 8: 106-20.
- MILLER, E. J. & RICE, A. K. 1967. *Systems of Organization*. London: Tavistock.
- MOELLER, G. H. 1964. Bureaucracy and Teachers' Sense of Power. *School Review* 72 (3): 137-57. Reprinted in R. R. Bell & H. R. Stub (eds.) (1968).

- MONKS, T. G. 1968. *Comprehensive Education in England and Wales*. London: National Foundation for Educational Research. (A second report is forthcoming.)
- MORRISON, A. & MCINTYRE, D. 1969. *Teachers and Teaching*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- MOUZELIS, N. 1967. *Organization and Bureaucracy*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- MUSGRAVE, P. W. 1968. *The School as an Organization*. London: Macmillan.
- MUSGROVE, F. & TAYLOR, P. H. 1969. *Society and the Teacher's Role*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- PARSONS, T. 1956. Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations I & II. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 1: 63-85 and 224-39. Also in T. Parsons (1964), *Structure and Process in Modern Societies*, pp. 16-69. New York: Free Press.
- 1957. The Mental Hospital as a Type of Organization. In M. Greenblatt *et al.* (eds.), *The Patient and the Mental Hospital*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- 1958a. General Theory in Sociology. In R. K. Merton *et al.* (eds.), *Sociology Today*, pp. 3-38. New York: Basic Books.
- 1958b. Some Ingredients of a General Theory of Formal Organizations. In A. W. Halpin (ed.), *Administrative Theory in Education*, pp. 40-72. Midwest Administrative Center, University of Chicago.
- 1959. The School Class as a Social System. *Harvard Educational Review* 29: 297-318. Reprinted in A. H. Halsey *et al.* (eds.) (1961: 434-55).
- PERROW, C. 1967. A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Organizations. *American Sociological Review* 32 (2): 194-208.
- RAZELL, A. 1968. *Postscript to Plowden*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- RHENMAN, E. 1968. Organizational Goals. In T. Agersnap (ed.) (1968: 75-87).
- ROETHLISBERGER, F. J. & DICKSON, W. J. 1939. *Management and the Worker*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Reprinted Wiley Science Editions, 1964.
- SCHOOLS COUNCIL. 1968. *Young School Leavers. Enquiry 1*. London: HMSO.
- SCOTT, W. R. 1964. Theory of Organizations. In R. E. L. Faris (ed.), *Handbook of Modern Sociology*, pp. 485-529. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- SELZNICK, P. 1957. *Leadership in Administration*. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson. Harper International Edition, 1966.
- SHIPMAN, M. 1968. *The Sociology of the School*. London: Longmans.
- SILVERMAN, D. 1968. Formal Organizations or Industrial Sociology: Towards a Social Action Analysis of Organizations. *Sociology* 2 (2): 221-38.

- SMITH, D. M. 1968. An Evaluation of Theory and Research relating to the Influence of Size on the Staff and Organization of the Contemporary Maintained Secondary School in Great Britain. MA (Ed) thesis, University of London.
- SMITH, M. A. 1967. Sociological Approaches to Organization. In S. R. Parker *et al.*, *The Sociology of Industry*. London: Allen & Unwin; New York: Praeger.
- SNOW, R. E. 1969. Unfinished Pygmalion. *Contemporary Psychology* 14 (4): 197-9.
- STEVENS, F. 1960. *The Living Tradition*. London: Hutchinson.
- STINCHCOMBE, A. L. 1964. *Rebellion in the High School*. Chicago: Quadrangle.
- STRAUSS, A. L. *et al.* 1963. The Hospital and its Negotiated Order. In A. Friedron (ed.), *The Hospital in Modern Society*. New York: Free Press.
- STRAUSS, A. L. *et al.* 1964. *Psychiatric Ideologies and Institutions*. New York: Free Press.
- SVENSSON, N. E. 1962. *Ability Grouping and Scholastic Achievement*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- TAYLOR, W. 1969a. *Heading for Change: A Background Work Book for the Harlech Television Series*. Bristol: University of Bristol Institute of Education Series, Harlech Television Ltd.
- 1969b. *Society and the Education of Teachers*. London: Faber.
- TURNER, C. M. 1969. An Organizational Analysis of a Secondary Modern School. *Sociological Review* 17 (1): 67-86.
- WALDO, D. 1969. Theory of Organizations, Status and Problems. In A. Etzioni (ed.), *Readings on Modern Organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- WALLER, W. 1932. *The Sociology of Teaching*. New York: Wiley.
- WEBB, J. 1962. The Sociology of a School. *British Journal of Sociology* 13: 264-72.
- WHITE, J. 1968. Instruction in Obedience? *New Society*, 2 May, 11 (292): 637-9.
- 1969. The Curriculum Mongers: Education in Reverse. *New Society*, 6 March, 13 (336): 359-62.
- WILSON, B. R. 1962. The Teacher's Role. *British Journal of Sociology* 13 (1).
- WOODWARD, J. 1965. *Industrial Organization: Theory and Practice*. London: Oxford University Press.
- YATES, A. (ed.). 1966. *Grouping in Education*. New York: Wiley.
- YOUNG, T. R. & BEARDSLEY, P. 1968. The Sociology of Classroom Teaching: A Microfunctional Analysis. *Journal of Educational Thought* 2 (3): 175-86.



Taylor & Francis  
Taylor & Francis Group  
<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

ROYSTON LAMBERT, ROGER BULLOCK,  
SPENCER MILLHAM

## *The Informal Social System*

### *An Example of the Limitations of Organizational Analysis*

---

"The ecstatic reviews prompted by yet another sociological monograph on schools as organizations make me wonder whether social scientists are interested in classroom teaching at all. I am interested in the academic and moral progress of my boys not the slang they use or where they happen to be in an adolescent pecking order.'

Considerable sympathy can be extended to this headmaster, for often our ideas on schools as organizations and several major studies of informal pupil societies show a preoccupation with pupil relationships and attitudes rather than with the learning process (Howarth 1969). Many teachers express considerable frustration that most sociological research offers them little help in improving their teaching techniques or in motivating the children.<sup>1</sup> As one cynical staff-member commented: 'I have yet to read anything that can improve on a filmstrip and a stuffy room for getting me through the last period on a Friday afternoon with the Vth form.' Those who are engaged in fieldwork in schools are increasingly aware of this gap between theory and practice. So it is with a certain temerity that we take yet another look at the informal social system of schoolchildren from a theoretical standpoint.

The structure, values, and orientations of the pupil world have received much attention from sociologists<sup>2</sup> and our research into schools as organizations supports the significance accorded to the pupils' informal social system. But we select this particular aspect of the school not only to explore it further but also to illustrate the inevitable difficulties in translating the theory of organizational analysis into the empirical investigation of many contrasting educa-

tional institutions. This paper selects one aspect of the many surveyed by Brian Davies in the preceding paper, and uses this to illustrate the limitations of structural analysis. It offers some ideas on alternative approaches that we are finding valuable in our present researches.

This is not a methodological paper; it offers no statistical evidence. This is not its purpose. For example, it does not discuss the ways in which informal norms are investigated or how consensus on dominant norms within and across age-groups is measured. However, Davies has outlined in detail the contribution that organizational analysis of the school is making to the sociology of education as a whole. We, using the informal social system as an example, would like to illustrate the strengths and weaknesses of such an approach.

#### DEFINITION OF THE INFORMAL SOCIAL SYSTEM

The informal social system can be defined as the pattern of norms, values, and relationships not prescribed structurally or normatively by the official goals of the organization, but which may still have effects on these goals.<sup>3</sup> In any school there will be not only an informal society of the pupils but also one of the staff, although the former has received much more attention than the latter.<sup>4</sup> This world that the pupils create for themselves has its own values, patterns of behaviour, and associations, its own methods of orienting pupils to it and its own processes of control. Informal roles will exist, the swot, the bully, the creep, etc., and performance of these is closely guided by informal norms. All pupils are made aware of these norms, although their adaptation to them can vary very much in the same way as pupils choose to accept or to disregard the expectations of the school's formal system. The norms of the informal system will govern not only pupils' behaviour within it but also the extent and degree to which pupil roles may be taken up in the formal system. Thus these norms will largely determine the pupils' orientation to the goals of the school. It is this particular aspect of the informal system that has preoccupied Hargreaves (1967), Coleman (1961), and Sugarman (1967).

#### FUNCTIONS

The goals of the informal system are never explicit. They compensate for the deficiencies the informal social order sees implicit in the pur-

suit of formal goals. The informal social system can be functional, promoting loyalty or contentment, or disruptive. Viewed empirically, the functions of the informal system across organizations seem to vary. What is viewed as a deficiency in one organization may be viewed as a sufficiency elsewhere, e.g. children will view spartan living conditions differently in a children's home and on a training ship. Even in boarding schools the informal social system should not be seen as 'moderating the pains of imprisonment in a semi-total institution' (Sykes 1958), because the informal system in some schools conspicuously fails to do this. It can, in fact, intensify the deprivations—a feature it frequently has in public schools which are attempting to change emphasis in particular goal areas and methods of control. For example, fagging may be formally abolished only to be instantly replaced by an informal network of service relationships. Similarly, the relaxation of certain aspects of control may be differently interpreted by pupils. As a boy in a sea training establishment comments: 'This school is going soft, you might as well go to a holiday camp. We are here for a training and we want it tough.'

Neither is there a clear relationship between the scope of the informal system, that is the areas it covers and its normative consensus, and the degree of deprivation. In many schools where the pains of imprisonment are at a minimum, particularly in progressive schools,<sup>5</sup> the informal pupil system is strongly developed. In fact, of the schools we visited, the two with the highest degree of comfort and privacy also had very strong informal systems. Naturally, in institutions where deprivations are high, particularly in prisons, some of the activity of the inmate society will be directed at meeting unsatisfied demands, either material or psychological.

In other organizations, the informal social system can be seen differently. It seems to satisfy the immediate short-term goals of inmates, in contrast to the goals of the formal system which are long-term and imply deferred gratifications. Even in an institution such as a monastery not all the inmates are similarly committed at any given time to its long-term goals.<sup>6</sup> Neither is any individual's commitment constant. Some relaxations from the incessant demands of the formal system must occur. As a house prefect in a public school explains: 'Once in a while I just go wild. I fool about with the boys. Then the next morning I am cold, aloof, godlike. It isn't that I am not loyal to this place, but it's the only way I can manage this job.'

### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONCEPT

Informal systems have long been a major research area in criminology and in mental health.<sup>7</sup> Sykes (1958), Giallombardo (1966), and others describe contrasting types of informal system and hypothesize causal relationships between deprivations and the nature of such systems. Street, Vinter & Perrow (1966) attempt a comparative analysis of six reform schools relating the orientation of the informal system to the school régime. Polsky (1962; 1968), Morris & Morris (1963), Bettelheim (1950), to mention only a few, have further explored the concept. The realization of the significance of informal inmate groupings influences much of the thinking in the 1969 Children's Act, the work of the Home Office Development Group,<sup>8</sup> and experiments in the Prison Service. The pioneer studies of Goffman (1961) and Rapoport (1960) in respect of mental hospitals should remind us of the considerable amount of work that has been done in the mental health area and of the many attempts made to manipulate group norms and to develop among the inmates of such institutions an informal social system which is therapeutic. More recently, in the sociology of education, Hargreaves (1967), Sugarman (1966; 1967), and others have been working in this area. Indeed, the concept may be said to have achieved either the seal of respectability or the kiss of death, whichever viewpoint one prefers, considering the influence it obviously had on the first Newsom Report (1963) and its necessary absence from the second (1968).

Much sociology has encouraged policy-makers to assume that the structural variables of a school are directly related to aspects of its pupil society. As evidence accumulates, the more difficult it is to posit such clear relationships.<sup>9</sup>

### RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STRUCTURAL VARIABLES AND THE INFORMAL SYSTEM

How justified are these assumptions? We have found that when the structural variables of schools are constant, their pupil societies seem to differ markedly. We suggest that faulty hypotheses are inevitable when little attempt has been made to develop an analytic framework in terms of which schools as organizations can be compared. It is unwise to compare important organizational subsystems without having a

complete framework in mind, because the function of a particular subsystem, such as an academic, pastoral, or sportive subsystem, may be very different in similar types of school, e.g. all secondary modern schools or all comprehensive schools. The academic subsystem has less esteem at Eton than at Winchester. In some approved schools the functions of trade departments are predominantly pastoral, in others instructional.

Work based on one school or on a few schools of a similar kind tends to lead to large generalizations constructed on limited experience. Four well-known examples illustrate this (cf. Etzioni 1961). (1) It has been suggested that, in schools stressing academic goals, where there is streaming or setting there will be strong contrasts in pupil commitment: the high-ability groups will show high commitment and the less able will be antagonistic to the school's real goals. In several schools we have found the reverse. (2) Where adaptation is related to methods of control, it is suggested that when coercive control predominates in a school there will be widespread alienation from the particular area in which it is used. We have found, in fact, that this does not always apply. Indeed, in one school where methods of control were those of the eighteenth century the application of a brine-stiffened lash to the backside produced high commitment among the recipients, the marks being displayed later to admiring peers as a somewhat macabre proof of endurance. (3) It has also been suggested that where the cultural expectations of a school's formal system differ markedly from the life-style of the pupils there will be considerable alienation from the school's real goals. This is not always true—for example, there could be no clearer contrast between the life-styles of staff and pupils than in a senior boys' approved school, but what alienation there is does not stem from a culture clash.<sup>10</sup> (4) Other generalizations seek to link the nature of the inmates' informal system with other aspects of control, particularly Goffman's concept of totality (1961).<sup>11</sup> The suggestion that the inmate role types of Sykes (1958) will appear when a number of institutions with similar high levels of totality are compared is not supported by boarding-school evidence. Neither are the informal systems in these cases uniformly cohesive and alienated from the formal system. Similarly, we can find little evidence from our work in girls' boarding schools to support Giallombardo's idea (1966) that roles in the informal system are derived from deprivation of roles in the outside world.

These four hypotheses are no doubt useful but they do not fit every

institution, and any claims that they provide an explanatory theory should be treated with caution. It is often not the original texts that claim such relationships but subsequent protagonists.

Our work leads us, then, to be very cautious about relating the structural variables of schools to aspects of their pupil societies. For example, it would be difficult to rival for comparative purposes our present sample of eighteen approved schools. The schools themselves exhibit substantially similar structures with a very narrow set of goals, contractually defined staff roles, inspection, and government supervision. In addition, their intake is homogeneous in a way that no outside sample of schools could provide. Through a sophisticated classification procedure we are able to take into account, for each child, factors that are unobtainable in respect of children in ordinary schools, including early family experience, attainment and experience in primary and junior schools, internal and external geographic mobility, the school and work records of the subject and of his parents and siblings, and significant medical and psychological factors. Yet still the informal societies of these pupils differ across their schools in orientation and composition and in their dominant norms. Surely an analysis of both the formal and the informal systems of these schools would make clear any key relationships between structural variables and the nature of the informal social system. General patterns emerge, as we shall indicate, but causal relationships between one or a number of variables and a particular kind of informal system or aspect of it do not appear.

This is not to deny the considerable contribution that an organizational approach can make to our understanding of the dynamics of educational institutions. Such an approach clarifies analysis, allows comparisons to be made between institutions, and furnishes us with conceptual tools, yet our experience would suggest that we have expected too much from the study of structural variables. These were to have uncovered the mysteries of and explained the differences in human behaviour in institutions. Instead we are often left with classifications masquerading as theory,<sup>12</sup> presented in a language which is as tortuous as it is esoteric and which has done much to stifle the interest of those who work in the schools or teach our teachers.<sup>13</sup> How far can organizational analysis take us in our understanding of informal pupil systems? What other approaches would be fruitful? Why do informal pupil systems differ when the variables of

the formal school structure are so similar? These are the questions this paper sets out to explore.

#### KINDS OF INFORMAL SYSTEM

Our research has taken us to a great variety of educational institutions and from these we can outline the kinds of informal pupil society that exist within them. All informal pupil systems can be viewed in terms of three features:

1. The *degree of consensus* that exists on specific norms—that is, the proportion that endorses certain values and patterns of behaviour. Consensus can vary according to age and ability groups, etc.<sup>14</sup>
2. The *strength of informal control*—wide consensus does not necessarily mean rigorous enforcement. For example, while a general pupil norm exists across all schools which condemns stealing from fellow pupils, the degree of antagonism aroused by a deviant who steals varies very much from school to school. Such deviance is tolerated, though not esteemed, in public schools, but is ruthlessly sanctioned (informally) in state and approved schools. However, in the case of stealing from local shops, these attitudes are reversed.
3. *Pervasiveness*—the pervasiveness (Etzioni 1961: 163) of the informal system is the extent of the areas and activities controlled by informal norms. For example, in day schools, approved schools, and service training institutions (non-commissioned), pervasiveness is low; informal norms cover few areas and activities. In service establishments (commissioned), seminaries, and art colleges, on the other hand, there is high pervasiveness.

Schools in which the pupil society is characterized by a high degree of pervasiveness, consensus, and informal control may be said to have a *strong informal social system*. Such strong informal pupil societies may be oriented *away* from the official system of goals or *towards* them.

However, even a supportive informal system will not have uniform commitment among the pupils. Level of commitment will vary between and within goal areas. As goals tend to displace each other, high commitment to some goals may hinder commitment to conflicting goals. For instance, in progressive schools there will be higher com-

mitment to expressive goals, particularly those of individuality and spontaneity, than to instrumental and organizational goals. In public schools there is higher commitment to the expressive goals of leadership and self-discipline than to spontaneity. Even in schools where the informal system has taken an antagonistic stance to the official goals, certain academic goals or sportive goals can still be highly regarded.

Schools in which the pupil society has low pervasiveness, low consensus, and a low level of informal control we regard as having a *weak or diffuse pupil society* consisting of multiple and competing pupil groups. Junior schools, preparatory schools, junior approved schools, and almost all public schools come clearly within this category.

Where the official system is weak there will always be a strong pupil society, but where the official system is strong, the pupil society may be weak, as in public schools, or strong, as in progressive schools, senior approved schools, and service training establishments.

Our research further suggests that there are *four clear ways* in which informal pupil systems relate to the formal system of the school. The informal system may be:

1. *Supportive* of the formal system: This is particularly true of most public schools and progressive schools where, although the extent and degree of commitment to particular goals will vary, overall general commitment to formal goals is high.

2. *Manipulative*: This can occur when strong informal systems use features of the formal social system for their own ends. For example, when immigrants form a cohesive subgroup in a school, they may challenge the staff with accusations of racial discrimination when reprimanded. Another example is the conformist behaviour seen in approved schools, where grades and privileges are sought to earn release although few boys have any commitment to the values such grades symbolically express.<sup>15</sup>

3. *Passive*: Here the informal pupil system simply ignores aspects of the formal structure or refuses to recognize its authority in particular areas, a pattern more common in day than in boarding schools where it is more difficult to take up such an ostrich-like stance towards the formal system.

4. *Rejecting*: This is where the pupils' informal social order rejects the goals of the formal system.

This typology also suits the relations that characterize the formal

social system *vis-à-vis* the informal. Thus the formal social system can be supportive of many of the values of the informal social system; this is particularly true in progressive schools and in many junior schools. It can be manipulative, as is often the case in mixed schools where staff are prepared to tolerate deep emotional relationships between pupils in order to improve and extend their own pastoral positions. Passive and alienated relationships are too obvious to need illustration. However, a fifth type of relationship should be added: this is when the formal social system is largely unaware of the existence of the informal system or of particular aspects of it. This relationship cannot exist in reverse because it is impossible for pupils to be unaware of the existence of the formal social order, except for a proportion of children in maladjusted schools or other special provision.

This typology, then, outlines the types of relationship that are found between the formal and the informal orders, but these relationships are not static. As we have already suggested, attitudes will vary between and within goal areas. Particular groups, even within cohesive informal systems, will rate differently the importance of particular goals and the means of achieving them. These differences may not be sufficient to disrupt the informal social system; they may even maintain its character. Even institutions with the most coherent of informal systems are characterized by differing opinions and behaviour among their members, but divergence will be within narrow limits.

Changes in the norms of pupil societies may result from influences external to the formal system, as is illustrated in the growing demand among adolescents for more democratic decision-making processes, growing hostility to elaborate hierarchies, and increasing hostility to all forms of expressive control.

Relations may change over time in a cyclical pattern from a close/easy relationship between the two systems, through a period of licence, to a phase of suppression and then a moving apart of the formal and informal systems. This process, described by Rapoport (1960) as oscillatory, enables the boundaries between the two systems to be redefined. Even weak, diffuse informal social systems may cohere for a brief period when the formal system initiates a suppressive period. Indeed, much effort in institutions, particularly custodial institutions, is expended in keeping diffuse social systems from coalescing. Structural devices, such as house units, competitions, and rewards and sanctions, attempt to fragment the informal social system of the pupils, but inevitably crisis moments will occur, particularly when all the

inmates are together, in assemblies, meal-times, etc., as we illustrate later. To witness such a moment when abrupt changes are triggered off in the roles of staff and pupils is to see how norms change in the informal society. For example, the banning of mixed nude bathing at a progressive school, without consulting the pupils, turned their supportive cohesive informal system into an antagonistic informal system overnight. This persisted for several years, defying many attempts of the formal system to bring the two sides together, and proved highly dysfunctional to the prosecution of real goals. Similarly, formal norms are often scrutinized at times of crisis. Schools that closely regulate the dress and appearance of their pupils have had to face a considerable drop-out rate among fifteen-year-olds; therefore many schools have relaxed regulations of this kind, seeking to manipulate a hostile informal system, to modify its stance, and to pursue more valuable goals more effectively.

Not only are these cyclical patterns a major dynamic in changing the nature of the relations between the pupil society and the formal social system but they also explain why dramatically different informal systems can exist within similar school structures. The inevitable excuse offered by worried headmasters to the observer participant, 'We seem to be running through rather a bad patch at the moment', has, it appears, considerable sociological justification. Such cyclical changes affect many key areas of institutional life, particularly the relations between the formal and informal systems. They help to explain why at any given time an observer can witness strikingly different values and behaviour in institutions that are structurally very similar.

We have outlined a programme theory of *one* particular aspect of organizational analysis, the informal system. Like other classic approaches, to which it is manifestly indebted, it enables us to classify, analyse, and compare contrasting sorts of organization. Different patterns that characterize groups of institutions emerge more clearly; but, within these groups, there always remain particular cases where the informal system resists and contradicts the classification. Of forty public schools we have visited, thirty-five have diffuse informal systems, but five cohere in a way that seems to defy explanation in terms of structural variables. Even if a direct causal relationship between structural variables and a certain type of informal system seemed to be established, the pragmatist would still not be satisfied because particular manifestations of similar informal systems offer striking contrasts. Thus in strong informal social systems supportive of formal

goals, attitudes to a particular piece of behaviour can differ greatly among the pupils.<sup>16</sup>

#### TOTALITY: AN EXAMPLE OF A STRUCTURAL VARIABLE

At the risk of some digression we shall illustrate a case where the significance of a particular structural variable has been over-stressed and its very nature oversimplified—the concept of totality as applied to institutions (Goffman 1961). Viewed empirically, totality has many faces.

Among the boarding schools<sup>17</sup> we have studied we have found that the type of totality varies very greatly. Some are very total in the Goffman sense: such institutions impose rigid controls over relationships, possessions, and privacy. Others are total in a different sort of way: they set out to impress upon their pupils certain values and ways of behaving, and attempt to establish a closed community where these values are inculcated. Many of their goals are concerned with moral and religious teaching.

In the so-called progressive schools, institutional control is very low. Pupils are supposedly free to dress, think, and behave as they like. Nevertheless, there is a very clear stress on certain expressive goals, such as the development of personality at its own rate without external pressures, and normative controls are used to achieve these goals. The strong informal pupil system adopts these normative controls, with the result that the expressive elements of the ethos are rigidly enforced by the pupils' informal social system. Thus the emphasis on values and norms makes the whole institution inescapable, despite the lack of institutional control.

In addition to this, Maurice Punch (1968) has shown that structural variables such as selectivity, voluntariness of inmates, affectivity of staff-inmate relations, ascribed or achieved status and so on, are different in the six different types of total institution he describes, for example, from instrumentally total institutions like merchant ships to expressively total institutions such as monasteries.

It would seem, then, that the concept of totality can imply either a physical or a normative component or both (Lambert, Hipkin & Stagg 1968: 22). The physical component may, of course, be required to produce the normative involvement, but the latter can be elicited without any of the physical variables. We have met examples among the

religious groups with whom we have lived in the course of our research. A missionary order of Catholic priests has a normative totality even though its members are scattered all over the world.

Totality is really one form of control and should be kept in its place as one possible structural variable of institutions. We would criticize those writers who have assumed that totality in itself means that other features will occur in the informal system of the inmates. Those educationalists (King 1969; Wakeford 1968; 1969; Weinberg 1967) who have assumed that boarding schools are total institutions oversimplify a complicated pattern, for boarding schools may have some aspects of total institutions but they can be placed on a continuum for different types of totality, physical or normative, or both.

Attempts have been made in the field of criminology to suggest causal relationships between the structural variables of institutions and their informal social systems, and the evidence of such studies supports our contention. Could Sykes (1958), Giallombardo (1966) or Ward & Kassebaum (1965) have advanced their hypotheses on the relation between deprivation and particular informal roles had they visited more than one prison? It is interesting to note that in one study (Street, Vinter & Perrow 1966), which attempts to relate pupil commitment to type of régime in six institutions, the authors' thesis that high totality goes with high alienation is challenged by their own evidence: the maximum security block that they describe has a much higher level of pupil commitment than would be expected on the basis of their hypotheses. Thus even within their small sample of structurally similar schools an exception appears.

The idea of totality, then, illustrates the theoretical problems that arise when structural variables are accorded a key position in the determination of features of particular organizations.

Yet in spite of these complications, in the present state of our knowledge there are useful patterns to be found when structural variables or clusters of structural variables are related to informal systems. Patterns do emerge and comparisons are possible. We know, for example, that most public schools have a fragmented informal system because of a combination of competing sub-units and a strong hierarchical formal system. However, once this point has been reached and important factors have been revealed, it is difficult to go any further. Will more sophisticated concepts, measurements, and statistical techniques bring us closer to explanation or merely amplify description? Will a continued search for 'keys' be fruitful or will we

find ourselves in a similar position to those social scientists who are seeking the causes of delinquency or the educational component in social mobility?

We indicate, therefore, three approaches that can complement the organizational analysis of schools (or any institution for that matter), and help us in explanation.

#### ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INFORMAL SYSTEMS

##### *i. Functional Alternatives*

It is possible that the functions served by the informal system in one school are met by something else in another.

Clearly some functional alternative must be operating which influences the absconding patterns of approved school boys (Clarke & Martin 1969). In some schools there is very little absconding and the informal norms are hostile to absconding behaviour, whereas in other schools the rate of absconding is high. Differences are marked when schools of very similar structures are compared. Moreover, in many cases boys who were persistent absconders from one school do not abscond when moved to another institution.

Our impressions suggest, and we are not psychologists, that although there are many reasons why boys abscond there is always a large fantasy element in absconding behaviour; thus a boy feels he is on the run, or escaping from pressures, or is anxious to see a fantasy home. In schools where absconding is low, there is probably some element in the school—in the relationships or activities—that absorbs the fantasies that lead to absconding. Observed absconding patterns cannot be explained in terms of geographical isolation or aspects of control, but an analysis in terms of the functional alternatives offered by the informal system can help us to understand the problem more fully. An interesting observation which supports this view is that absconding is very rare from a summer camp, which is in itself a fantasy experience for approved school boys. Another example is boy/girl relationships in mixed schools, which have a pastoral rather than a sexual function (Lambert & Millham 1968).

Such functional alternatives operate only in stable conditions. As we have noted, even where an informal system is ill defined one

isolated incident of threat or challenge can suddenly crystallize norms so that real social deprivations or controls are *seen* by all the inmates to be real. The smashing of a plate at a meal-time in a penal institution can trigger off a hostile disturbance, and a diffuse, supportive informal system can rapidly become a cohesive, hostile one, depending very much on staff reaction. Among illustrations of this a teacher in an approved school recalled an occasion at meal-time when the boys were drumming their knives on the table: gradually the noise increased to a point that necessitated some action, but the teacher found himself powerless to quell the gathering riot; in desperation he began to dance in time to the noise, and the crisis subsided in the laughter and jeers of the boys. This incident could have developed into a larger disturbance, because at such a moment, when staff and boys face each other, the functional alternatives no longer operate. Their cushioning effects on real deprivations are swept away.

This idea of a dynamic informal system which can crystallize at a given stimulus provides a valuable clue to the understanding of various patterns of behaviour, such as meal-time disturbances, or riots (Home Office 1959), or why the absconding of one boy often triggers off a whole series of others. One difficulty is, however, that functional alternatives defy measurement. How can one measure the part played by the fantasy element in Hovercraft-building that checks absconding from a junior approved school, or comprehend the nicknaming that has replaced physical bullying in many large primary schools?

## *2. Causal Coincidence of Independent Factors*

The unpredictable convergence of different causal processes can influence the nature of the informal system so that at a particular time two features which happen to be present combine to produce a new effect. There is no way of predicting when this sort of thing will occur. Thus the process is virtually accidental or haphazard.

One traditional, custodial approved school was allocated three very disturbed boys<sup>18</sup> who needed treatment in a flexible, tolerant, therapeutic régime. These three boys had a profound effect on the other boys in the school for they acted out their aggressions quite openly. Their behaviour was tolerated by the school staff who were already questioning their custodial goals and were under Home Office pressure to adopt a more tolerant, liberal, and therapeutic régime in accordance with general developments in approved schools. The other boys in the

school soon began to behave in a similar fashion, even though most were free from personality problems, and their informal norms were modified to tolerate aggressive outbursts and disturbed behaviour such as bed-wetting, extreme withdrawal, etc. Of particular interest, the term 'nutter', a slang term for those under psychiatric care and an effective informal sanction, disappeared from use among the boys.

These two factors, the questioning of the stricter régime and the arrival of the three boys, not only accelerated the change to a looser régime, leading one housemaster to say 'We had no choice', but radically affected the informal society of the pupils and the norms prevalent in it. The two factors combined to produce a new set of informal norms. Both had to be present, but each occurred as a result of quite independent processes. New norms can thrive only if the school is predisposed to their content, so other possibilities, such as the removal of the three boys concerned or a breakdown in the smooth running of the school, could well have occurred. We know very little about such accidents, or the influence of personalities, but their importance should not be discounted.

### *3. The Culture of the School*

Prolonged studies of schools lead us to suggest that the informal social system of a school reflects a culture or tradition (cf. Downes 1965) which, in some respects, is unique to the individual school, so that certain norms survive although generations of pupils pass through it. The whole ethos of charity boarding schools—ancient foundations originally intended to rescue destitute children—has always been spartan, comprising a limited range of goals, most of which are clearly instrumental and quite unlike those of the later public and progressive boarding schools. These attitudes persist among staff and pupils, blocking change and limiting objectives, despite all the movements that have taken place in other schools. We also know that certain attitudes and behaviour are common in the Royal Navy but unknown in the Merchant Navy and these permeate their training institutions.<sup>19</sup> Such unique cultures may account for the persistence of certain norms and attitudes, either in a whole school or in sections of it (cf. Newcomb 1967).

For example, one special school which has been convulsed by three major homosexual scandals within the past fifteen years still has an

informal social order among the pupils that puts a premium on homosexual activity. Formal attempts to moderate its incidence seem unavailing. In fact, the informal norms were strong enough to change the sexual behaviour of an eighteen-year-old youth on transfer from a more restrained school within the space of four days. The strength and persistence of such norms, in spite of considerable manipulation by the formal system, defy explanation, except in terms of culture and cyclical patterns.

The useful work of Power *et al.* (1967; cf. Mayo 1969) suggests that comparable schools in any one delinquent area show markedly different delinquency rates. Their evidence suggests that, in part, a criminal culture can exist in some schools and this may be of long standing. Teachers, parents, and pupils have expectations of the school that are self-fulfilling (Musgrave & Taylor 1965). While problems arising from these cultures can be tackled only by manipulating the structure of the school—Involving parents, introducing counsellors, etc.—the pupils' response is clearly influenced by the cultural heritage of their informal social system.

We have argued that, while it is relatively easy to classify different types of informal system and to define the functions of such systems, it is very difficult to explain variations in the nature of these systems solely in terms of structural factors. Using the concept of totality in illustration, we have criticized the approach that accords a key significance to structural variables.

Organizational analysis is a useful exercise: it allows comparison; it enables the whole structure to be kept in mind while a component is examined; objective findings are more likely to result from a valid theoretical framework than from value-free research workers. However, concern with structural variables should not prevent us complementing the sociology of the school with other approaches, such as analysis of functional alternatives and coincidental factors.

It is to be hoped that the division of academic sociology into specialist sub-disciplines will not reduce contacts between fields of speciality to the extent that the comparison of useful results is hindered by an abundance of easily constructed, lower-range theories and typologies. Otherwise sociologists and the policy-makers they influence may place unjustified confidence in the validity of their theories.

## Notes

- 1 Frequently mentioned exceptions, however, are the contributions made by David Holbrook, Basil Bernstein, and the Schools Council.
- 2 Many references are given in the paper by Brian Davies in this volume. See also references in Lambert, Bullock & Millham (1970).
- 3 This definition relies heavily on: Blau & Scott (1963), Etzioni (1961), Goffman (1961), and March & Simon (1958). There have been criticisms of the concept of the informal system because the term 'system' implies *a priori* functional interdependence which should be empirically verified. However, as other terms such as 'order' or 'society' raise problems of their own, we shall use the term 'system'.
- 4 References can be found in the paper in this volume by Brian Davies and in Lambert, Bullock & Millham (1970).
- 5 The term 'progressive schools' refers to a set of independent schools, founded mostly between the wars, as pioneers of a new style of education. This is not to say that they are progressive by any objective standards. See Child (1962), Ash (1969), and Skidelsky (1969).
- 6 During our researches we have lived in communities of de la Salle Brothers, Benedictine monks, Rosminian priests, and Mill Hill Fathers, as well as teaching nuns.
- 7 See references in Lambert, Bullock & Millham (1970), and Jones (1968).
- 8 The Home Office Development Group has pioneered the development of community homes and therapeutic, secure units, as well as educational programmes suitable for the children concerned. In the Prison Service, recent developments have been: open prisons, psychiatric units, use of parole, factory units, contract work, pre-release hostels, and drug units.
- 9 Sociologists who have taken up a clear political and practical stance as a result of their researches in this sphere, such as Brian Jackson, Dennis Marsden, and Peter Townsend, have stressed the efficacy of structural change for modifying informal values. More recent studies, such as those of Julienne Ford (1969), have questioned the nature of the relations between the structural variables of schools and their pupil societies, as have some studies of higher education, the Robbins Report, etc.
- 10 The boys' hostility stems from their isolation from the outside world, loss of earnings, and the apparent irrelevance of their institutional experience. The experience of culture conflict in this setting would imply some internalization of institutionalized values and their incompatibility with one's life-style outside. But it is the failure of approved school boys to internalize institutionalized values that reduces the effectiveness of these schools in such areas as respect for property, honest labour, etc.

- 11 Goffman (1961) defines a total institution and gives some of its basic characteristics.
- 12 The term 'theory' includes at least two basic approaches in sociology: programme or meta theories, which outline concepts or typologies, and testable hypotheses. Theories on organizations do not offer a programme which is suitable for comparing organizations, and most of the hypotheses derived from them collapse when tested.
- 13 See comments by Professor Harry Ree and others on teaching in colleges of education, *The Times*, January 1970.
- 14 Hargreaves (1967) suggests that consensus varies among different groups when the school population is divided horizontally and vertically.
- 15 Another good example is the ruthless manipulation of psychiatrists by disturbed mental hospital patients who are anxious to earn release (see Walker 1968).
- 16 For example, attitudes to and rates of truancy, early leaving, and malicious damage are markedly different across similar day schools (see Hodges 1968 and Tyerman 1968).
- 17 Many critics will say that the schools we have been studying, which have mainly been boarding schools, are total institutions and that they should not be compared with day schools, which are not total. Numerous studies have demonstrated the existence of strong informal systems in total institutions, but it would be wrong to assume that day schools have similar features. In day schools the informal order may be less defined or less developed. Investigations in day schools confirm the importance of pupil and staff informal systems among different groups but suggest that, in comparison with those in boarding schools, the pupil systems in day schools are influenced by a more general, wider youth culture and are less concerned with easing the pains of institutional life.

During our research we have conducted surveys in many day schools, primary and secondary, and so our sample is not confined to boarding schools. Moreover, many of the boarding schools we have visited have had large proportions, often 80 per cent, of day pupils, and many state boarding schools are virtually weekly boarding schools and so cannot really be considered as total institutions.

- 18 Owing to a change to regional allocation in 1967.
- 19 The slang used is an interesting guide to these features of the informal system.

## References

- ASH, M. 1969. *Who are the Progressives now?* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- BETTELHEIM, B. 1950. *Love is not Enough*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- BLAU, P. M. & SCOTT, W. R. 1963. *Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION (ENGLAND). 1963. *Half Our Future* (Newsom Report). London: HMSO.
- CHILD, H. A. L. 1962. *The Independent Progressive School*. London: Hutchinson.
- CLARKE, R. V. G. & MARTIN, D. N. 1969. Personality of Approved School Boy Absconders. *British Journal of Criminology* 9 (4): 366-75.
- COLEMAN, J. S. 1961. *The Adolescent Society*. New York: Free Press.
- COMMITTEE ON HIGHER EDUCATION. 1963. *Report* (Robbins Report). Cmnd. 2154. London: HMSO.
- DOWNES, D. M. 1965. *The Delinquent Solution*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- ETZIONI, A. 1961. *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations*. New York: Free Press.
- FORD, J. 1969. *Social Class and the Comprehensive School*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- GIALLOMBARDO, R. 1966. *Society of Women*. New York: Wiley.
- GOFFMAN, E. 1961. *Asylums*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books.
- HARGREAVES, D. H. 1967. *Social Relations in a Secondary School*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- HODGES, V. 1968. Non-attendance at School. *Educational Research* II (1): 58-61.
- HOME OFFICE. 1959. Disturbances at the Carlton Approved School on Aug. 29 and 30, 1959. Report of Inquiry by Mr Victor Durand, QC. Cmnd. 937. London: HMSO.
- HOWARTH, T. E. B. 1969. *Culture, Anarchy and the Public Schools*. London: Cassell.
- JONES, M. 1968. *The Idea of a Therapeutic Community*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- KING, R. A., 1969. *Education*. London: Longmans.
- LAMBERT, R. J., BULLOCK, R. & MILLHAM, S. 1970. *Manual to the Sociology of the School*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- LAMBERT, R. J., HIPKIN, J. & STAGG, S. 1968. *New Wine in Old Bottles?* London: Bell.
- LAMBERT, R. J. & MILLHAM, S. 1968. *The Hothouse Society*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- MARCH, J. G. & SIMON, H. A. 1958. *Organizations*. New York: Wiley.
- MAYO, P. E. 1969. *The Making of a Criminal*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- MORRIS, T. & MORRIS, P. 1963. *Pentonville*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- MUSGROVE, F. & TAYLOR, P. H. 1965. Teachers' and Parents' Conception of the Teacher's Role. *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 35: 171-9.
- NEWCOMB, T. M. 1967. *Persistence and Change*. New York: Wiley.
- POLSKY, H. W. 1962. *Cottage Six*. New York: Wiley.
- 1968. *The Dynamics of Residential Treatment*. New York: Free Press.
- POWER, M. J. et al. 1967. Delinquent Schools. *New Society*, 19 October, 10 (264): 542-3.
- PUBLIC SCHOOLS COMMISSION. 1968. *1st Report* (Chairman: Sir J. Newsom). London: HMSO.
- PUNCH, M. 1968. Total Institutions. Unpublished Seminar Paper, Research Centre, King's College, Cambridge.
- RAPOPORT, R. N. 1960. *Community as Doctor*. London: Tavistock.
- SKIDELSKY, R. 1969. *English Progressive Schools*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- STREET, D., VINTER, R. D. & PERROW, C. 1966. *Organizations for Treatment*. New York: Free Press.
- SUGARMAN, B. 1966. Social Class and Values as related to Achievement and Conduct in School. *Sociological Review* 14 (3): 287-301.
- 1967. Involvement in Youth Culture, Academic Achievement and Conformity. *British Journal of Sociology* 18 (2): 151-65.
- SYKES, G. 1958. *Society of Captives*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- TYERMAN, M. J. 1968. *Truancy*. London: University of London Press.
- WAKEFORD, J. 1968. *Strategy of Social Enquiry*. London: Macmillan.
- 1969. *The Cloistered Elite*. London: Macmillan.
- WALKER, W. LUMSDEN. 1968. The Limits of Therapeutic Methods in Approved Schools. In R. F. Sparks & R. G. Hood (eds.), *The Residential Treatment of Disturbed and Delinquent Boys*. Cambridge: Institute of Criminology.
- WARD, D. A. & KASSEBAUM, G. G. 1965. *Women's Prison*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- WEINBERG, I. 1967. *The English Public Schools*. London: Atherton.
- WHITELEY, J. S. 1970. The Psychopath and his Treatment. *British Journal of Hospital Medicine* 3 (2): 263-70.

IOAN DAVIES

## *Knowledge, Education, and Power*

---

### INTRODUCTION

Centrally, the problem of the so-called sociology of education is that, although most political and policy questions about education relate to the purposes and effects of education, existing research focuses mainly on the study of stratification and organization. This means that there is very little in existing sociological analysis that contributes directly to such issues as the curriculum, research, the formalization of disciplines, learning processes, or 'moral' education. It is not surprising, therefore, that laymen (and indeed most sociologists) are convinced that sociology's main contribution to educational studies is to the relationship between patterns of stratification and educational opportunity. It is clear from contemporary debate, however, especially represented in the Black Papers and various Penguin publications (Cox & Dyson 1969a; 1969b; Hornsey College of Art 1969; Robinson 1968; Cockburn & Blackburn 1969; Cave 1968), that a large number of questions are being asked which are specially concerned with the genesis and transmission of knowledge, subjects to which sociologists have given little systematic thought, though this does not apparently prevent them from making generalized statements (Martin 1969; 1970; Trow 1969).

The problem is posed by the curious fact that although sociology has involved itself in elaborate studies of aspects of culture, notably religion and political culture, studies of education have rarely asked questions which have a bearing on cultural studies. Contributions are mainly to our knowledge of instruments of culture (school structures) or to the extent to which educational institutions mediate social stratification differences. The problems, however, are not very different from those posed in studies of religion or mass communications, though educational studies have to contend with forms of theology and public relations that have been less exposed to scrutiny than have those in other subsections of the discipline. Basically the naïve questions put

by the political and literary/critical journalists are those that ought to concern us: What is 'the heritage of reason on which our civilization is founded',<sup>1</sup> and how does it relate to the institutions of education? What connection is there between student numbers and styles of pedagogy? What ideologies pervade educational change and stasis and how are they related to decision-making structures? What relationships exist between research, educational ideologies, styles of pedagogy, and the structures of educational institutions? How can we describe (let alone 'explain') the relationships between education and other social structures and cultures? These questions are at the root of our contemporary concern with educational change. It is because we have so far provided little thought and less research on them that this essay is written.

#### THE PROPERTIES OF A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO EDUCATION: A MACROSOCIOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The first task is to locate the main dimensions of a study of education. The central problem, if we are to avoid the non-sociological position of dealing with education entirely in its own terms, is how to relate educational institutions and culture to the rest of society. This requires an analysis of certain specific features: the social structure of society, the 'cultures' of society, educational culture, educational social structure, and so on. But to be effective and useful the analysis must be capable of operating on three levels at least: at the societal level, at the level of clusters of institutions, and at specific points of localized interaction (in addition, for certain purposes, it would also be important to postulate a fourth level: the inter-societal level). In other words, a framework for dealing with education must be capable of analysing societal patterns, viz.: the relationship between political and economic structures and educational ones, the totality of educational objectives, the relationship between pedagogical objectives and the structures of education. It must, for example, be capable of studying the structuring of curricula in particular types of school; the distribution of rewards, sanctions, and knowledge boundaries between specific institutions; and decision-making structures. And it must be able to pose these questions so that issues of socialization and interaction can be raised in localized situations in such a way that they contribute to the elaboration of an entire body of theory. Macro-

sociological frameworks exist for two purposes: first, to provide a setting for the ordering of discrete information and thus to provide a basis for hypotheses; and, second, because certain issues in sociology can be postulated only at a macro-level. For example, we cannot pose questions about research priorities and their relationship to pedagogy except at the societal level because these are essentially questions about the dominant characteristics of societal structures. At intermediate and local levels, however, we can ask some questions about patterns in particular institutions or even about the attitudes and work schedules of particular groups of teachers or researchers. Such lower-level information may be valuable for indicating how wide the variation is within a society or how individuals cope, and it may act as a basis for correcting societal hypotheses, but it is at the societal level that the issue has meaning.

Ideally, if it is to have a general use, a framework must be capable of operating at each of these levels; in other words, each of the lower frameworks would be a modified version of the higher. For this reason the formal pattern would be as simple as possible, thus making it capable of elaboration and correction as the exercise proceeded. Unfortunately, practical research experience makes this difficult to achieve. If we take Durkheim's typology of organic and mechanistic solidarity structures for example, we find that it provides such a framework (Bernstein 1967; Davies 1970): the structural properties of education can be assessed against the structural properties of society. Its disadvantage is, however, that it tends to assume correlation between culture and structure: 'open' structures have open culture, 'closed' structures closed culture. If we examine educational institutions at the middle level, this is not necessarily true. It therefore seems more useful to deal with culture as an independent variable while at the same time allowing for greater variation in structures than the mechanistic/organic dichotomy implies.

One of the problems is, of course, that sociological analysis of knowledge has concerned itself either with ideologies at a general societal level (Mannheim, Marx, and Weber are the classic examples) or with *Weltanschauungen* arising out of specific interaction situations (of which the symbolic interactionists and other variations of the phenomenological school are the best examples).<sup>2</sup> Ultimately, the ideological argument is concerned with problems that changes in systems of stratification introduce into the values associated with education; it has very little to say directly about the structural and

cultural conditions that foster research, or about the structures through which education is transmitted, or about specific interaction situations except in so far as they derive from macro-structures. On the other hand, although phenomenological studies make certain assumptions about wider cultural and structural parameters, they are primarily concerned with specific roles and specific interaction contexts. (Often the research itself appears to be an elaborate methodological exercise concerned with providing a solution to the Weberian problem of *Verstehen*.) In none of these frameworks are we concerned with 'academic' knowledge and rarely with the distinction between 'academic' and other forms of 'societal' knowledge (though Trotsky and Gramsci among the Marxists were so concerned). And yet, curiously enough, this has been *the* major problem exercising educationalists of whatever political ideology or academic training for over one hundred years.

Matthew Arnold, Newman, Trotsky, Gramsci, Durkheim, Parsons, Northrop Frye, Dewey, Russell, Homer Lane, and many others have implicitly argued that the central issue in educational theory is the relationship between structural changes and the overriding societal cultures on the one side, and educational ideologies, values, and institutional structures on the other. The burden of *Culture and Anarchy* (Arnold 1954: 33–58) is the preservation and development of an educational culture in the face of changes in societal beliefs and structures, and educational institutions themselves. The central feature of Gramsci's writings on education is that the revolution must recognize the discrepancies between the educational requirements of an industrial/capitalist system and the actual performance of the educational institutions (see Gramsci 1965). The writings of the progressive educational experimenters are full of implications for the relationship between educational values and structures and countervailing societal pressures (see Perry 1969). And so we could elaborate.

The sociological exercise must therefore recognize these dichotomies as frameworks for analysis and prepare the ground for a systematic attack on the problems they raise.

#### PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION: CULTURE, KNOWLEDGE, AND IDEOLOGY

Of the problems raised here, those relating to culture are the most contentious. One of the more comprehensive sociological statements

of culture is probably that provided by Talcott Parsons in *The Social System* (1951: 148–9), which distinguishes between belief systems (existential beliefs and evaluative beliefs) and systems of expressive symbols (purely expressive symbol systems and evaluative symbolism). The ingeniousness of this classification is that it makes explicit the distinction between knowledge-as-existential-belief, ideologies, culture-as-action, and culture-as-symbolization-of-action. Broadly speaking, this allows for a classification of the following components of culture: formal boundaries of knowledge (e.g. science, philosophy, etc.) as existential (or expressive) beliefs; religious ideas, political ideologies, etc. as evaluative beliefs; forms of art, including mass media and aspects of communication, as expressive symbols; and the examination of types of *Weltanschauungen* as attempts to give meaning and symbolization to specific collective situations. These distinctions between the components of culture are broadly similar to those made in much of the sociological literature, though the terminology varies. For educational analysis the study of formal disciplines of knowledge is contained under existential beliefs; of beliefs about the end-product of education under evaluative beliefs; of the institutional norms and conditions of relationships in schools under expressive symbol systems; and of the basic constituents of class solidarity or orientation under evaluative symbols. Within culture, therefore, we have four basic elements:

Existential beliefs	Expressive symbols
Evaluative beliefs	Evaluative symbols

Those distinctions operate in educational culture as well as in societal culture. I shall not here explore the Parsons framework in terms of the general theory of action because Parsons himself does not, and it is doubtful whether such an exercise is possible. Take, for example, the current writing in the sociology of knowledge within the framework.

These distinctions provide categories for examining areas of the sociology of knowledge which tend to fall into one box or another. The sociology of science might be said to fall in the area of existential beliefs (Kuhn's *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* is a classic case); much of what passes for the sociology of knowledge (e.g. Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia*) would be primarily about evaluative beliefs, as would also a large part of the sociology of religion; the sociology of art history or mass media would be restricted to expressive symbolism (Arnold Hauser's *Social History of Art* is a Marxist example); while

Berger & Luckmann's *Social Construction of Reality* might be said to be largely about evaluative symbols. For Parsons, the problem of analysing culture in any society is that culture is the totality of these subsections. This is patently absurd. The dialectic between the subsections and the power structure is more important in explanation than simply locating the sections. All Parsons has done is to provide us, like a good librarian, with a system of classification. The problem of theory construction remains. But for the time being it is useful to keep with Parsons's distinctions, and see how they might be used in formulating an attack on the problem.

Most other sociological studies are little help in further isolating the cultural parameters.<sup>3</sup> The characteristic sociological study of educational culture is concerned with the diffusion of innovations, following clues established by Everett Rogers (1961; see also Miles 1964) and operating largely within Parsons's category of expressive symbols. Our analysis must, however, take us further than this. Classically, studies of innovations necessarily make assumptions about expressive beliefs and concentrate on those mechanisms that transmit changes and the reactions to them. Typically, therefore, the research concentrates on structural situations, spelling out taxonomies of structural compliance and resistance to particular innovations. The gain is primarily in our knowledge of the variety of localized structures with which innovators have to deal. There are, however, two problems at the level of innovation which are rarely examined: the sources of the innovations, and the higher institutional decision-making processes which determine which innovations should be filtered through to schools and other educational institutions. If we had studies of the first, they would clearly extend our knowledge at the level of existential beliefs; studies of the second would involve aspects of evaluative beliefs. What might be done is indicated by the controversy over the 'new' mathematics teaching in schools.

The most comprehensive research on mathematics teaching is that done by the innovators themselves: the Schools Council and Nuffield Foundation mathematics curriculum projects. Their primary interests are twofold: in the type of mathematics to be transmitted and in the pedagogical effectiveness of the curriculum innovations adopted. The basic 'research' conducted is of two kinds: discussions between academic mathematicians on the dimensions of the subject (essentially an exercise in determining the current state in expressive beliefs) and the testing of various syllabuses and teaching methods in schools. This

latter research has essentially been psychological, concerning itself with the effectiveness of the innovations on *individuals*.<sup>4</sup> It is clear, however, that many people, including some mathematicians, are critical of the whole venture. Two criticisms are particularly interesting for our purposes. The first of these, provided by C. P. Ormell (1969), argues that the motivation for the new mathematics was basically ideological: those who were concerned with introducing innovations not only innovated in the content of the discipline but did so in teaching methods and the classroom structure as well. The argument is therefore that the changes operated at all cultural levels: changes in the nature of the discipline were used by people with particular educational ideologies to push through changes in the expressive symbols of pedagogy and thus presumably to effect changes in evaluative symbols. The second criticism, by S. H. Froome (1969), while making a similar statement about ideology (though the catalyst for particular changes is seen as provided by *Sputnik One*), is centrally concerned about the actual classroom situations in which the innovations are to take place, as well as questioning the 'relevance' of the new maths for equipping the child with 'the practical number sense which is so necessary for the conduct of everyday affairs'. Three points are important here: the impact of national evaluative beliefs on curriculum reform; the practical problems of classroom teaching; and the relationship between particular forms of pedagogy and life-styles. Thus while Ormell's criticisms are essentially internal to the educational system, Froome's reflect a conflict between societal demands and pedagogical structures.

Unfortunately there is no research geared specifically to the answering of any of these criticisms, though there is sufficient evidence to suggest hypotheses that might be tested. Broadly (if we keep with the new maths), the following issues seem to be relevant to the study of curriculum innovation. At the level of expressive beliefs there are several issues on the state of knowledge and the genesis of knowledge paradigms. These are concerned with the overlapping areas of disciplines: To what extent are developments in mathematics internal to the discipline's own logic? To what extent are they directly related to innovations in other fields (e.g. computing science, physics, or economics)? To what extent are these other disciplines transformed by mathematical developments? And what are the institutional structures that encapsulate the disciplinary preoccupations?<sup>5</sup> Additionally, it is impossible to pose these questions within purely

educational categories. Mathematical research is conducted not only within institutions which can be technically classified as 'educational'; it is also conducted for government research agencies, industry, and commerce. Depending on the definition adopted of educational culture (and for practical analytical purposes it should be a narrow one), the relationship between societal culture and educational culture is obviously an important point here. The distinction between mathematics as an educational expressive belief and as a societal expressive belief is presumably that, in Britain, in the former the subject content is 'purer' than in the latter. The crucial problem is the extent to which the institutional conditions form the preconditions for research and the development of discipline content and boundedness. The distinction between the paradigms accepted by an entire discipline and the career structures, research facilities, and academic or industrial structures within which the whole exercise takes place has been implied by Thomas Kuhn (1962). It might also be added that for most disciplines there are three levels of significance: a national level of discipline content and paradigm; a social structural level of careers, research, and control; and an international level of paradigm and research which any discipline has to take note of. Dominant societies, such as the United States, may be less affected by weaker societies, but no weak society can afford to ignore dominant ones if it wishes to stay in the premier league of research.

It is clear that, in a subject like mathematics, the gap between high-level research and theory construction and its transmission through schools will be very great indeed. The pressure to introduce new curricula will probably come from academics and teachers who have received their training at universities and from sections of industry and commerce whose own work is heavily influenced by aspects of mathematics. If this is so, the problems that arise are simply those of devising a new school curriculum to meet the academic/commercial revolutions in conceptions of what the discipline does. In practice, however, the innovations operate on three fronts: at the level of the syllabus, at the level of the teaching methods employed, and at the level of theories of the whole purpose of education. *Why* this is so is an important subject for research.

At the level of evaluative beliefs in education we are clearly in Dewey/Leavis/Arnold territory. Our basic problem is to be able to specify the kinds of belief and how they relate to the controlling institutional structures (e.g. Hoare 1965; Davies 1969). In the case of

particular disciplines the problem is to be able to specify the beliefs as they affect the discipline ('modern maths does not introduce basic discipline, which is the foundation of a well-ordered society') and the extent to which these beliefs dominate educational decisions. At the level of expressive symbols the mathematical problem is twofold: the symbols intrinsic to mathematics as a discipline and the tangential symbol systems (language, mass media, etc.). The most significant problems here are related to teaching method and the curriculum itself. If we are to deal with a curriculum innovation the problems must be akin to those posed in linguistics, i.e. the conflict between symbols that are superficially related to social reality and those that respond to 'deeper' structures.<sup>6</sup> At this level of analysis, however, the equipment has been so little developed as to be virtually non-existent. But the problems it raises are crucial for all educational innovation.

An example is provided by Edward T. Hall in *The Silent Language* (1959), where socially rooted conceptions of time and space in non-industrial countries are assessed against the introduction of 'modern' policies. Hall distinguishes between three levels of culture—the formal, the informal, and the technical. To a certain extent technical culture approximates to Parsons's expressive beliefs and aspects of expressive symbols, while formal and informal cultures refer to evaluative beliefs and symbols. Thus technical culture deals with experimentation and accepted 'knowledge' in an academic or technological sense, formal culture with established values and norms, and informal culture with unintended aspects of socialization. Like Parsons, Hall is providing a taxonomy for isolating aspects of culture, though his emphasis is probably closer to the problems we wish to identify in education. For example, mathematics involves a technical culture (symbols and arguments needed by mathematicians in research and experiment), a formal culture (concepts of number, symmetry, and logic built into daily life), and informal culture (the *ad hoc* measurements used to account for particular situations: e.g. 'it's not very far to town', 'the field is square and not very big'). Some of the important sociological questions in learning processes are the extent to which thought processes of different societies and sections of societies connect the formal and informal cultures and what blockages and openings affect the acquisition of a technical culture. A considerable body of research exists in educational psychology on these very questions, though very little of it taking account of sociocultural variables. The individualistic problems of learning are now well documented:

unfortunately, for many of the major policy questions in education these are far from adequate in providing a framework for explanation of learning processes. For instance, the steady retreat from science cannot be explained in terms of individual difficulties in mastering the subject, or even in terms of the failure of institutions to provide courses. It seems much more likely that the informal and formal aspects of scientific culture are strongly affected by evaluative concepts of the relationships between societal norms, values, and science, which provide a blockage to acceptance of the technical culture of science as a desirable career objective. Educational research should be directed towards teasing out these relationships.

#### CULTURE, STRUCTURE, AND EDUCATION

It is obvious from the above remarks that educational sociology concerned with knowledge and culture can be pitched at different levels. It is also obvious that there is no *prima facie* evidence for postulating a one-to-one relationship between forms of culture and social structures. The cultural forms that operate in any society may be directly related to structures—and they will certainly generate or be produced by structures—but there is little evidence that the existing structures of any society in question are *responsible* for specific cultural acts, though they may help to perpetuate them. What is necessary in any analysis which aims to specify the likely relationships between culture and structure is to postulate the forms of culture that are indigenous, those that are derived, and those that are produced out of a fusion of the indigenous and the derived. At the same time, it is useful to be able to specify the power relations which maintain levels of cultural dominance. Ultimately this last question may be the most significant.

In our fourfold definition of culture we have so far assumed that Parsons's distinctions between expressive and evaluative beliefs and symbols are valid. Before proceeding to an elaboration of the culture-structure relations let us examine these definitions a little more closely so that they may be usefully related to structures and to educational culture. The analytical distinctions between expressive and evaluative beliefs and expressive and evaluative symbols do not specify the relationships that *might* exist and therefore they provide a somewhat static mode of culture. It might be argued that the *particular* combinations in specific societal contexts will themselves provide the

necessary explanation of variance and of processes. Alternatively it might be argued that explanations of variance might be found in the structures themselves. Both these approaches are unsatisfactory in that the first posits description as explanation while the second offers no valid argument for understanding culture as a consequence of structure, or for providing for culture as an active agent. The main problem, which the Parsons model fails to account for, is whether we are concerned with explanations of *total* culture-structure relations or with explanations of particular segments of relations. For example, if we are attempting to account for the diffusion of educational innovations within a particular structural context, we have certain specific things to account for before sets of hypotheses can be advanced or theory constructed (Miles 1964). These would include the sources of the innovations, whether external or internal to the system concerned.<sup>7</sup> With these variables specified we would then be able to examine the importance of teachers, pupils, and subcultural inputs in relation to the process. Explanations of resistance to change could be in terms of either the sources of innovation or subcultural variables. As René Dumont has shown in his studies of agricultural innovation, many innovations are introduced which have little recognition of either the structures or the cultures affected: innovations may fail or be rejected because they *cannot* be successful within a particular system's own terms (Dumont 1962; 1964), or indeed, in some cases, on any terms.

A further illustration serves to indicate the problems of the relationships that may operate between forms of culture in a particular context of societal change. One of the problems in education, noticed by Durkheim (1961) in his study of the French educational system, is that of the relationship between the academic (expressive belief) and pedagogical (expressive symbol) systems and the moral and ethical aspects (evaluative beliefs) in educational development. The same set of questions is present in the cultural writings of Antonio Gramsci (1965) and Leon Trotsky (1950). Gramsci sees the aristocratic classical tradition in Italian education as representing conceptions of cultural totality (literature-philosophy-law-history-language) which are not easily replaced by the instrumental education of Mussolini's Italy: the workers will more explicitly develop a critique of a society based on classical education than of one in which education is instrumental. With Trotsky the problem is somewhat different: What does a revolution do to develop its own art? Trotsky distinguishes between the technical aspects of pre-revolutionary art (the craftsmanship or expressive

symbols), the ideology (or evaluative beliefs), the accumulated discipline-knowledge of art and literature (the expressive beliefs), and the class consciousness of the workers (evaluative symbols). In Trotsky's sense, therefore, ideology may be derived from the praxis of real-life situations (which it presumably is for the bourgeoisie) or from identification with a different set of life-situations (the left intelligentsia identifying with the workers). The problem of generating a revolutionary art is that of being able to distinguish between the purely ideological and the technical, between the artefacts and craftsmanship involved in a culture and the ideologies that have hitherto influenced its development. In other words, for Trotsky all art and literature is the product of a power situation in which the dominant elite has control of the technical culture, but there are major parts of this technical culture which persist independently of the power mechanisms. If this is so, and there is every reason to believe that it is,<sup>8</sup> the four categories of culture require further elaboration.

The analytical distinction between the categories must require at least two sets of structural variations, controlling and subordinate, though, as Gramsci rightly points out, cultural lags may allow for the culture of a declining elite to coexist with that of the nascent elite, with subordinate structures drawing on both for their points of reference. In the sphere of expressive beliefs, for example, it is important in most countries outside Russia and America to conceive of two levels of academic activity—those acting independently of the major metropolitan research centres and constituting a national elite tradition, and those that are totally submerged by the metropolitan dominance.<sup>9</sup> Political science, for example, can still be viewed in Britain in some universities in its vintage constitutional history/political philosophy phase, but it is clear that to be of academic significance it must now operate in the context of the American output if only to demolish the dominant American paradigms. Within a non-metropolitan country a subordinate but nascent elite may attempt to gain esteem and power by appealing to metropolitan research and teaching procedure for legitimization of its activities. Only in certain specialized, national areas of research and teaching may it be possible to ignore these pressures (English literature is a possible example). Academic pursuits that ignore metropolitan pressures and experience may be noble in stressing their autonomy, but they are likely to be crassly bad and relatively amateur. The question of making a distinctive national contribution will lie, not in resisting the technical culture, but, as both Gramsci and

Trotsky emphasize, in adapting the ideological/power frameworks within which the technical cultures are placed. (It should be noted in passing that although Stalin failed to take Trotsky's advice in relation to art and literature he was obliged to do so in economics and industrial technology.)

An interesting test case of this thesis is currently found in Canada. As a colonial invention, Canadian educational institutions inherited the traditions of France and Britain. In various parts of the country traces of these historical influences still persist: universities in Quebec City are still largely French in their organization and pedagogical assumptions, and a very few others (Queen's in Ontario, UBC in British Columbia) have elements of the Scottish or English traditions. Fundamentally, however, these traces exist more as cultural museums than as living and dynamic influences; the characteristic feature of Canadian university education is that it is dominated by American structures, learning paradigms, and systems of pedagogy. It is difficult to argue that there is anything 'Canadian' about all this. Canadian universities are neither more nor less liberal than American ones, Canadian social science has developed no specific methodologies or conceptual frameworks, and Canadian science is entirely derivative of America. Of course it would be surprising if this were not so: 70 per cent of Canadian capital is wholly American controlled and Canadian 'prosperity' is almost entirely due to American investment. If the Canadian economy is characterized by 'branch-plant' relationships, it is paralleled in education by 'branch-plant' universities (Levitt 1970). Before Canadian research can even begin to deal with Canadian society in any meaningful way it has to receive and understand the dominant technologies and ideologies. But beyond that it might reformulate these cultural influences in its own way, and in a way appropriate to understanding Canadian society. Canada is a colony of the USA which currently is steadily absorbing all the metropolitan culture. Ultimately, however, Canada will survive only by turning this culture on its head; but it must understand the culture to be able to do this. Given that it has no technical culture of its own, Canada would be foolhardy to reject American culture in the interests of preserving the 'dead' French and English elements. Trotsky's analogy holds: to produce a 'Canadian' culture, Canadians have to accept the technical culture of the USA and to provide an ideological interpretation appropriate to their country's colonial status. To remain with the technology of a dead

imperialism is to risk technological and ideological control by US imperialism.

If the Parsons framework is to be useful, then, it has to operate within a definition of structures which allows for: (i) controlling and subordinate structures; (ii) structures related to forms of culture (universities, political parties, organizations of the mass media, and the like); and (iii) structures related to patterns of evaluative symbols. In this last case it seems more useful to conceive of culture and knowledge in the sense indicated by Alfred Schutz (1967): that is, that the evaluative symbols generated by any particular social group are a result of the interaction of other aspects of culture and structure. The problem, as he demonstrates at length, is to specify how particular groups organize this material. Fundamental sociological research has often conceived of this problem as an aspect of the study of socialization; it seems more centrally a study of interacting structures. Culture, for Schutz, is a consequence of these interactions: the more varied and complex my experience of different structures, the more 'personal' my world-view is likely to be.

For the definitions of culture and knowledge to be useful, therefore, we require the components to be related to each other in the following ways. Expressive beliefs are related to evaluative beliefs in the sense that the political context of expressive beliefs assumes both a definition of the power structure and a substantive control mechanism to allow research to take place. The systems of expressive beliefs may generate autonomous ideologies, or they may be subjected to societal ideological pressures. The systems of expressive symbols are those of the evaluative symbols by which the knowledge is socially apprehended.

Thus the crucial issues relate to the structural relations. Even though it may be possible, as with certain arguments about 'tradition', to see culture transmitted as an independent entity, ultimately the questions that arise in specifying cultural organization and change are those of structure. The arguments about the 'heritage of reason on which our civilization is based' or about the 'values' of a 'classical' as opposed to 'instrumental' education are ultimately arguments about the social structures that interlock to produce particular educational ends. The debate on the new maths, for example, may be seen as one generated by the conflict between three different structures: the research structures, which require openness and flexibility of approach; the pedagogical structures, which have normally been characterized by rote-

learning and discipline; and the occupational structures, which are characterized by instrumentalism.

In his book *Ideology and Organization in Communist China*, Frantz Schurmann (1966) suggests that societies are always organized on the basis of a resolution of conflicts between the belief systems, the organizational/control systems, and the communal/domestic systems. Even the belief systems are based on structural conflicts within the Party and its agencies; even 'pure' theory is derived from earlier levels of practice (in this case those of Lenin's and Stalin's Russia). If last year's praxis becomes the pure theory of today, the purity is always being tempered by today's praxis. How the issues are resolved is directly related to the controlling structures of a society. In Britain the educational system may not be as simply dichotomized as Gramsci saw the Italian system: the values of traditional education may be here (with some of the institutions), but all of the rest is not instrumental in an occupational sense.<sup>10</sup>

If this is so, then the analysis of educational culture must reformulate both the Parsonian and the conflict models. The central feature of an educational system is the control of knowledge. This control is both societal and international as well as internal to the educational institutions themselves. What a system of pedagogy and research misses out is as significant as what it puts in, because the omissions will largely illuminate the operations of the power mechanisms. We can only know what any one particular system misses out by inter-societal comparisons. The problem, however, once we have located the power structures, is to decide how the power is used to control knowledge. Parsons provides definitions and little else; we need more than definitions, and characteristically as sociologists we inhibit ourselves in studying education (particularly at the university level) because we are embarrassed at studying ourselves. At the risk of taking up a partisan stance (but we all do, sooner or later) I should like to suggest the most fruitful course of action.

#### EDUCATION IN BRITAIN: SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR A FUTURE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE

Some of the confusion accompanying the contemporary debate on British education can be seen as stemming from real problems in the definitions of education in its societal context. In terms of the Parsons model, one of the most explicit criticisms of contemporary educational

trends, particularly from academics, is that educational culture is constantly under pressure from societal culture to be instrumental in relation to the occupational and policy goals of business and government. In a much-publicized critique of the University of Warwick, Edward Thompson (1970) has documented the extent to which one university has been monopolized by business interests. In other contexts universities have been accused of being over-concerned with perpetuating the career structures of their staff, of being victims of a popular pressure for more university places for teenagers, of being factories for the manufacture of career degrees, and of being pawns in an international student/revolutionary conspiracy. Similarly, schools are seen as being run by educational bureaucracies, teachers, and parents in consort with liberal intellectuals, the Department of Education and Science, and the conspiracies of academics who monopolize university entrance examinations. All or none of these judgements may be based on fact. What is clear is that our research has done very little to reveal the facts. To my knowledge there is no research into the operations of the Schools Council and Nuffield programmes (though the Humanities Curriculum Project of the Schools Council goes a little way towards providing a sociological critique of its own activities); there is almost no research on comparative educational decision-making in LEAs, universities, or anywhere else; and research on teaching and teachers is about five years old. As for research into the policies—research and pedagogical—of universities, the most we have been entitled to expect is that which investigates situations over a hundred years old (Rothblatt 1968; Davie 1961).

What is clear in the British educational system is that the relations between different components of educational culture are mediated through sets of educational and social structures. Even if a framework for analysis is kept as simple as possible, the range of combined influences might be in terms of disciplines, ideologies, communications, and norms, or evaluative symbols of subcultures. Alternatively, the disciplines might be strongly influenced by secular demands and the educational ideologies be dominated by religious ones; internal communications systems might be strongly influenced by external ones (e.g. the mass media or language systems), and internal evaluative symbols be directly derived from external ones (or be unable, as with British students, to make the external social relations their career situations seem to require).

The pressures on the educational system are therefore of many

kinds, though the political-economic must be the most significant because they bring with them money and jobs. It might be argued that the pressures to base education on non-discipline, leisure-time activity pursuits in the schools are a direct response to pressure from socialization and evaluative symbol strategists who see education as primarily related to daily experience and not to participating in an elite cultural heritage. The success of this depends on alternative pressures. (It is perhaps not surprising that primary and secondary modern schools have been the most obvious areas for this kind of experimentation, where the career heat is off.)

For an analysis of the English system, then, we must *at least* have some conception of the controlling power structures both within education and in society at large. This is not simply because we need to specify the ideologies but because any model of society must be concerned with subordinate and controlling units<sup>11</sup> before it can begin to pose questions of culture-structure relations. The Schools Council projects for example, though clearly not politically important in determining the curriculum, are valuable as reference points for teachers and local authorities as status objects and as indicators of academic trends. Any study of examinations and curricula must therefore be capable of specifying the relationships between such institutions as the Schools Council and Examining Boards, as well as of moving from the bottom by considering the degrees to which patterns of socialization respond to or reject these dominant structures.

The central areas of any sociology of power lie in the decision-making processes and in face-to-face relations. In education the face-to-face relationships are normally such that they camouflage the decision-making structures. Decision-making in education involves what goes into courses, what relationship the courses have to each other, what systems of rewards and sanctions should be adopted, how time is distributed, and so on. Face-to-face relations involve how these decisions are transmitted to students and teaching staff. The entire exercise may be compared to a series of masques and anti-masques (Davies 1973). What goes on behind the charades, the pageants, and the masquerades is more important than the play-acting, but the structure of the play is what the various individuals and groups concerned use to make sense of these relationships. In some cases they may make no sense at all, while in others the masques and anti-masques may fit only too well. Thus Bernstein's types of curriculum structure approximate to the masques, while Gramsci's analysis of the develop-

ment of counter-cultures is essentially about which anti-masques may make sense in specific situations of social action.<sup>12</sup> Institutional education, as much as politics or the mass media or religion, is an attempt to initiate students into the rituals of a dominant culture. As such it is the prerogative of a controlling elite. We need to study how effective the entire exercise is and which masques are provided for which subordinate groups, and with what results. For this exercise our theorists should be not Parsons but Machiavelli, not Mannheim but Gramsci, not Leavis but Schutz.

### Notes

- 1 *The Tablet*, in a leader reviewing and applauding the first Black Paper.
- 2 For symbolic interaction see the work of Bernstein referred to above and below, but also that of Erving Goffman (1962), Edwin M. Lemert (1964), and Alfred Willener (1970). The classic theoretical texts are by Alfred Schutz, and probably *The Problem of Social Reality* (1967) is the most important. Two other texts of central relevance to theory and methodology are those by Stanford M. Lyman & Marvin B. Scott (1970) and H. Garfinkel (1967).
- 3 But some of the French writing is very suggestive. See, in particular, P. Bourdieu & J. C. Passeron (1964); P. Bourdieu, J. C. Passeron & M. de Saint Martin (1965); the special double issue of the *Revue Française de sociologie*, 1967/8; and P. Bourdieu & J. C. Passeron (1970).
- 4 For some basic documentation see the Mathematical Association (1968).
- 5 Some of these questions *can* be posed in purely epistemological terms as in Philip Phenix (1964) and Benjamin S. Bloom (1956). But the sociological aim should be to postulate the ways in which social structures are important factors in knowledge development.
- 6 See Noam Chomsky (1964) for a major statement.
- 7 For a study which posits some organizational variables in the study of planned change, with particular reference to developing countries, see Garth W. Jones (1969).
- 8 On power mechanisms in the international sphere see J.-J. Servan-Schreiber (1967) and G. Lagos (1960); in the national sphere, Stephen & Hilary Rose (1970).
- 9 For this use of metropolitan—i.e. designating American or any other economic/technological superiority—see A. Gunder Frank (1966).
- 10 In terms of the possible combinations of structural properties in the educational system it seems worth examining some of the models

- devised to understand plural cultures in developing areas. In particular, see M. G. Smith (1965; 1966). See also L. A. Despres (1967).
- 11 Alvin Gouldner's 'Reciprocity and Autonomy in Functional Theory' (1959) is perhaps the most explicit theoretical statement.
- 12 For a coherent discussion of seventeenth-century English masques on which this analogy is based see Allardyce Nicoll (1937) and Inga-Stina Ewbank (1967).

## References

- ARNOLD, MATTHEW. 1954. *Culture and Anarchy*. London: John Murray.
- BERGER, P. L. & LUCKMANN, T. 1966. *The Social Construction of Reality*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday; London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1967.
- BERNSTEIN, B. 1967. Open Schools, Open Society? *New Society*, 14 September, 10 (259): 351-3.
- BLOOM, BENJAMIN S. (ed.) 1956. *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*. London: Longmans.
- BOURDIEU, P. & PASSERON, J. C. 1964. *Les Héritiers*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.
- 1970. *La Reproduction*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.
- BOURDIEU, P., PASSERON, J. C. & DE SAINT MARTIN, M. 1965. *Rapport pédagogique et communication*. Paris: Mouton.
- CAVE, RONALD G. 1968. *All Their Future*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- CHOMSKY, NAOMI. 1964. *Cartesian Linguistics*. New York: Harper & Row.
- COCKBURN, A. & BLACKBURN, R. (eds.) 1969. *Student Power*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- COX, C. B. & DYSON, A. E. (eds.) 1969a. *Fight for Education: A Black Paper*. London: Critical Quarterly Society.
- (eds.) 1969b. *Black Paper Two: The Crisis in Education*. London: Critical Quarterly Society.
- DAVIE, G. E. 1961. *The Democratic Intellect*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; Chicago: Aldine.
- DAVIES, D. I. 1969. Education and Social Science. *New Society*, 8 May, 13 (345): 710-11.
- 1970. The Management of Knowledge. *Sociology* 4 (1). Reprinted in M. F. D. Young (ed.), *Knowledge and Control*. London & New York: Collier-Macmillan, 1971, pp. 267-88.
- 1973. *Political Masques*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- DESPRES, L. A. 1967. *Cultural Pluralism and Nationalist Politics in British Guiana*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- DUMONT, R. 1962. *L'Afrique Noire est mal partie*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- 1964. *Lands Alive*. London: Merlin Press.

- DURKHEIM, E. 1961. *Moral Education*. (Translated by E. K. Wilson & H. Schnurer.) New York: Free Press.
- EWBANK, INGA-STINA. 1967. 'These Petty Devices': A Study of Masques in Plays. In *A Book of Masques*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- FRANK, A. G. 1966. *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*. New York: Monthly Review.
- FROOME, S. H. 1969. The Mystique of Modern Maths. In C. B. Cox & A. E. Dyson (eds.) (1969b).
- GARFINKEL, H. 1967. *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- GOFFMAN, E. 1962. *Encounters*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.
- 1967. *Interaction Ritual*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.
- GOULDNER, ALVIN. 1959. Reciprocity and Autonomy in Functional Theory. In L. Gross (ed.), *Symposium on Sociological Theory*. New York: Harper.
- GRAMSCI, A. 1965. In Search of the Educational Principle. *New Left Review* 32, July/August.
- HALL, EDWARD T. 1959. *The Silent Language*. New York: Fawcett Publications.
- HAUSER, ARNOLD. 1969. *The Social History of Art*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- HOARE, QUINTIN. 1965. Education: Programmes and Men. *New Left Review* 32, July/August.
- HORNSEY COLLEGE OF ART, STUDENTS AND STAFF. 1969. *The Hornsey Affair*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- JONES, GARTH W. 1969. *Planned Organizational Change*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- KUHN, THOMAS S. 1962. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- LAGOS, G. 1960. *International Stratification and Underdeveloped Countries*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- LEMERT, EDWIN, M. 1964. *Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- LEVITT, KARI. 1970. *Silent Surrender*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.
- LYMAN, STANFORD M. & SCOTT, MARVIN B. 1970. *A Sociology of the Absurd*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- MANNHEIM, K. 1936. *Ideology and Utopia*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- MARTIN, D. (ed.) 1969. *Anarchy and Culture*. London: Routledge.
- 1970. Black, Red and White. *Encounter*, February, pp. 77-84.
- MATHEMATICAL ASSOCIATION. 1968. *Mathematical Projects in British Schools*. London.
- MILES, M. (ed.) 1964. *Innovation in Education*. New York: Teachers College.

- NICOLL, ALLARDYCE. 1937. *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage*. London: Harrap.
- ORMELL, C. P. 1969. The Ideology and the Reform of School Mathematics. *Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Philosophy of Education Society*. London.
- PARSONS, T. 1951. *The Social System*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press; London: Tavistock/Routledge, 1952.
- PERRY, LESLIE R. 1969. *Bertrand Russell, A. S. Neill, Homer Lane, W. H. Kilpatrick*. London & New York: Collier-Macmillan.
- PHENIX, PHILIP. 1964. *Realms of Meaning*. New York: McGraw-Hill. *Revue Française de Sociologie*. 1967/8. Special double issue, 8/9.
- ROBINSON, E. 1968. *The New Polytechnics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- ROGERS, EVERETT R. 1961. *The Diffusion of Innovations*. New York: Free Press.
- ROSE, STEPHEN & HILARY. 1970. *Science and Society*. London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press.
- ROTHBLATT, SHELDON. 1968. *The Revolution of the Dons*. London: Faber & Faber.
- SERVAN-SCHREIBER, J.-J. 1967. *Le Défi Américain*. Paris: Éditions Denoel. English translation, *The American Challenge*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1968.
- SCHURMANN, H. F. 1966. *Ideology and Organization in Communist China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- SCHUTZ, ALFRED. 1967. *The Problem of Social Reality*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- SMITH, M. G. 1965. *The Plural Society in British West Indies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 1966. A Structural Approach to Comparative Politics. In D. Easton (ed.), *Varieties of Political Theory*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- THOMPSON, E. P. 1970. *Warwick University Ltd*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- TROTSKY, L. 1950. *Literature and Revolution*. New York: Russell & Russell; London: Cresset, 1960.
- TROW, M. 1969. Elite and Popular Functions in American Higher Education. In W. R. Niblett (ed.), *Higher Education: Demand and Response*. London: Tavistock.
- WILLENER, ALFRED. 1970. *The Action-Image of Society*. London: Tavistock; New York: Pantheon, 1971.



Taylor & Francis  
Taylor & Francis Group  
<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

MICHAEL F. D. YOUNG

## *Curricula and the Social Organization of Knowledge*<sup>1,2</sup>

---

The almost total neglect by sociologists of how knowledge is selected, organized, and assessed in educational institutions (or anywhere else for that matter) hardly needs documenting. Some answers to the question why this has happened, and an attempt to show that this neglect arises more out of a narrow definition of the major schools of sociological thought (in particular, those of Marx, Weber, and Durkheim) than out of their inadequacies, may provide a useful context from which to suggest the directions in which such work might develop. This paper explicitly does not set out to offer a general theory of culture, or to be a direct contribution to the sociology of knowledge; it has the more limited aim of trying to suggest ways in which questions may be framed about how knowledge is organized and transmitted in curricula. However, it would be my contention that if such questions became the foci of research in the sociology of education, then we might well see significant advances in the sociology of knowledge in particular, and in sociological theory in general. The paper, then, has four parts:

1. The changing focus of the public debates about education in the last twenty years.
2. An examination of the limitations of existing approaches to the sociology of education and the sociology of knowledge in generating either fruitful theories or fruitful research in the field of curricula.
3. An outline of some of the possibilities of the Marxist, Weberian, and Durkheimian traditions.
4. A suggested approach for future work.

### **PUBLIC DEBATES ABOUT EDUCATION**

One can only speculate on the explanations, but it is clearly possible to trace three stages in the public debates on education in the last

fifteen to twenty years: the foci have been *equality of opportunity* and *wastage of talent, organization* and *selection*, and the *curriculum*. In each case one can distinguish the political, educational, and socio-logical components. Though both sets of distinctions—between foci and between components—are oversimplified and schematic, they do provide a useful context for the problems posed in this paper; the second set of distinctions refers not to the content of issues, but to the groups involved and the parts they played.

In the first stage, the facts of educational *wastage* were documented by the Early Leaving and Crowther Reports (and later by Robbins) and the class nature of the *lack of opportunity* was demonstrated by Floud, Halsey & Martin (1956). Though the sociological research largely complemented the public reports and was tacitly accepted as a basis for an expansionist policy by successive Ministers, it also threw up a new set of questions concerning the social nature of selection, and the organization of secondary education in particular. Thus the second phase of public debate from the mid-sixties focused on the issues of *selection* and *comprehensive reorganization*. That the debate now became an issue of political conflict is an indication that the policies involved, such as the abolition of selective schools, threatened certain significant and powerful interests in society—particularly the staff of career-grammar, direct-grant, and public schools, and the parents of the children who expected to go to such schools. The manifest inefficiency and the less well-documented injustice of the 11-plus made its abolition a convenient political commitment for reformist politicians. This debate was paralleled by an increasing interest by sociologists in all kinds of organizations and the possibility of applying the more general models of 'organization theory' to schools and colleges. It is only in the last two or three years that the focus of debate has moved again from *organization* to *curriculum*, and again one can only speculate on the reasons. Four might be worth exploring; the first three, particularly, in the context of the kinds of project for curriculum reform sponsored by the Schools Council:

1. *Government pressure* for more and better technologists and scientists.
2. *The commitment to raising the school-leaving age*—though many teachers are opposed to this, inevitably it forces them to reconstruct curricula for the large number of pupils who they probably feel are at school a year too long already.

3. *Comprehensive amalgamations*—many grammar schools, with teachers who for years have effectively produced good A-level results, are suddenly faced with pupils who do not accept the value of the grammar-school curriculum. This poses them with acute problems of finding alternatives.

4. *Student participation*—it is undeniable that, as the demands of students in colleges and universities have moved from the arena of union and leisure activities to matters of discipline and administrative authority and finally to a concern to participate in the planning of the structure and content of courses and their assessment, staff have themselves begun to re-examine the principles underlying their curricula, which have for so long been taken for granted. It is more rather than less likely that this pressure from the students will increase and will extend to the senior forms of schools. Perhaps the most dramatic demonstration of this trend is seen in the Negro students in the USA, who are demanding courses in Black Studies.

Again the public debate has taken place on two levels, the political and the educational—though such a distinction is necessarily an oversimplification.

At the political level the protagonists have been the Marxist Left and the Conservative Right. The Left criticizes contemporary curricula for ‘mystifying the students’ and ‘fragmenting knowledge into compartments’, and thus, by denying students the opportunity to understand society as a totality, for acting as effective agents of social control. The Right criticizes progressive teaching methods, unstreaming, and the various curricular innovations in English, history, and maths, as well as the expansion of the ‘soft’ social sciences. In the name of preserving ‘our cultural heritage’ and providing opportunities for the ‘most able’ to excel, it seeks to conserve institutional support for the educational tradition it believes in—particularly the public and direct-grant grammar schools. What is significant for the sociology of education is that, in spite of attempts, the politics of the curriculum has remained apart from Westminster. Except for compulsory religious instruction, the headmaster or principal’s formal autonomy over the curriculum is not questioned. It is as if by what has been called the ‘politics of non-decision-making’, by means of which the range of issues for party political debate is limited, consideration of the curriculum is avoided (except for broad discussions about the ‘need’ for more scientists). There are sufficient parallels in other contexts to suggest that the avoidance of such discussion is an indication of the

interrelation of the existing organization of knowledge and the distribution of power, the consideration of which might not be comfortable in an era of consensus politics.

The context of the 'educationalist's' debate about the curriculum has been different and inevitably less contentious. Examples of issues raised are: early tracking into the sciences or arts; over-specialization and neglect of applied science in the VIth form; as well as the possibility of introducing new knowledge areas such as the social sciences. On another level, what has been labelled the 'tyranny of subjects' typical of much secondary education has been opposed by suggestions for integrated curricula based on 'themes' and 'topics'. Two other features of this debate should be referred to: the stream of working papers and proposals issued by the Schools Council, which we return to again later in the paper, and the critiques put forward by the philosophers of education. Starting from certain *a priori* assumptions about the organization (or forms) of knowledge (Hirst 1965), the philosophers focus their criticism either on new topic-based syllabi which neglect these 'forms of understanding', or on new curricula for the so-called 'less able' or 'Newsom child', which, they argue, are consciously restricting such children from access to those forms of understanding which in the philosopher's sense are 'education'. The problem with this kind of critique is that it is based on an absolute conception of a set of distinct forms of knowledge which correspond closely to the traditional areas of the academic curriculum, and thus justifies, rather than examines, what are no more than the socio-historical constructs of a particular time.

In the debate on the curriculum, unlike those on *equality* and *organization*, sociologists, except as political protagonists, have remained silent. We have virtually no theoretical perspectives<sup>3</sup> or research to suggest explorations of how curricula, which are no less social inventions than are political parties or new towns, arise, persist, and change, and what the social interests and values involved might be—an analogy with the consensus politics of Westminster is not difficult to see.

#### LIMITATIONS OF EXISTING APPROACHES

##### *Sociology of Education and the Curriculum*

Having mapped out the context of the debates on the curriculum, let

us turn to the sociology of education and consider why its contribution has been so negligible. Sociologists seem to have forgotten, to paraphrase Raymond Williams,<sup>4</sup> that education is not a product like cars or bread, but a selection and organization of the available knowledge at a particular time, which involves conscious or unconscious choices. It would seem that it is or should be the central task of the sociology of education to relate these principles of selection and organization, which underlie curricula, to their institutional setting and to the wider social structure. I want to suggest that we can account for the failure of sociologists to do this by examining the ideological and methodological assumptions of the sociologists on the one hand, and the institutional context within which the sub-discipline developed on the other. However, perhaps as significant a fact as any in accounting for the limited conception of the sociology of education in Britain has been that, in spite of the interest in the field reported by respondents to Carter's recent survey (1967), *very few* sociologists have been involved in research in education.

Much British sociology in the late fifties, and the sociology of education in particular, drew its ideological perspective from Fabian socialism and its methodology from the demographic tradition of Booth and Rowntree. The resultant studies broadened the notion of poverty from lack of income to lack of education, which was seen as a significant part of working-class life-chances. The stark facts of the persistence of inequalities over decades in spite of the overall expansion of wealth do not need repeating, but what is important is that these studies, and those such as Douglas *et al.* (1968) and Plowden that followed, in their concern for increasing equality of opportunity, focused primarily on the characteristics of the failures, the early leavers and the drop-outs. By using a model of explanation of working-class school failure which justified reformist social policies, they were unable to examine the social nature of the education that the working-class children failed at—for instance, the peculiar content of the grammar-school curriculum for the sixteen-year-old, in which pupils are obliged to do up to ten different subjects which bear little relation either to each other or to anything else. It would not be doing these studies an injustice to say that they developed primarily from a sociological interest in stratification (in the Weberian sense), and in showing how the distribution of life-chances through education can be seen as an aspect of the class structure. It may clarify this point by looking at the implicit model more formally as follows:

<i>Assumptions</i>	<i>Independent variable</i>	<i>Dependent variable</i>
Criteria of educational success – curricula, methods, and evaluation	Social characteristics of the success and failure groups	Distribution of success and failure at various stages – stream, 11-plus, O level, etc.

Though this table illustrates the point in a crude and oversimplified form, it does show that within that framework the content of education is taken as a 'given' and is not subject to sociological inquiry—the 'educational failures' become a sort of 'deviant'. If, however, we reformulate the problem in a similar way to that suggested by Cicourel & Kitsuse (1963a) in their discussion of how official statistics on crime are arrived at, and ask what are the processes by which rates of educational success and failure come to be produced, we are led to ask questions about the context and definitions of success. In other words, the methods of assessment, selection, and organization of knowledge, and the principles underlying them, become our focus of study. One can see that this kind of reformulation would not have been consistent either with the methods or with the ideology of the studies referred to above. A similar point can be made about studies of schools and colleges as 'organizations'. They have either begun with 'models' from organization theory or compared schools with mental hospitals and prisons as 'people-processing organizations' (e.g. Hoyle 1965; Brim & Wheeler 1966). In neither case is it recognized that it is not only people but knowledge that is 'processed' in educational institutions, and that, unless what is 'knowledge' is to be taken as given, it is the interrelation of the two processes of organization that must form the beginning of such studies.<sup>5</sup>

To turn to the institutional context, it does seem clear that most of the teaching and published work in the sociology of education has taken place in colleges, institutes, and departments of education. It is only very recently that university departments of sociology have offered main options at either BSc or MSc level in this field. Thus the sociology of education has developed in institutions devoted to the 'academic' study of education where ten to fifteen years ago it hardly existed. We can pose the question as to how the new specialists legitimated their contribution to educational studies and justified their particular field of expertise—especially when the ex-school subject specialists and the philosophers had defined their area of competence as covering the curriculum and pedagogy. Not surprisingly, the sociologists mapped out new unexplored areas. They started from the social context of

education, with an emphasis on social class, relations to the economy, the occupational structure, and the family, and moved on to the consideration of schools as organizations and of pupil subcultures. Through an arbitrary division of labour which had no theoretical basis, this allowed the expansion of the sociology of education with the minimum of 'boundary disputes'. Inevitably this is speculation, but it does suggest an explanation of what appears to have been a consensus among sociologists and non-sociologists alike that the curriculum was not a field for sociological research.

Although this discussion has focused on British sociology, the points are equally applicable to the American situation. Functionalist theory, which has been the perspective of the majority of sociologists in the USA, presupposes at a very general level an agreed set of societal values or goals which define both the selection and the organization of knowledge in curricula. With one or two notable exceptions, even the best American work in the sociology of education has been concerned with the organization or processing of people (whether pupils or students), and takes the organization of knowledge for granted (Gross, Mason & McEachern 1958). It is important to stress that this limitation has also been characteristic of the work of those who have criticized the functionalist perspective (Cicourel & Kitsuse 1963b; Becker *et al.* 1961; 1968).

### *Sociology of Knowledge and the Curriculum*

It would have seemed that a field that was concerned with the social conditions influencing the development of knowledge, and with attempts to put ideas in their socio-historical setting, would have seen educational institutions and how knowledge is selected and organized in them as an obvious area for research. However, the main tradition, which stems from Marx, has been largely restricted to philosophies, political theories, and theologies. Three other strands which characterize this field indicate not its lack of potential but why the direction it has taken has made its contribution to the sociology of education minimal.

First, except in American work on the mass media, most writings have either, like Child<sup>6</sup> and Mannheim, been on the border of sociology and epistemology and been concerned primarily with the existential nature of knowledge, or, more recently, have been little more than overviews. In both cases, with the exception of Mannheim's essay on

'Conservative Thought', substantive empirical research has been eschewed. Second, there has been, since Marx, a persistent neglect of the cognitive dimension of the categories of thought and how they are socially constrained—studies have been restricted to the values, standards, and 'views of the world' of different groups. Third, and most importantly for the issues raised in this paper, the process of transmission, as *itself* a social condition, has not been studied. If it had, as we shall demonstrate in referring to Bourdieu's comments on Durkheim, the sociology of knowledge would inevitably have been concerned with the curricula through which knowledge is transmitted.

#### THE MARXIST, WEBERIAN, AND DURKHEIMIAN TRADITIONS

##### *The Marxist Contribution*

Marx himself wrote very little about education, though a notion of 'polytechnical education' which underlies the educational policy of the 'communist' countries can be found in one of his early speeches (Blake 1968). Though Marx does have a theory which at a very general level can account for changes in men's consciousness or categories of thought in terms of the changing means of production and the social relations they generate, he does not extend this to a systematic analysis of the educational system of his time comparable with his analysis of the economy. What, then, apart from the origins of the sociology of knowledge already referred to, is the Marxist contribution?

First, let me examine the Marxist view that the 'ruling ideas (about education) are the ideas of the ruling class', and the concept of 'bourgeois culture'; and, second, the developments of what might be called the neo-Marxist writing of Raymond Williams (1961) and C. Wright Mills (1942). Both the ruling-class idea and the concept of bourgeois culture may be true up to a point but on such a general level as to make them of limited value as starting-points for an analysis of elite curricula. They suggest no explanations of the dynamics and particular configurations of different curricula. The most interesting recent attempt to do this within a Marxist framework is Anderson's essay (1969). It is relatively easy and not very helpful to show that the examples of English culture that he takes are not representative and are selected to suit his thesis. However, a more important theoretical weakness is in his claim to be making a 'structural' analysis, which

seems unwittingly to exhibit the same flaws as most functional analyses of institutions. It emphasizes the interrelations of existing patterns of culture rather than seeing them as developing through the interaction of competing beliefs and ideas in the context of growing knowledge and a changing institutional setting. This structural analysis allows Anderson to treat cases that don't fit as 'deviant' and not in need of explanation: another parallel with functionalist theories.

With a neo-Marxist framework, Raymond Williams (1961) provides perhaps the most promising and (by sociologists) the most neglected approach to the study of the content of education. He distinguishes four sets of educational philosophies or ideologies which rationalize different emphases in the selection of the content of curricula, and relates these to the social position of those who hold them. He then suggests that curricula changes have reflected the relative power of the different groups over the last hundred years. His thesis can conveniently be summarized in tabular form (see below). He makes the significant point that the last of the foci was recognizable as legitimate only *outside* the formal educational system. It is paradoxical, when one considers the persisting subordinate position of the manual worker, that a populist educational ideology is now being 'resurrected' in student demands for participation in the planning of curricula of universities,<sup>7</sup> institutions that only about 3 per cent of the sons of manual workers ever reach.

<i>Ideology</i>	<i>Social position</i>	<i>Educational policies</i>
1. Liberal/conservative	Aristocracy/gentry	Non-vocational: the 'educated' man; an emphasis on character
2. Bourgeois	Merchant and professional classes	Higher vocational and professional courses: education as access to desired positions
3. Democratic	Radical reformers	Expansionist: 'education for all'
4. Populist/ proletarian	Working classes/ subordinate groups	Student relevance, choice, participation

In placing curricular developments in their historical context, Williams's approach is original and insightful. However, the inevitably schematic nature of the suggestions and the lack of substantive evidence leave us, at best, with speculations. It is only regrettable that in the eleven intervening years no sociologist has followed them up. Perhaps the two greatest weaknesses of the approach are, first, that

little attention is given to changing power relations between the groups which might account for curricular changes, and, second, one is left in doubt as to how the 'democratic' and 'bourgeois' ideologies arise from what would appear to be the same social group.

Other attempts have been made to develop more systematically the Marxist concept of ideology for empirical research, though not in the field of education. However, one study that warrants note in the context of this paper is Mills's (1942) early account of the professional ideology of the problem-oriented sociologists of the twenties and thirties. He characterized their 'common thought style' from a content analysis of a wide range of popular texts, and showed how it related to their common social origins and professional experience. It is a model study of how to relate complex empirical data to a theoretical perspective—in order to show, in this case, how university sociology syllabuses developed at a particular time. Such an approach would seem to have relevance, given the dominating influence of textbooks on secondary education, to a wide range of knowledge areas, particularly in the humanities.

### *The Weberian Contribution*

It is not true that Weber's work, except for his writings on bureaucracy, has been neglected by sociologists of education, for the well-known analyses of the changing functions of universities have been based on his ideal types of the 'expert' and the 'cultivated man' (Halsey 1961).

However, with the exception of Musgrave (1968),<sup>8</sup> the possibilities of his work for posing questions about the selection and organization of knowledge have not been made apparent. I shall not try here to redress the balance, but refer by way of illustration to his study of Confucian education. Weber (1948) identified three characteristics of the education of the Chinese literati (or administrators):

1. An emphasis on propriety and 'bookishness', with a curriculum largely restricted to the learning and memorizing of classical texts.
2. This curriculum was a very narrow selection from the available knowledge in a society where mathematicians, astronomers, scientists, and geographers were not uncommon. However, all these fields of knowledge were classified by the literati as 'vulgar', or perhaps in more contemporary terms as 'non-academic'.
3. Entry into the administrative elite was controlled by examina-

tions on this narrow curriculum, so that the 'non-bookish' were for the purposes of the Chinese society of the time 'not educated'.

Weber explains this curriculum selection by relating it to the characteristics of what he called the patrimonial bureaucracy, in which administration was carried out by always referring to the classical texts. Any change in curriculum would have undermined the legitimacy of the power of the administration whose skills and knowledge therefore had to be defined as 'absolute'. As the whole question is secondary to Weber's main interest in comparative religion, however, we do not get suggestions about the relationships of those with access to 'non-bookish' knowledge, and the possibility of their forming a competing power group with a radically different definition of education.

Drawing on Weber, Wilkinson (1963) has a similar thesis about the classical curriculum of the nineteenth-century English public schools. Both writers are suggesting that curricula are defined in terms of the dominant group's idea of the 'educated man', which takes us back to the question: what model of the educated man is implicit in the 'worthwhile activities' or 'forms of understanding' of contemporary philosophies of education? These studies, like Ben-David's (1963) interesting comparison of the influence of community pressure groups on American and English university curricula, are limited by the lack of an overall framework for linking the principles of selection of content to the social structure. Nevertheless they indicate, as does a recent symposium on elite education (Wilkinson 1969), the value of comparative data in suggesting how different definitions of legitimate academic study arise and persist.

### *Durkheim*

Durkheim's specific writings on education (see Durkheim 1956; 1961), apart from their emphasis on the social nature of curricula and pedagogy, are not very helpful, though it is important to remember that these books are collections of his lectures to student teachers and not systematic studies in sociology. Even so, the familiar criticisms, which do not need elaborating, are applicable: first, his undifferentiated view of society which blurs the distinction between culture and social structure and assumes them to be synonymous or congruent or functionally related; second, an overemphasis on the value component of education which he envisages as having a primarily integrative rather than stratifying and differentiating function. However, recent writers

such as Bourdieu (1967) and Bernstein (1967; 1969) have focused on Durkheim's contribution as a whole and suggested that it is his work on religion and primitive classification, leading indirectly to a sociology of knowledge, that is of most significance in this context.

Bourdieu suggests that there is an analogy between Durkheim's account of the social origins of the categories of thought in small-scale societies and the development of thought categories in the process of transmission of culture in the school. Implicit in this process of transmission are criteria of what is topical, and the legitimacy of a hierarchy of 'study objects' becomes built into the categories of thought themselves. At the organizational level, to quote Bourdieu (1967), 'the order of exposition the school imposes on the culture owes much to the routines of administrative requirements, but tends to gain acceptance . . . as absolute and necessary . . . the order of acquisition is associated with the culture acquired'. Again, quoting Goblot (1930), 'You can join the bourgeoisie but you have to pass the baccalauréat,' which defines educational competence and relevance in a particular way. One can doubt the value of these statements on account of their high level of generality, but they do direct us to an analysis of the assumptions underlying such definitions of competence in terms of those in a position to impose them.

Bernstein's work is referred to in more detail in the next section of this paper, but it is worth pointing out here that he has extended Durkheim's work in two ways that are important for the present discussion. He has elaborated the link between social change (mechanical to organic solidarity) and cultural change (the move from collection- to integrated-type curricula), and, second, by emphasizing language and the curriculum he has moved the Durkheimian approach to education to the cognitive as well as the evaluative level.

To summarize this section, an attempt has been made to show that sociological research drawing on the Marxist, Weberian, and Durkheimian traditions can contribute to a reorientation of the sociology of education that would no longer neglect the curriculum or, as Talcott Parsons treats 'power', consider it as an epiphenomenon.

#### A SUGGESTED APPROACH

The previous section has from different points of view suggested that consideration of the assumptions underlying the selection and organ-

ization of knowledge in terms of those in positions of power may be a fruitful perspective for raising sociological questions about curricula. Drawing on some ideas in Bernstein (1969), we can start by posing three analytically distinct questions about the organization of knowledge:

1. How stratified is the knowledge and by what criteria? This question provides us with the dimension of *stratification* of knowledge and focuses on how far different areas and kinds of knowledge obtain different social evaluations and rewards.
2. How restricted is the area of knowledge expected to be covered by the pupil or student? On this dimension, curricula can vary between specialized and non-specialized.
3. What is the relation between the contents or areas of knowledge? Curricula can vary on this dimension from being open—where boundaries between subjects are blurred and indistinct—to being closed—where boundaries are clearly defined and subjects are insulated from each other.

In *Figure 1* each dimension, a continuum, is presented as a dichotomy. Bernstein's two ideal-type curricula, the 'integrated' and 'collection' types,<sup>9</sup> are shown to include different subtypes in which the stratification and specialization of knowledge can be high or low.

**FIGURE 1 Dimensions of the social organisation of knowledge**

		How related are the knowledge areas?			
		OPEN		CLOSED	
What is the scope of the knowledge areas?	How stratified are the knowledge areas?	Narrow (specialized)	Broad (unspecified)	Narrow	Broad
	High	1	2	5	6
What is the scope of the knowledge areas?	How stratified are the knowledge areas?	3	4	7	8
		(Alternatives 1-4 represent 'integrated' types and 5-8 represent 'collection' types in Bernstein's terminology)			

The expansion of knowledge and the pattern of access to it are paralleled by the increasing differentiation of knowledge. Empirically we could also show that knowledge probably becomes more stratified.

However, there is an important analogy here with the functionalist theory of social stratification. Differential social evaluation does not logically follow from increasing differentiation, though empirically it *often does*. The pattern of social evaluation of different knowledge areas must be explained independently, in terms of restricted access to certain kinds of knowledge and the opportunity for those who have access to them to legitimize their higher status and control their availability.

The framework presented focuses on the principles of organization and selection of knowledge and does not directly suggest how these are related to the social structure. The sociological assumption is that the most explicit relation between the dominant institutional order and the organization of knowledge will be on the dimension of stratification: moves, therefore, to 'destratify' (to give equal value to different kinds of knowledge) or to 'restratify' (to legitimize other criteria of evaluation), by posing a threat to the power structure of that 'order', will be resisted. However, movements to make the scope of knowledge in a curriculum less restricted (a decrease in specialization) and the relations between knowledge areas more 'open' will also pose threats to the patterns of social relations implicit in the more restricted/less related forms, and likewise will be resisted. It should, therefore, be possible to account for the persistence of some (or, in the sense defined by the dimension of stratification, the 'essential') characteristics, particularly of academic curricula, and for the changes in others which do not involve the criteria of the evaluation of knowledge, or its scope or relations—or, if they do, do not pose threats to the existing authority structure (for example, the relative ease of introduction of new knowledge areas within departments of general studies in colleges of further education as compared with the resistance to such innovation posed by the tightly knit departmental structure of the grammar school).

I want to suggest, then, that it may be through this idea of the stratification of knowledge that we can point to relations between the pattern of dominant values and the distribution of rewards and power, and the organization of knowledge. Analysis would be necessary both historically and cross-culturally on the societal level and also at different age-levels and in different knowledge areas.<sup>10</sup> Academic curricula in this country involve assumptions that some kinds and areas of knowledge are much more 'worthwhile' than others; and that as soon as possible all knowledge should become specialized, with minimum

explicit emphasis on the relations between the subjects specialized in. It may be useful, therefore, to view curricular changes as involving movement along one or more of the dimensions towards a less or more stratified, specialized, and insulated organization of knowledge. Further, since we assume that there are some patterns of social relations associated with any curriculum, we may posit that these changes will be resisted in so far as they are perceived to undermine the values, relative power, and privileges of the dominant groups involved. Studies relating the career structures of teachers in different knowledge areas and the strategies of the various subject-based associations would seem one way of exploring these suggestions.

In his paper, Bernstein focuses on the two ideal-type curricula already referred to (see *Figure 1*) and their implications for the various social processes in educational institutions—staff-pupil relations, patterns of authority, and forms of evaluation. The complexity of the matter becomes apparent if one moves from this general level to more specific examples. Let us take two examples to illustrate the problems of explaining different curricular changes:

1. The different implications of change in the sciences and in the arts from a collection-type to an integrated-type curriculum.
  2. The introduction of new subjects into medical and engineering curricula.
- 
1. The characteristic of all science teaching at any level is that, however strong subject loyalties and identification may be (and this is likely to be closely associated with level of teaching), those teaching do share implicitly or explicitly the norms and values of science, and thus chemistry, physics, and biology are, at one level, integrated. It is not surprising, therefore, that in an area of the academic curriculum not striking for its innovations, the VIth form, both biological and physical sciences are increasingly taught as fully integrated courses. An indication of the part played by the stratification dimension in knowledge is that the core base of the former is biochemistry and of the latter mathematics: both high-status knowledge fields among scientists. Evidence of the different situation that arises when attempts to integrate appear to reduce the status of knowledge is the failure of the 'general science' movement after World War II. Whereas the physicist and the biologist share an explicit set of values through being scientists, it is doubtful whether being in the 'humanities' has any common meaning for historians, geographers, and those teaching English and

foreign languages. In this case, any movement towards integration involves the construction of new values to replace subject identities. Thus again, it is not surprising that this side of the academic VIth form curriculum has undergone very little change.

2. One feature affecting both medical and engineering curricula is that those controlling these courses have recently appeared concerned to introduce into them a social science component. In the absence of research one can only speculate about the changing definition of socially relevant knowledge in this broadening of the curriculum. Conceivably, these changes reflect a change in the position of the engineer and the doctor who both find themselves working increasingly in large organizations, isolated from the direct consequences of their work but still subject to public criticism of what they do. The significance of this example is in demonstrating how changes in the social or occupational structure may influence definitions of relevant knowledge and thus curricula.

Both examples illustrate the ways in which the characteristics of curricula are influenced by the values and interests of the controlling group involved.

I would, however, argue that the third dimension, *stratification of knowledge*, may be the most important, for it is by focusing on the relation between social stratification and the stratification of knowledge that we can begin to raise questions about relations between the power structure and curricula; between access to knowledge and the opportunities to legitimize it as 'superior'; and between knowledge and its functions in different kinds of society.

The dimension of stratification refers to the differential status or social value accorded to different areas and kinds of knowledge. Curricula can range from those based on what might be termed a 'caste model', where some knowledge is highly valued and necessary and other knowledge is not valued at all (certain types of religious curriculum would seem the best examples), to those at the other extreme where knowledge is differentiated but no social evaluation is placed on the categories. As previously suggested, the contemporary British education system is characterized by academic curricula based on a selection of knowledge which has high social status. It follows, therefore, that for the teachers (and probably the children) high status is associated with areas of the curriculum that are (a) formally assessed, (b) taught to the 'ablest' children, and (c) taught in homogeneous

ability groups. Two other implications follow which would seem to warrant exploration.

First, if pupils do identify high-status knowledge in this way, and assume these features to be the characteristics of 'worthwhile' knowledge, they could well come to disvalue curricular and pedagogic innovations which necessarily involve changing definitions of relevant knowledge and teaching methods.

Second, if the criteria of high-status knowledge are associated with the values of dominant groups in society, one would expect maximum resistance to change of the high status of knowledge associated with academic curricula. This, as I elaborate on later, is supported by evidence from the work of the Schools Council. The Council has accepted the stratification of knowledge and produces most of its recommendations for reform in the low-status knowledge areas. These tend to be associated with curricula which are for younger and less able children and are not linked to the interests of those who are in positions of power in the social structure.

Let us explore a bit further the idea that knowledge is stratified, particularly in the context of its transmission. Two kinds of question are suggested:

1. In any society, by what criteria are different areas of, kinds of, and approaches to knowledge given different social value? These criteria will inevitably have developed in a particular social and historical context but, if isolated, may be useful in accounting for changes and resistances to change in curricula.
2. How can the extent to which knowledge is stratified and the kinds of criterion used be explained in terms of the ways in which educational institutions and the control of access to knowledge are related to the dominant institutional order—whether it be political or economic?

Taking the first question, I want to suggest that it may be useful to conceive of the hierarchy of value and reward on which the organization and transmission of knowledge are based as having four dimensions or aspects:

- (i) Abstractness (A), which refers to the level of generality involved.
- (ii) Emphasis on literacy (L), which refers to the relative importance of written, as opposed to oral, presentation.
- (iii) Individualism (I), which refers to the emphasis placed on individual as opposed to group activity and assessment, which is

absent from most of the forms of access to knowledge, such as essays, experiments, and projects in secondary education.

(iv) Relatedness (R), which refers to the degree to which and the way in which knowledge is related directly to non-school activities.<sup>11</sup>

The assumption is made that, implicitly, areas and kinds of knowledge are ranked on these four dimensions and that academic curricula will be characterized by high-status knowledge which will tend to be abstract (high on A), emphasize writing (high on L) and individual performance (high on I), and have a minimum direct relation to non-school situations (low on R).

One can view these criteria as the specific historical consequences of an education system based on a model of 'bookish' learning for medieval priests, which was extended first to lawyers and doctors, and increasingly has come to dominate all education of older age-groups in industrial societies.<sup>12</sup> However, their use to sociologists may be to highlight the unquestioned characteristics of academic curricula. To elaborate: these dimensions can be seen as social definitions of educational value, and thus they become problematic in the sense that if they persist it is not because knowledge is, in any meaningful way, best made available according to the criteria, but because they are conscious or unconscious cultural choices which accord with the values and beliefs of dominant groups at a particular time.<sup>13</sup> It is therefore in terms of these choices that educational success and failure are defined. One might speculate that it is not that particular skills and competences associated with highly valued occupations 'need' learning contexts defined in this way, but that very different cultural choices or the granting of equal status to sets of cultural choices that reflect variations on these dimensions would involve a massive redistribution of the labels 'educational success' and 'failure', and thus also a parallel redistribution of rewards in terms of wealth, prestige, and power.

Two important limitations of this approach must be mentioned. First, the categories are formal and no operational rules are suggested which direct research to analysing questions of substantive content—their use in the analysis of texts, syllabuses, reports, examination questions, marking criteria, and the day-to-day activities of the classroom would lead either to narrower but more substantive categories or to their modification, depending on the nature of the research problem posed. Second, by its emphasis on the social organization and not the social functions of knowledge, this approach does not make explicit

that access to certain kinds of knowledge is potential access to the means of changing the criteria of social evaluation of knowledge itself, as well as to the means of preserving these criteria. However, changing the criteria involves social actions, which inevitably are *concrete*, *corporate*, and *related*, and also involves *oral* as well as written communication. Perhaps it is through the disvaluing of social action and the elevation of the value placed on 'knowledge for its own sake' through the separation of knowledge from action that knowledge of social alternatives in our educational system is both restricted and, when available, perceived as knowledge of 'alternatives in theory'.

However, let us illustrate some more specific ways in which this approach might be useful for the sociology of education.

i. If relations between the pattern of domination and the organization of knowledge are as have been suggested, one would expect a reduction in specialization, an increase in inter-subject integration, or a widening of the criteria of social evaluation of knowledge only if there were parallel changes in the pattern of domination. Thus one would expect most curricular 'innovations' to be of two kinds:

(a) *Modifications of existing academic curricula which maintain existing social evaluations of knowledge.* Two examples are the new Nuffield O-level science syllabuses and the integrated science projects referred to earlier. A significant research problem would be to examine the influence of the Nuffield sponsors—the Science Masters' Association (now the Association for Science Education, an organization which has close links with the universities and traditionally an active membership drawn largely from public, direct-grant, and grammar schools with large science VIths) and the university advisers—which led to the Nuffield Project's being directed, in the first place, to O level (which is taken by about 30 per cent of pupils) rather than to the reform of secondary school science as a whole.

(b) *Innovations which disregard the social evaluations implicit in academic curricula, but only because their availability is restricted to less able pupils.* In becoming the major sponsor for such innovations, the Schools Council can be seen as legitimizing the existing organization of knowledge in two ways. First, the assumptions of the academic curricula are taken for granted, therefore the social evaluations of knowledge embodied in such curricula are by implication being assumed to be agreed upon and, because inviolable, to be in some sense 'absolute'. Second, new courses are created in 'low-status' know-

ledge areas, and their availability is restricted to those who have 'failed' in terms of academic definitions of knowledge, hence these failures are seen as individual failures, of motivation, ability, or circumstances, and not as consequences of the academic system itself. These courses, which explicitly deny pupils access to the kinds of knowledge that are associated with rewards, prestige, and power in our society, are thus given a kind of legitimacy which masks the fact that educational success in terms of them would still be defined as 'failure'.

2. 'Knowledge practitioners' will endeavour to 'move up' the status dimensions to legitimize what they define as their rightful exclusiveness in the terms defined by the criteria—some newer A levels and B Ed Part II subjects are cases in point.

Returning to the second question concerning the dimension of stratification (see p. 355 above), we do not know how relations between the economy and the educational system produce different degrees and kinds of stratification of knowledge. One way of approaching this problem would be to compare the kinds of knowledge stratification found in countries like North Korea, where the schools are less separate from the economy and many activities of learning are also activities of production, with the kinds produced by systems like our own where in school nothing is 'for real' even in the workshops.

To sum up, then, an attempt has been made to offer a sociological approach to the organization of knowledge in curricula. The inevitably limited and schematic nature of the outline presented together with the total lack of research by sociologists in the field turns us back to the question posed at the beginning of this paper. Why no sociology of the curriculum? Perhaps we so take for granted the selective consequences of how we organize knowledge that we are unable to conceive of alternatives and thus to accept that academic curricula and the forms of assessment associated with them are sociological inventions to be explained like men's other inventions, mechanical and sociological.

### *Notes*

1 A revised and extended version of this paper appears as Chapter 1 of *Knowledge and Control* (1971), edited by the author.

- 2 The title would imply that we can make statements about curricula in general which, when one considers the diversities within one education system, would seem unwarranted. In effect, the paper focuses largely on what is commonly called the 'academic curriculum' of secondary and higher education. The relevance of any of the general ideas present for infant and junior curricula or the various technical courses available must remain doubtful.
- 3 One exception to which I shall return is provided by F. W. Musgrove (1968).
- 4 It is ironical that one outstanding sociological study which looks at the social determinants of the organization of knowledge is by a philosopher, G. E. Davie (1961). His account of the changes in the Scottish universities in the nineteenth century raises many of the issues about selection of content and the relations between areas of knowledge that are considered more generally later in this paper.
- 5 This point is illustrated by the material so far available from Royston Lambert's studies of boarding education (Lambert & Millham 1968; Lambert, Hipkin & Stagg 1968) and John Wakeford's *The Cloistered Elite* (1969). The striking characteristic of these studies, whatever their other merits, is that one can read them and hardly be aware that considerable periods of pupils' time are taken up, and presumably their consciousness is developed, by what they do in classrooms, laboratories, and libraries and by the kinds of courses made available to them.
- 6 Child's essay (1940) and Wright Mills's early work (see Mills 1963) represent the most important attempts to link Mead's social theory of the self and the Marxist tradition of emphasizing the social origins of knowledge and thought. It is a re-emphasis and exploration of the implications of this link, by drawing on the work of Alfred Schutz, that seems to underlie Berger & Luckmann's *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966).
- 7 The most dramatic example of this has been the development of courses in Black Studies in the USA, already referred to.
- 8 Musgrove draws on Weber to show how 'subjects' can be viewed as bureaucracies and how they might function to confer identity on both 'teacher' and 'taught'. In this way, he indicates how some of the constraints on curricular innovation can be explained in terms of how knowledge is 'socially' organized into forms or subjects.
- 9 In Bernstein's original formulation (1969) his ideal-types refer to curricular styles in a slightly different sense from the way in which they are used here.
- 10 Riesman, Gusfield & Gamson's work is an indication of the possibilities in the latter sphere—see Gusfield & Riesman 1968 (which refers to the other publications arising out of their research).

- 11 This dimension would appear to refer to the characteristic of formal educational systems that Jules Henry (1960) calls 'disjunctiveness'. The questions not raised by Henry are for whom is educational knowledge disjunctive and what meaning do they attach to this?
- 12 Some original and perceptive points on this theme are made by Paul Goodman (1969).
- 13 My colleague, Brian Davies, suggests that Cremin's well-known study of the 'progressive movement' in American education, *The Transformation of the School* (1961), provides a useful documentation and illustration of attempts and failures to change the criteria of social evaluation of knowledge, and by implication the interests and values that underlie existing criteria.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank my colleagues, Basil Bernstein and Brian Davies, for their constructive criticisms of earlier drafts, and to express my appreciation to them and the other members of the departmental seminar for the valuable discussion that arose out of some of the preliminary ideas in this paper. A similar debt is owed to those graduate students of the department with whom I have had many useful discussions around the themes of this paper.

#### References

- ANDERSON, P. 1969. Components of the National Culture. In A. Cockburn & R. Blackburn (eds.), *Student Power*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- BECKER, H. S. et al. 1961. *Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1968. *Making the Grade: The Academic Side of College Life*. New York: Wiley.
- BEN-DAVID, J. 1963. The Professions in the Class System of Present-day Societies. *Current Sociology* 12 (3).
- BERGER, P. L. & LUCKMANN, T. 1966. *The Social Construction of Reality*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday; London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1967.
- BERNSTEIN, B. 1967. Open Schools, Open Society? *New Society*, 14 September, 10 (259): 351-3.
- 1969. On the Curriculum. (Unpublished mimeo.) This paper has been much extended and revised in the paper included in this volume.

- BLAKE, ROBERT. 1968. Karl Marx and Education. *Annual Proceedings of the Philosophy of Education Society*.
- BOURDIEU, P. 1967. Systems of Education and Systems of Thought. *International Social Science Journal* 19 (3): 367-88.
- BRIM, O. G. (Jr.) & WHEELER, S. 1966. *Socialization after Childhood*. New York: Wiley.
- CARTER, M. P. 1967. Report on a Survey of Sociological Research in Britain. British Sociological Association (mimeo). Also published in *Sociological Review* 16: 5-40, 1968.
- CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION (ENGLAND). 1954. *Early Leaving*. London: HMSO.
- 1959. *15 to 18* (Crowther Report). London: HMSO.
- 1967. *Children and their Primary Schools* (Plowden Report). London: HMSO.
- CHILD, ARTHUR. 1940. The Theoretical Possibility of the Sociology of Knowledge. *Ethics* 51.
- CICOUREL, A. V. & KITSUSE, J. 1963a. A Note on the use of Official Statistics. *Social Problems* 2 (January).
- 1963b. *The Educational Decision-makers*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.
- COMMITTEE ON HIGHER EDUCATION. 1963. *Report* (Robbins Report). Cmnd. 2154. London: HMSO.
- CREMIN, L. A. 1961. *The Transformation of the School*. New York: Knopf.
- DAVIE, G. E. 1961. *The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and her Universities in the Nineteenth Century*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; Chicago: Aldine.
- DOUGLAS, J. W. B., ROSS, J. M. & SIMPSON, H. R. 1968. *All Our Future*. London: Peter Davies.
- DURKHEIM, E. 1956. *Education and Sociology*. (Translated by S. D. Fox.) Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- 1961. *Moral Education*. (Translated by E. K. Wilson & H. Schnurer.) New York: Free Press.
- FLOUD, J. E., HALSEY, A. H. & MARTIN, F. M. 1956. *Social Class and Educational Opportunity*. London: Heinemann.
- GOBLOT, E. 1930. *La Barrière et le niveau: étude sociologique sur la bourgeoisie française*. Paris: Alcan.
- GOODMAN, PAUL. 1969. The Present Moment in Education. *New York Review of Books*, April.
- GROSS, N. C., MASON, W. S. & MCEACHERN, A. W. 1958. *Explorations in Role Analysis*. New York: Wiley.
- GUSFIELD, J. R. & RIESMAN, D. 1968. Innovation in Higher Education. In H. S. Becker *et al.* (eds.), *Institutions and the Person*. Chicago: Aldine.

- HALSEY, A. H. 1961. The Changing Functions of Universities. In A. H. Halsey, J. Floud & C. A. Anderson (eds.), *Education, Economy and Society*. New York: Free Press.
- HENRY, JULES. 1960. A Cross-cultural Outline of Education. *Current Anthropology* 1 (4): 267-305.
- HIRST, P. H. 1965. Liberal Education and the Nature of Knowledge. In R. Archambault (ed.), *Philosophical Analysis and Education*. London: Routledge.
- HOYLE, E. 1965. Organisational Analysis in the Field of Education. *Educational Research* 7 (2): 97-114.
- LAMBERT, R. J., HIPKIN, J. & STAGG, S. 1968. *New Wine in Old Bottles?* London: Bell.
- LAMBERT, R. J. & MILLHAM, S. 1968. *The Hothouse Society*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- MILLS, C. WRIGHT. 1942. The Professional Ideology of Social Pathologists. *American Journal of Sociology* 49 (September).
- 1963. *Power, Politics and People*. (Collected essays edited by I. L. Horowitz.) New York: Galaxy Books.
- MUSGROVE, F. 1968. The Contribution of Sociology to the Study of the Curriculum. In J. F. Kerr (ed.), *Changing the Curriculum*. London: University of London Press.
- WAKEFORD, JOHN. 1969. *The Cloistered Elite*. London: Macmillan.
- WEBER, M. 1948. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. (Translated and edited by H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills.) London: Kegan Paul.
- WILKINSON, R. 1963. *The Prefects*. London: Oxford University Press.
- (ed.) 1969. *Governing Elites*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- WILLIAMS, R. 1961. *The Long Revolution*. London: Chatto; New York: Columbia University Press.
- YOUNG, MICHAEL F. D. (ed.) 1971. *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*. London & New York: Collier-Macmillan.

BASIL BERNSTEIN

## *On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge*

---

### INTRODUCTION

How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits, and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control within that society. From this point of view, variations, and change, in the organization, transmission, and evaluation of educational knowledge should be a major area of sociological interest (Bernstein, Elvin & Peters 1966; Bernstein 1967; Davies 1970; and paper in this volume; Musgrove 1968; Hoyle 1969; Young 1971). Indeed, such a study is a part of the larger question of the structure, and changes in the structure, of cultural transmission. For various reasons British sociologists have fought shy of this question. As a result, the sociology of education has been reduced to a series of input-output problems; the school has been transformed into a complex organization or people-processing institution; the study of socialization has been trivialized.

Educational knowledge is a major regulator of the structure of experience. From this point of view, one can ask: 'How are forms of experience, identity, and relation evoked, maintained, and changed by the formal transmission of educational knowledge and sensitivities?' Formal educational knowledge can be considered to be realized through three message systems: curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation. Curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge, pedagogy defines what counts as a valid transmission of knowledge, and evaluation defines what counts as a valid realization of this knowledge on the part of the taught. The term 'educational knowledge code', which will be introduced later, refers to the underlying principles that shape curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation. It will be argued that the form this code takes depends upon social principles which regulate the

classification and framing of knowledge made public in educational institutions. Both Durkheim and Marx have shown us that the structure of society's classifications and frames reveals both the distribution of power and the principles of social control. I hope to show, theoretically, that educational codes provide excellent opportunities for the study of classification and frames through which experience is given a distinctive form.

The paper is organized as follows:

1. I first distinguish between two types of curriculum: collection and integrated.
2. I build upon the basis of this distinction in order to establish a more general set of concepts: classification and frame.
3. A typology of educational codes is then derived.
4. Sociological aspects of two very different educational codes are explored.
5. This leads on to a discussion of educational codes and problems of social control.
6. Finally, there is a brief discussion of the reasons for a weakening of one code and a strengthening of the movement of the other.

#### I. TWO TYPES OF CURRICULUM

Initially, I am going to talk about the curriculum in a very general way. In all educational institutions there is a formal punctuation of time into periods. These may vary from ten minutes to three hours or more. I am going to call each such formal period of time a 'unit'; and I use the word 'content' to describe how the period of time is used. I define a curriculum initially in terms of the principle by which units of time and their contents are brought into a special relationship with each other. I now want to look more closely at the phrase 'special relationship'.

First, we can examine relationships between contents in terms of the amount of time accorded to a given content. Immediately, we can see that more time is devoted to some contents than to others. Second, some of the contents may, from the point of view of the pupils, be compulsory or optional. We can now take a very crude measure of the relative status of a content in terms of the number of units given over to it, and whether it is compulsory or optional. This immediately

raises the question of the relative status of a given content and its significance in a given educational career.

We can, however, consider the relationship between contents from another, perhaps more important, perspective. We can ask about any given content whether the boundary between it and another content is clear-cut or blurred. To what extent are the various contents well insulated from each other? If the various contents are well insulated from each other, I shall say that the contents stand in a *closed* relation to each other. If there is reduced insulation between contents, I shall say that the contents stand in an *open* relationship to each other.

So far, then, I am suggesting that we can go into any educational institution and examine the organization of time in terms of the relative status of contents, and in terms of whether the contents stand in an open or closed relationship to each other. I am deliberately using this very abstract language in order to emphasize that there is nothing intrinsic to the relative status of various contents, and there is nothing intrinsic to the relationships between contents. Irrespective of the question of the intrinsic logic of the various forms of public thought, the forms of their transmission, that is, their classification and framing, are social facts. There are a number of alternative means of access to the public forms of thought, and so to the various realities they make possible. I am therefore emphasizing the social nature of the system of alternatives from which emerges a constellation called a curriculum. From this point of view, any curriculum entails a principle or principles whereby, of all the possible contents of time, some contents are accorded differential status and enter into open or closed relation to each other.

I shall now distinguish between two broad types of curriculum. If contents stand in a closed relation to each other, that is, if the contents are clearly bounded and insulated from each other, I call such a curriculum a *collection* type. Here the learner has to collect a group of favoured contents in order to satisfy some criteria of evaluation. There may of course be some underlying concept to a collection: the gentleman, the educated man, the skilled man, the non-vocational man.

Now I want to juxtapose with the collection type, a curriculum where the various contents do not go their own separate ways, but stand in an open relation to each other. I call such a curriculum an *integrated* type.

Now we can have various types of collection, and various degrees and types of integration.

## 2. CLASSIFICATION AND FRAME

I now introduce the concepts of 'classification' and 'frame', which will be used to analyse the underlying structure of the three message systems, curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation, that are realizations of the educational knowledge code. The basic idea is embodied in the principle used to distinguish the two types of curriculum: collection and integrated. Strong insulation between contents pointed to a collection type, whereas reduced insulation pointed to an integrated type. The principle here is the strength of the *boundary* between contents. This notion of boundary strength underlies the concepts of classification and frame.

Classification, here, refers not to *what* is classified but to the *relationships* between contents. Classification refers to the nature of the differentiation between contents. Where classification is strong, contents are well insulated from each other by strong boundaries. Where classification is weak, there is reduced insulation between contents for the boundaries between contents are weak or blurred. *Classification thus refers to the degree of boundary maintenance between contents.* Classification focuses our attention upon boundary strength as the critical distinguishing feature of the division of labour of educational knowledge. It gives us, as I hope to show, the basic structure of the message system curriculum.

The concept of frame is used to determine the structure of the message system pedagogy. Frame refers to the form of the *context* in which knowledge is transmitted and received. Frame refers to the specific pedagogical relationship of teacher and taught. In the same way as classification does not refer to contents, so frame does not refer to the contents of the pedagogy. Frame refers to the strength of the boundary between what may be transmitted and what may not be transmitted, in the pedagogical relationship. Where framing is strong there is a sharp boundary, where framing is weak a blurred boundary, between what may and what may not be transmitted. Frame refers us to the range of options available to teacher and taught in the *control* of what is transmitted and received in the context of the pedagogical relationship. Strong framing entails reduced options; weak framing entails a range of options. *Thus frame refers to the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organization, and pacing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship.*<sup>1</sup>

There is another aspect of the boundary relationship between what may be taught and what may not be taught and, consequently, another aspect to framing. We can consider the relationship between the non-school everyday community knowledge of the teacher or the taught, and the educational knowledge transmitted in the pedagogical relationship. We can raise the question of the strength of the boundary, the degree of insulation, between the everyday community knowledge of teacher and taught and educational knowledge. Thus we can consider variations in the strength of frames as these refer to the strength of the boundary between educational knowledge and everyday community knowledge of teacher and taught.

From the perspective of this analysis, the basic structure of the message system curriculum is given by variations in the strength of classification, and the basic structure of the message system pedagogy is given by variations in the strength of frames. It will be shown later that the structure of the message system evaluation is a function of the strength of classification and of frames. It is important to realize that the strength of classification and the strength of frames can vary independently of each other. For example, it is possible to have weak classification and exceptionally strong framing. Consider programmed learning: here the boundary between educational contents may be blurred (weak classification) but there is little control by the pupil (except for pacing) over *what* is learnt (strong framing). This example also shows that frames can be examined at a number of levels and their strength can vary as between the levels of selection, organization, and pacing of the knowledge transmitted in the pedagogical relationship.

I should also like to bring out the power component of this analysis and what can be called the 'identity' component (aspects that are developed more fully later in the paper). Where classification is strong, the boundaries between the different contents are sharply drawn. If this is the case then it presupposes strong boundary-maintainers. Strong classification also creates a strong sense of membership in a particular class and so a specific identity. Strong frames reduce the power of the pupil over what, when, and how he receives knowledge, and increase the teacher's power in the pedagogical relationship. However, strong classification reduces the power of the teacher over what he transmits, since he may not overstep the boundary between contents, and strong classification also reduces the power of the teacher *viz-à-vis* the boundary-maintainers.

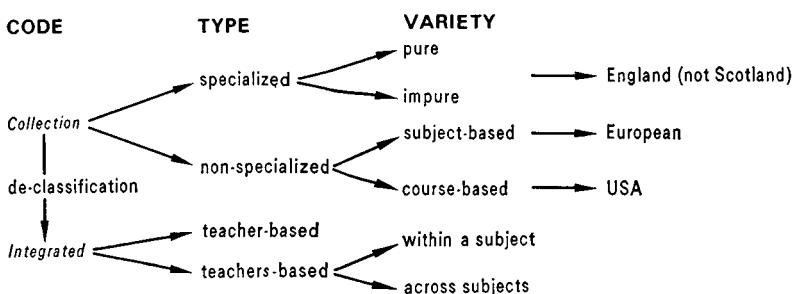
It is now possible to make explicit the concept of educational knowledge codes. A code is fully given *at the most general level* by the relationship between classification and frame.

### 3. A TYPOLOGY OF EDUCATIONAL KNOWLEDGE CODES

In the light of the conceptual framework we have developed, I shall use the distinction between collection and integrated curricula in order to realize a typology of types and subtypes of educational code. The formal basis of the typology is the strength of classification and of frames. However, the subtypes will be distinguished, initially, in terms of substantive differences.

Any organization of educational knowledge that involves strong classification gives rise to what is here called a collection code. Any organization of educational knowledge that involves a marked attempt to reduce the strength of classification is here called an integrated code. Collection codes may give rise to a series of subtypes, each varying in the relative strength of its classification and frames. Integrated codes can also vary in terms of the strength of frames as these refer to teacher/pupil/student control over the knowledge that is transmitted. *Figure 1* sets out general features of the typology.

**FIGURE 1** *A typology of educational knowledge codes*



#### *Collection Codes*

The first major distinction within collection codes is between specialized and non-specialized types. The extent of specialization can be measured in terms of the number of closed contents publicly examined

at the end of the secondary education stage. Thus in England, although there is no formal limit, students usually sit for three A-level subjects, compared with the much greater range of subjects that make up the *Abitur* in Germany, the *baccalauréat* in France, or the *student-examen* in Sweden.

Within the English specialized type, we can distinguish two varieties: a pure and an impure variety. The pure variety exists where A-level subjects are drawn from a common universe of knowledge, e.g. chemistry, physics, mathematics. The impure variety exists where A-level subjects are drawn from different universes of knowledge, e.g. religion, physics, economics. The latter combination, although formally possible, very rarely substantively exists, for pupils are not encouraged to offer—nor does timetabling usually permit—such a combination. It is a matter of interest that, until very recently, the pure variety at university level received the higher status of an honours degree, whereas the impure variety tended to lead to the lower status of a general degree.<sup>2</sup> One can detect the beginnings of a shift in England from the pure to the impure variety, which appears to be trying to work towards the non-specialized type of collection.

Within the non-specialized collection code, we can distinguish two varieties, according to whether a subject or a course is the basic knowledge unit. Thus the standard European form of the collection code is non-specialized, subject-based. The American form of the collection code is non-specialized, course-based.

I have so far described subtypes and varieties of the collection code in simple descriptive terms; as a consequence it is not easy to see how their distinctive features can be translated into sociological concepts in order to realize a specific sociological problem. Clearly, the conceptual language here developed has built into it a specific perspective: that of power and social control. In the process of translating the descriptive features into the language of classification and frames, the question must arise whether the hypotheses about their relative strengths fit a particular case.

Here are the hypotheses, given for purposes of illustration:

1. I suggest that the European, non-specialized, subject-based form of collection involves strong classification but *exceptionally* strong framing. That is, at levels below higher education, there are relatively few options available to the teacher, and especially to the taught, in respect of the transmission of knowledge. Curricula and syllabuses are very explicit.

2. The English version, I suggest, involves *exceptionally* strong classification, but relatively weaker framing than the European type. The fact that it is specialized determines what contents (subjects) may be put together. There is very strong insulation between the 'pure' and the 'applied' knowledge. Curricula are graded for particular ability groups. There can be high insulation between a subject and a class of pupils: D-stream secondary pupils will not have access to certain subjects, and A-stream students likewise will not have access to certain subjects. However, I suggest that framing, relative to Europe, is weaker. This can be seen particularly at the primary level. There is also, relative to Europe, less central control over what is transmitted, although, clearly, the various requirements of the university level exert a strong control over the secondary level.<sup>3</sup> I suggest that, although again this is relative, there is a weaker frame in England between educational knowledge and everyday community knowledge for certain classes of students: the so-called less able. Finally, relative to Europe, I suggest that there are more options available to the pupil within the pedagogical relationship. The frame as it refers to pupils is weaker. Thus I suggest that framing as it relates to teachers and pupils is relatively weaker, but that classification is relatively much stronger in the English than in the European system. Scotland is nearer to the European version of the collection.

3. The course-based, non-specialized US form of the collection, I suggest, has the weakest classification *and* framing of the collection code, especially at the secondary and university levels. A far greater range of subjects can be taken at secondary and university levels and are capable of combination, which indicates weak classification. Insulation between educational knowledge and everyday community knowledge is weaker, as can be evidenced by community control over school, and this indicates weak frames. The range of options available to pupils within the pedagogical relationship is, I suggest, greater. I would guess, then, that classification and framing are weakest in the American form of the collection code.

#### *Integrated Codes*

It is important to be clear about the term integrated. While one

subject may use the theories of another subject, this type of intellectual interrelationship does not constitute integration. Such intellectual interrelation may well be part of a collection code at some point in the history of the development of knowledge. Integration, as it is used here, refers minimally to the subordination of previously insulated subjects or courses to some relational idea, which blurs the boundaries between the subjects. We can distinguish two types. The first type is teacher-based. Here the teacher, as in the infant school, often has an extended block of time with the same group of children. The teacher can operate with a collection code and keep the various subjects distinct and insulated, or he can blur the boundaries between the different subjects. This type of integrated code is easier to introduce than the second type, which is teachers-based. Here, integration involves relationships with other teachers. In this way we can have degrees of integration in terms of the number of teachers involved.

We can further distinguish two varieties according to whether the integration refers to a group of teachers within a common subject, or involves teachers of different subjects. While integrated codes, by definition, have the weakest classification, they may vary as to framing. During the initiating period, the frames the teachers enter will be weak, but other factors will affect the final frame strength. It is also possible that the frames the pupils enter will vary in strength.

Thus integrated codes can be confined to one subject or they can cross subjects. We can talk of code strength in terms of the range of subjects coordinated by the code, or, if this criterion cannot be applied, code strength can be measured in terms of the number of teachers coordinated through the code. Integrated codes can also vary in frame strength as this applies to teachers or pupils, or both.

Differences within and between educational knowledge codes from the perspective developed here lie in variations in the strength and nature of the boundary-maintaining procedures, as these are given by the classification and framing of the knowledge. It can be seen that the nature of classification and framing affects the authority/power structure which controls the dissemination of educational knowledge and the form of the knowledge transmitted. In this way, principles of power and social control are realized through educational knowledge codes, and through the codes enter into, and shape, consciousness. Thus variations within, and changes of, knowledge codes should be of critical concern to sociologists.

*Application*

The following problems arise out of this analysis:

1. What are the antecedents of variations in the strength of classification and frames?
2. How does a given classification and framing structure perpetuate itself? What are the conditions for change, and resistance to change?
3. What are the different socializing experiences realized through variations in the strength of classifications and frames?

Application of this analysis will be limited to a consideration of aspects of the last two questions. I feel I ought to apologize to the reader for this rather long and perhaps tedious conceptual journey, before he has been given any notion of the view to which it leads.

In the next section I examine the patterns of social relationship, and their socializing consequences, that are realized through the European, particularly the English, version of the collection code, and those that are *expected* to arise out of integrated codes, *particularly those that develop weak framing*. I suggest that there is some movement towards forms of the integrated code and I examine the nature of the resistance towards such a change. Some reasons for this movement are advanced.

#### 4. CLASSIFICATION AND FRAMING OF THE EUROPEAN FORM OF THE COLLECTION CODE

There will be some difficulty in this analysis, because I shall at times switch from secondary to university level. Although the English system has the distinguishing feature of specialization, it does share certain features of the European system. This may lead to some blurring in the analysis. Since the analysis constitutes the beginnings of a limited sociological theory which explores the social organization and structuring of educational knowledge, it follows that all statements, including those that have the character of descriptive statements, are hypothetical. The descriptive statements have been selectively patterned according to their significance for the theory.

One of the major differences between the European and English versions of the collection code is that, with the specialized English type, a membership category is established early in an educational career, in terms of an early choice between the pure and the applied,

between the sciences and the arts, between having and not having a specific educational identity. A particular status in a given collection is made clear by streaming and/or a delicate system of grading. One nearly always knows the social significance of where one is and, in particular, *who* one is, with each advance in the educational career. (Initially I am doing science or arts, pure or applied; or I am not doing anything; later I am becoming a physicist, economist, chemist, etc.) *Subject loyalty* is systematically developed in pupils, and subsequently in students, with each progression in the educational life, and is then transmitted by them as teachers and lecturers. The system is self-perpetuating through this form of socialization. With the specialized form of the collection it is banal to say that as you get older you learn more and more about less and less. Another, more sociological, way of putting this is to say that as you get older you become increasingly *different* from others. Clearly, this will happen at some point in any educational career, but with specialization it happens much earlier. Therefore, specialization very soon reveals *difference from* rather than *communality with*. Relatively quickly, it creates an educational identity which is clear-cut and bounded. The educational category or identity is *pure*. Specialized versions of the collection code tend to abhor mixed categories and blurred identities, for they represent a potential openness, an ambiguity, which makes the consequences of previous socialization problematic. Mixed categories, such as bio-physicist or psycholinguist, are permitted to develop only after long socialization into a subject loyalty. Indeed, in order to change an identity, a previous one has to be weakened and a new one created. For example, in England, a student who has a first degree in psychology and wishes to read for a higher degree in sociology either may not be permitted to make the switch or, if he is, is expected to take a number of papers at first-degree level in sociology. In the process of taking the papers he usually enters into social relationships with accredited sociologists and students through whom he acquires the cognitive and social style particular to the sociological identity. Change of an educational identity is accomplished through a process of resocialization into a *new* subject loyalty. A sense of the sacred, of the 'otherness' of educational knowledge, does not arise so much out of an ethic of knowledge for its own sake, I submit, but is more a function of socialization into subject loyalty: for it is the subject that becomes the linchpin of the identity. Any attempt to weaken or *change* classification strength, or even frame strength, may be felt as a threat to one's identity and may

be experienced as a pollution endangering the sacred. Here we have one source of the resistance to change of educational codes.

The specialized version of the collection code develops careful screening procedures to see who belongs and who does not belong, and once such screening has taken place it is very difficult to change an educational identity. The various classes of knowledge are well insulated from each other. Selection and differentiation are early features of this particular code. Thus the deep structure of the specialized type of collection code is *strong boundary maintenance creating control from within through the formation of specific identities*—an interesting aspect of the Protestant spirit.

Strong boundary maintenance can be illustrated with reference to attempts to institutionalize new forms of knowledge or to change the strength of classification within either the European or English type of collection. Because of the exceptional strength of classification in England, such difficulties may be greater here. Changes in classification strength and the institutionalizing of new forms of knowledge may become matters of importance when there are changes in the structure of knowledge at the higher levels and/or changes in the economy. With regard to new forms of knowledge, critical problems arise as to their legitimacy, at what point they belong, when, where, and by whom they should be taught. I have referred to the 'sacred' in terms of an educational identity, but clearly there is a 'profane' aspect to knowledge. We can consider as the 'profane' the property aspect of knowledge. Any new form or weakening of classification clearly derives from past classifications. Such new forms or weakened classifications can be regarded as attempts to break or weaken existing monopolies. Knowledge under collection is private property with its own power structure and market situation. This affects the whole ambience surrounding the development and marketing of new knowledge. Children and pupils are early socialized into this concept of knowledge as private property. They are encouraged to work as isolated individuals with their arms around their work. This phenomenon could, until recently, be observed in any grammar school. It can be most clearly observed in examination halls. Pupils and students, particularly in the arts, appear from this point of view to be a type of entrepreneur. There are, then, strong inbuilt controls over the institutionalizing of new knowledge forms, the changing of the strength of classification, and the production of new knowledge, which derive from both 'sacred' and 'profane' sources.

So far, I have been considering the relationship between strong classification of knowledge, the concept of property, and the creation of specific identities with particular reference to the specialized form of the collection code. I shall now move away from the classification of knowledge to its framing in the process of transmission.

Any collection code involves a hierarchical organization of knowledge such that the ultimate mystery of the subject is revealed very late in the educational life. By the ultimate mystery of the subject I mean its potential for creating new realities. It is also the case, and this is important, that the ultimate mystery of the subject is not coherence, but incoherence; not order, but disorder; not the known, but the unknown. As this mystery, under collection codes, is revealed very late in the educational life—and then only to a select few who have shown the signs of successful socialization—only the few *experience* in their bones the notion that knowledge is permeable, that its orderings are provisional, that the dialectic of knowledge is closure and openness. For the many, socialization into knowledge is socialization into order, the existing order, into the experience that the world's educational knowledge is impermeable. Do we have here another version of alienation?

Now, clearly, any history of any form of educational knowledge shows precisely the power of such knowledge to create endlessly new realities. However, socialization into the specific framing of knowledge in its transmission may make such a history experientially meaningless. The key concept of the European collection code is discipline. This means learning to work *within* a received frame. It means, in particular, *learning* what questions can be put at any particular time. Because of the hierarchical ordering of the knowledge in *time*, certain questions raised may not enter into a particular frame.

This is soon learnt by both teachers and pupils. Discipline then means accepting a given selection, organization, and pacing of knowledge realized in the pedagogical frame. With advances in the educational life, there is a progressive weakening of the frame for both teacher and taught. Only the few who have shown the signs of successful socialization have access to these relaxed frames. For the mass of the population the framing is tight. In a sense, the European form of the collection code makes knowledge safe through the process of socialization into its frames. There is a tendency, which varies with the strength of specific frames, for the young to be socialized into assigned

principles and routine operations and derivations. The evaluative system places an emphasis upon attaining *states* of knowledge rather than *ways* of knowing. A study of examination questions and format, the symbolic structure of assessment, would be, from this point of view, a rewarding empirical study. Knowledge thus tends to be transmitted, particularly to elite pupils at the secondary level, through strong frames which control its selection, organization, and pacing.<sup>4</sup> The receipt of the knowledge is not so much a right as something to be won or earned. The stronger the classification and the framing, the more the educational relationship tends to be hierarchical and ritualized, the educand seen as ignorant, with little status and few rights. These are things that one earns, rather like spurs, and are used for the purpose of encouraging and sustaining the motivation of pupils. Depending upon the strength of frames, knowledge is transmitted in a context where the teacher has maximal control or surveillance, as in hierarchical secondary-school relationships.

We can look at the question of the framing of knowledge in the pedagogical relationship from another point of view. In a sense, educational knowledge is uncommonsense knowledge. It is knowledge freed from the particular, the local, through the various languages of the sciences or the forms of reflexivity of the arts which make possible either the creation or the discovery of new realities. Now this immediately raises the question of the relationship between the uncommonsense knowledge of the school and the commonsense knowledge, everyday community knowledge, of the pupil, his family, and his peer group. This formulation invites us to ask how strong are the frames of educational knowledge in relation to experiential, community-based non-school knowledge. I suggest that the frames of the collection code, very early in the child's life, socialize him into knowledge frames which discourage connections with everyday realities, or that there is a highly selective screening of the connection. Through such socialization, the pupil soon learns what of the outside may be brought into the pedagogical frame. Such framing also makes of educational knowledge something not ordinary or mundane, but something esoteric, which gives a special significance to those who possess it. I suggest that when this frame is relaxed to include everyday realities, it is often, and sometimes validly, not simply for the transmission of educational knowledge, but for purposes of social control of forms of deviancy. The weakening of this frame occurs usually with the less able children whom we have given up educating.

In general, then, and depending upon the specific strength of classification and of frames, the European form of the collection code is rigid, differentiating, and hierarchical in character; it is highly resistant to change, particularly at the secondary level. With the English version, this resistance to change is assisted by the discretion that is available to headmasters and principals. In England, within the constraints of the public examination system, the heads of schools and colleges have a relatively wide range of discretion over the organization and transmission of knowledge. Central control over the educational code is relatively weak in England, although clearly the schools are subject to inspection from both central and local government levels. However, the relationship between the inspectorate and the schools in England is very ambiguous. To produce widespread change in England would require the cooperation of hundreds of individual schools. Thus rigidity in educational knowledge codes may arise out of either strong or weak central control over the knowledge codes. Weak central control does permit a series of changes which have, initially, limited consequences for the system as a whole. On the other hand, there is much stronger central control over the organizational style of the school. This can lead to a situation where there can be a change in the organizational style without there being any marked change in the educational knowledge code, particularly where the educational code itself creates specific identities. This raises the question, which cannot be developed here, of the relationships between organizational change and change of educational knowledge code, i.e. change in the strength of classification and framing.

Thus, in general, the European and English forms of the collection code may provide, for those who go beyond the novitiate stage, order, identity, and commitment. For those who do not pass beyond this stage, they can sometimes be wounding and seen as meaningless. What Bourdieu calls '*la violence symbolique*'.

#### *Integrated and Collection Codes*

I shall now examine a form of the integrated code which is realized through very weak classification and frames. I shall, during this analysis, bring out further aspects of collection codes.

There are a number of attempts to institutionalize forms of the integrated code at different strengths, above the level of the infant-school child. Nuffield Science is an attempt to do this with the physical

sciences, and the Chelsea Centre for Science Education, Chelsea College of Technology, University of London, is concerned almost wholly in training students in this approach. Mrs Charity James, at Goldsmiths College, University of London, is also producing training courses for forms of the integrated code. A number of comprehensive schools are experimenting with this approach at the middle-school level. The SDS in Germany, and various radical student groups, are exploring this type of code in order to use the means of the university against the meaning. However, it is probably true to say that the code at the moment exists at the level of ideology and theory, with only a relatively small number of schools and educational agencies attempting to institutionalize it with any seriousness.

Now, as was said earlier in the paper, with the integrated code we have a shift from content closure to content openness, from strong to markedly reduced classification. Immediately, we can see that this disturbance in the classification of knowledge will lead to a disturbance of existing authority structures, existing specific educational identities, and concepts of property.

Where we have integration, the various contents are subordinate to some idea which reduces their isolation from each other. Thus integration reduces the authority of the separate contents, and this has implications for existing authority structures. Where we have collection, considerable differences in pedagogy and evaluation are permitted in principle, because of the high insulation between the different contents. However, the autonomy of the content is the other side of an authority structure which exerts jealous and zealous supervision. I suggest that the integrated code will not permit the variations in pedagogy and evaluation that are possible within collection codes. On the contrary, I suggest that there will be a pronounced movement towards a common pedagogy and a tendency towards a common system of evaluation. In other words, integrated codes will, at the level of the teachers, probably create homogeneity in teaching practice. Thus collection codes increase the discretion of teachers within, always, the limits of the existing classification and frames, whereas integrated codes reduce the discretion of teachers in direct relation to the strength of the integrated code (number of teachers coordinated by the code). On the other hand, it is argued that the increased discretion of the teachers within collection codes is paralleled by *reduced* discretion of the pupils, and that the reduced discretion of the teachers within integrated codes is paralleled by *increased* discretion of the pupils. In

other words, there is a shift in the balance of power in the pedagogical relationship between teacher and taught.

These points will now be developed. In order to accomplish any form of integration (as distinct from different subjects focusing upon a common problem, which gives rise to what could be called a 'focused' curriculum) there must be some relational idea, a supra-content concept, which focuses upon general principles at a high level of abstraction. For example, if the relationships between sociology and biology are to be opened, then the relational idea (among many) might be the issue of problems of order and change examined through the concepts of genetic and cultural codes. Whatever the relational concepts are, they will act selectively upon the knowledge within each subject which is to be transmitted. The particulars of each subject are likely to have reduced significance. This will focus attention upon the deep structure of each subject, rather than upon its surface structure. I suggest that this will lead to an emphasis upon, and exploration of, general principles and the concepts through which these principles are obtained. In turn, this is likely to affect the orientation of the pedagogy, which will be less concerned to emphasize the need to acquire *states* of knowledge and more concerned to emphasize *how* knowledge is created. In other words, the pedagogy of integrated codes is likely to emphasize various ways of knowing in the pedagogical relationship. With the collection code, the pedagogy tends to proceed from the surface structure of the knowledge to the deep structure; as we have seen, only the elite have access to the deep structure and therefore access to the realizing of new realities or to the experiential knowledge that new realities are possible. *With integrated codes, the pedagogy is likely to proceed from the deep structure to the surface structure.* We can see this already at work in the new primary-school mathematics. Thus I suggest that integrated codes will make available from the beginning of the pupils' educational career, clearly in a way appropriate to a given age-level, the deep structure of the knowledge, i.e. the principles for the generating of new knowledge. Such emphasis upon various ways of knowing, rather than upon the attaining of states of knowledge, is likely to affect not only the emphasis of the pedagogy but the underlying theory of learning. The underlying theory of learning of collection codes is likely to be didactic whereas the underlying theory of learning of integrated codes may well be more group- or self-regulated. This arises out of a different concept of what counts

as having knowledge, which in turn leads to a different concept of how the knowledge is to be acquired.

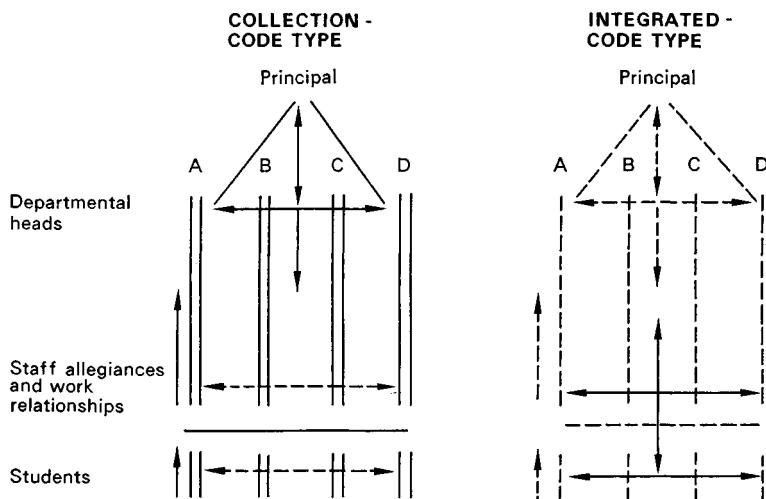
These changes in emphasis and orientation of the pedagogy are initially responsible for the relaxed frames, which teacher and taught enter. Relaxed frames not only change the nature of the authority relationships by increasing the rights of the taught; they can also weaken or blur the boundary between what may and what may not be taught, and so more of the teacher and taught is likely to enter this pedagogical frame. The inherent logic of the integrated code is likely to create a change in the structure of teaching groups, which are likely to exhibit considerable flexibility. The concept of relatively weak boundary maintenance, which is the core principle of integrated codes, is realized both in the structuring of educational knowledge and in the organization of the social relationships.

I shall now introduce some organizational consequences of collection and integrated codes which will make explicit the differences in the distribution of power and the principles of control which inhere in these educational codes.

Where knowledge is regulated through a collection code, the knowledge is organized and distributed through a series of well-insulated subject hierarchies. Such a structure points to oligarchic control of the institution, through formal and informal meetings of heads of department with the head or principal of the institution. Thus senior staff will have strong horizontal work relationships (that is, with their peers in other subject hierarchies) and strong vertical work relationships within their own department. However, junior staff are likely to have only vertical (within the subject hierarchy) allegiances and work relationships (*Figure 2*). The allegiances of junior staff are vertical rather than horizontal for the following reasons. First, staff have been socialized into strong subject loyalty and through this into specific identities. These specific identities are continuously strengthened through social interactions within the department and through the insulation between departments. Second, departments are often in a competitive relationship for strategic teaching resources. Third, preferment within the subject hierarchy often rests with its expansion. Horizontal relationships of junior staff (particularly where there is no effective participatory administrative structure) are likely to be limited to non-task-based contacts. There may well be discussion of control problems ('X of 3b is a . . . How do you deal with him?' or 'I can't get

X to write a paper'). Thus the collection code within the framework of oligarchic control creates for senior staff strong horizontal and vertical work-based relationships, whereas the work relationships of junior staff are likely to be vertical and the horizontal relationships limited to non-work-based contacts. This is a type of organizational system that encourages gossip, intrigue, and a conspiracy theory of the workings of the organization, for both the administration and the acts of teaching are invisible to the majority of staff.

**FIGURE 2** *Ideal-typical organizational structures*



Key: solid lines represent strong boundaries; solid arrows represent direction of strong relationships;  
 broken lines represent weak boundaries; broken arrows represent direction of weak relationships;  
 collection-code type = strong classification: strong frames;  
 integrated-code type = weak classification: weak frames.

Now the integrated code will require teachers of different subjects to enter into social relationships with each other, which will arise not simply out of non-task areas but out of a shared, cooperative educational task. The centre of gravity of the relationships between teachers will undergo a radical shift. Thus instead of teachers and lecturers being divided and insulated by allegiances to subject hierarchies, the

conditions for their unification will exist through a common work situation. I suggest that this changed basis of the relationships between teachers or between lecturers may tend to weaken the separate hierarchies of collection. These new work-based horizontal relationships between teachers and between lecturers may alter both the structure and the distribution of power regulated by the collection code. Further, the administration and specific acts of teaching are likely to shift from relative invisibility to visibility.

We might expect similar developments at the level of students and even senior pupils. For pupils and students with each advance in their educational life are equally subdivided and educationally insulated from each other. They are equally bound to subject hierarchies and for similar reasons to staff; their identities and their future are shaped by the department. Their vertical allegiances and work-based relationships are strong, while their horizontal relationships tend to be limited to non-task areas (student/pupil societies and sport) or peripheral non-task-based administration. Here again we can see another example of the strength of boundary maintenance of collection codes—this time between task and non-task areas. Integrated codes may well provide the conditions for strong horizontal relationships and allegiances in students and pupils, based upon a common work task (the receiving and offering of knowledge).<sup>5</sup> In this situation we might expect a weakening of the boundary between staff, especially junior staff, and students/pupils.

Thus a move from collection to integrated codes may well bring about a disturbance in the structure and distribution of power, in property relationships, and in existing educational identities. This change of educational code involves a fundamental change in the nature and strength of boundaries. It involves a change in what counts as having knowledge, in what counts as a valid transmission of knowledge, in what counts as a valid realization of knowledge, and a change in the organizational context. At the cultural level, it involves a shift from the keeping of categories pure to the mixing of categories; while at the level of socialization the outcomes of integrated codes could be less predictable than the outcomes of collection codes. This change of code involves fundamental changes in the classification and framing of knowledge and so changes in the structure and distribution of power and in principles of control. It is no wonder that deep-felt resistances are called out by the issue of change in educational codes.

### 5. COLLECTION AND INTEGRATED CODES, AND PROBLEMS OF ORDER

I shall now turn to aspects of the problem of order. Where knowledge is regulated by collection codes, social order arises out of the hierarchical nature of the authority relationships, out of the systematic ordering of the differentiated knowledge in time and space, out of an explicit, usually predictable, examining procedure. Order internal to the individual is created through the formation of specific identities. The institutional expression of strong classification and framing creates predictability in time and space. Because of strong classification, collection does allow a range of variations between subjects in the organization, transmission, and evaluation of knowledge. Because of strong classification, this code does *in principle* permit staff to hold (within limits) a range of ideologies because conflicts can be contained within its various insulated hierarchies. At levels below that of the university, the strong frames between educational knowledge and non-educationally relevant knowledge may, *in principle*, facilitate diversity in the ideologies held by staff because it cannot be explicitly offered. At the same time, strong framing makes such intrusion highly visible. The range of personal freedoms at the university level is symbolized in the ethical system of some collection codes and so forms the basis for the cohesion of the differentiated whole.

While it is usually the case that collection codes, relative to integrated codes, create strong frames between the uncommonsense knowledge of the school and the everyday community-based knowledge of teacher and taught, it is also the case that such insulation creates areas of privacy. For, in as much as community-based experience is irrelevant to the pedagogical frame, those aspects of the self that are informed by such experiences are also irrelevant. These areas of privacy reduce the penetration of the socializing process, for it is possible to distance oneself from it. This still means, however, that the socialization can be deeply wounding, either for those who wish for, but do not achieve, an identity, or for the majority for whom the pursuit of an identity is early made irrelevant.

Order created by integrated codes may well be problematic. I suggest that if four conditions are not satisfied, then the openness of learning under integration may produce a culture in which neither staff nor pupils have a sense of time, place, or purpose. I shall comment briefly on these four conditions as I give them.

1. There must be consensus about the integrating idea and it must be very explicit. (It is ironic that the movement towards integration is going on in those countries where there is a low level of moral consensus.) It may be that integrated codes will work (in the sense of creating order) only when there is a high level of ideological consensus among the staff. We have already seen that, in comparison with collection, integrated codes call for greater homogeneity in pedagogy and evaluation, and therefore reduce differences between teachers in the form of the transmission and assessment of knowledge. Whereas the teaching process under collection is likely to be *invisible* to other teachers, unless special conditions prevail, it is likely that the teaching process regulated through integrated codes may well become *visible* as a result of developments in the pedagogy in the direction of flexibility in the structure of teaching groups. It is also the case that the weak classification and relaxed frames of integrated codes permit greater expression of differences between teachers, and possibly between pupils, in the selection of what is taught. The moral bases of educational choices are then likely to be explicit at the initial planning stage. Integrated codes also weaken specific identities. For the above reasons, integrated codes may require a high level of ideological consensus and this may affect the recruitment of staff. Integrated codes at the surface level create weak or blurred boundaries, but at bottom they may rest upon closed explicit ideologies. Where such ideologies are not shared, the consequences will become visible and threaten the whole at every point.

2. The nature of the linkage between the integrating idea and the knowledge to be coordinated must be coherently spelt out. It is this linkage that will be the basic element in bringing teachers and pupils into their working relationship. *The development of such a coordinating framework will be the process of socialization of teachers into the code. During this process, the teacher will internalize, as in all processes of socialization, the interpretative procedures of the code so that these become implicit guides which regulate and coordinate his behaviour in the relaxed frames and weakened classification.* This brings us to a major distinction between collection and integrated codes. With a collection code, the period of socialization is facilitated by strong boundary maintenance both at the level of role and at the level of knowledge. Such socialization is likely to be continuous with the teacher's own educational socialization. With integrated codes, both the role and the form of the knowledge have to be achieved in

relation to a range of different others, and this may involve resocialization if the teacher's previous educational experience has been formed by the collection code. The collection code is capable of working when staffed by mediocre teachers, whereas integrated codes call for much greater powers of synthesis and analogy, and for more ability both to tolerate and to enjoy ambiguity at the level of knowledge and of social relationships.

3. A committee system of staff may have to be set up to create a sensitive feedback system, and also to provide a further agency of socialization into the code. The evaluative criteria are likely to be relatively weak, in the sense that they will tend to be less explicit and measurable than in the case of collection. As a result, it may be necessary to develop committees for both teachers and students, and, where appropriate, for pupils, which will perform monitoring functions.

4. One of the major difficulties that inhere in integrated codes arises over what is to be assessed, and the form of assessment; also the place of specific competencies in such assessment. It is likely that integrated codes will give rise to multiple criteria of assessment compared with collection codes. In the case of collection codes, because the knowledge moves from the surface to the deep structure, this progression creates ordered principles of evaluation in time. The form of temporal cohesion of the knowledge regulated through the integrated code has yet to be determined and made explicit. Without clear criteria of evaluation, neither teacher nor taught has any means to consider the significance of what is learnt, or any means to judge the pedagogy. In the case of collection codes, evaluation at the secondary level often consists of the fit between a narrow range of specific competencies and states of knowledge, and previously established criteria (varying in explicitness) of what constitutes a right or appropriate or convincing answer. The previously established criteria together with the specific social context of assessment create a relatively objective procedure. I do not want to suggest that this necessarily gives rise to a form of assessment which entirely disregards distinctive and original features of the pupil's performance. However, in the case of the integrated code under discussion (weak frames for teacher and taught) this form of assessment may well be inappropriate. The weak frames enable a greater range of the student's behaviour to be made public and they make possible considerable diversity (at least in principle) between students. It is possible that this might lead to a situation where assess-

ment takes more account of 'inner' attributes of the student. Thus if he has the 'right' attitudes this will result later in the attainment of various specific competencies. The 'right' attitude may be assessed in terms of the fit between the pupil's attitudes and the current ideology. It is possible, then, that the evaluative criteria of integrated codes with weak frames may be weak as these refer to specific cognitive attributes but strong as these refer to dispositional attributes. If this is so then a new range of pupil attributes become candidates for labels. It is also likely that the weakened classification and framing will encourage more of the pupil/student to be made public; more of his thoughts, feelings, and values. In this way more of the pupil is available for control. As a result the socialization could be more intensive and perhaps more penetrating. In the same way as pupils/students defend themselves against the wounds of collection or distance themselves from its overt code, so they may produce new defences against the potential intrusiveness of the integrated code and its open learning contexts.

We can summarize this question of the problem of order as follows. Collection codes have explicit and strong boundary-maintaining features and they rest upon a tacit ideological basis. Integrated codes have implicit and weak boundary-maintaining features and they rest upon an explicit and closed ideological basis. The ideological basis of the collection code is a condensed symbolic system communicated through its explicit boundary-maintaining features. Its covert structure is that of mechanical solidarity. The ideological basis of integrated codes is not a condensed symbolic system; it is verbally elaborated and explicit. It is an overt realization of organic solidarity, made substantive through weak forms of boundary maintenance (low insulations). Yet the covert structure of mechanical solidarity of collection codes creates through its specialized outputs *organic* solidarity. On the other hand, the overt structure of organic solidarity of integrated codes creates through its less specialized outputs *mechanical* solidarity. And it will do this to the extent to which its ideology is explicit, elaborated, and closed, and effectively and *implicitly* transmitted through its low insulations. In so far as integrated codes do not accomplish this, then order is highly problematic at the level of social organization and at the level of the person. In so far as integrated codes do accomplish such socialization, then we have the covert deep closure of mechanical solidarity. This is the fundamental paradox which has to be faced and explored.

#### 6. CHANGE OF EDUCATIONAL CODE

I have tried to make explicit the relationships between educational codes and the structure of power and principles of social control. Attempts to change or modify educational codes will meet with resistance at a number of different levels irrespective of the intrinsic educational merit of a particular code. I shall now briefly discuss some reasons for a movement towards the institutionalizing of integrated codes of the weak classification and weak framing (teacher and taught) type,<sup>6</sup> above the level of the primary school.<sup>7</sup>

1. The growing differentiation of knowledge at the higher levels of thought, together with the integration of previously discrete areas, may set up requirements for a form of socialization appropriate to these changes in the structure of knowledge.
2. Changes in the division of labour are creating a different concept of skill. The inbuilt obsolescence of whole varieties of skills reduces the significance of context-tied operations and increases the significance of general principles from which a range of diverse operations may be derived. In crude terms, it could be said that the nineteenth century required submissive and inflexible man, whereas the twenty-first requires conforming but flexible man.
3. The less rigid social structure of the integrated code makes it a potential code for egalitarian education.
4. In advanced industrial societies which permit, within limits, a range of legitimizing beliefs and ideologies, there are major problems of control. There is the problem of making sense of the differentiated, weakly coordinated and changing symbolic systems, and the problem of inner regulation of the person. Integrated codes, with their stress on the underlying unity of knowledge through their emphasis upon analogy and synthesis, could be seen as a response to the first problem of 'making sense'. The *interpersonal* rather than *interpositional* control of the integrated code may set up a penetrating, intrusive form of socialization under conditions of ambiguity in the system of beliefs and the moral order.

If these reasons operate, we could consider the movement towards integrated codes as stemming from a technological source. However, it is possible that there is another and deeper source of the movement

away from collection. I suggest that the movement away from collection to integrated codes symbolizes that there is a crisis in society's basic classifications and frames, and therefore a crisis in its structures of power and principles of control. The movement from this point of view represents an attempt to de-classify and so alter power structures and principles of control; in so doing to unfreeze the structuring of knowledge and to change the boundaries of consciousness. From this point of view integrated codes are symptoms of a moral crisis rather than of the terminal state of an educational system.

#### CONCLUSION

In this paper I have tried to explore the concept of boundary in such a way that it is possible to see both the power and the control components. The analysis focuses directly upon the structuring of transmitted educational knowledge.

Although the concept of 'classification' appears to operate on a single dimension, i.e. differences in degrees of insulation between contents (subjects/courses etc.), it explicitly points to power and control components. In the same way, the concept of 'frame' appears to operate in a single dimension: what may or may not be taught in the pedagogical relationship; yet exploration of the concept again points to power and control components. Because educational codes have been defined in terms of the relationship between classification and framing, these two components are built into the analysis at all levels. It then becomes possible, in one framework, to derive a typology of educational codes, to show the interrelationships between organizational and knowledge properties, to move from macro- to micro-levels of analysis, to relate the patterns internal to educational institutions to the external social antecedents of such patterns, and to consider questions of maintenance and change. At the same time, it is hoped that the analysis makes explicit tacit assumptions underlying various educational codes. It attempts to show, at a theoretical level, the relationships between a particular symbolic order and the structuring of experience. I believe that it offers an approach which is well capable of exploration by diverse methods at the empirical level.

It should be quite clear that *the specific application of the concept requires at every point empirical evidence*. I have not attempted to bolster the argument with references, because in many cases the

evidence required does not exist in a form which bears directly upon the chain of inferences, and therefore would offer perhaps spurious support. We have, for example, little first-hand knowledge which bears upon aspects of framing as this concept is used in the paper. We also have next to no first-hand knowledge of the day-by-day encounters realized by various types of integrated code.

I hope that the kinds of question raised by this approach will encourage sociologists of education to explore, both theoretically and empirically, the structure of educational knowledge which I take to be the distinctive feature of this field.

## *Notes*

- 1 It follows that frame strength for teacher and taught can be assessed at the different levels of selection, organization, and pacing of the knowledge.
- 2 Consider the recent acrimonious debate over the attempt to obtain permission at Oxford to develop a degree in anthropology, sociology, psychology, and biology—a relatively ‘pure’ combination.
- 3 The content of public examinations between the secondary and the tertiary level is controlled by the tertiary level, directly or indirectly, through the control over the various syllabuses. Therefore, if there is to be any major shift in the syllabuses and curricula of secondary schools, changes will be required in the tertiary level’s policy as this affects the acceptance of students. Such a change in policy would involve changes in the selection, organization, and pacing of knowledge at the tertiary level. Thus the condition for a major shift in the knowledge code at the secondary level is a major shift in the knowledge code at the tertiary level. Changes in the knowledge code at the secondary level are likely to be of a somewhat limited nature without similar changes at the tertiary level. Clearly there are other interest groups (e.g. industry) which may affect a given curriculum and syllabus.
- 4 What is often overlooked is that the pacing of knowledge (i.e. the rate of expected learning) is implicitly based upon the middle-class socialization of the child. Middle-class family socialization of the child is a hidden subsidy, in the sense that it provides both a physical and a psychological environment which immensely facilitate, in diverse ways, school learning. The middle-class child is oriented to learning almost anything. Because of this hidden subsidy, there has been little incentive to change curriculum and pedagogy; for the middle-class child is geared to learn; he may not like, or indeed approve of, what he

- learns, but he learns. Where the school system is not subsidized by the home, the pupil often fails. In this way, even the *pacing* of educational knowledge is class-based. It may well be that frame strength, as this refers to pacing, is a critical variable in the study of educability. It is possible that the weak framing (as this refers to pacing) of integrated codes indicates that integrated codes presuppose a longer average educational life. Middle-class children may have been potential pupils for progressive schools because of their longer educational life.
- 5 It is possible that the weak boundary-maintaining procedures of integrated codes at the level of organizational structure, knowledge structure, and identity structure will increase the informal age-group affiliations of pupils/students as a source of identity, relation, and organization.
- 6 In this paper I have suggested that integrated codes rest upon a closed explicit ideology. It should then follow that such a code would stand a better chance of successful institutionalization in societies where (a) there were strong and effective constraints upon the development of a range of ideologies and (b) the educational system was a major agency of political socialization. Further, the weak boundary-maintaining procedures of the integrated code would (a) increase the penetration of the socialization as more of the self of the taught is made public through the relaxed frames and (b) make deviancy more visible. On the other hand, integrated codes carry a potential for change in power structures and principles of control. I would therefore guess that, in such societies, integrated codes would possess weak classification, but the frames for teacher and taught would be strong.
- 7 It is a matter of interest that, in England, it is only in the infant school that there is relatively widespread introduction of this form of integrated code. This raises the general question of how this level of the educational system was open to such change. Historically, the primary school developed distinct concepts of infant and junior stages, and distinct heads for these two stages. Given the relative autonomy over the transmission of knowledge which characterizes the British system of education, it was in principle possible to have change. Although only a ceiling may separate infant from junior departments, two quite distinct and often incompatible educational codes can develop. We can regard this as a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for the emergence of integrated codes at the infant-school level. It was also the case, until very recently, that the selection function started in the junior department, because that department was the gateway to the grammar school; this left the infant school relatively free of control by levels higher than itself. The form of integration in the infant school, again until recently, was teacher-based, and therefore did not set up the problems that arise out of teachers-based integration. Finally,

infant-school teachers are not socialized into strong educational identities. Thus the English educational system had, until recently, two potential points of openness—the period between the ages of five and seven years, before selection began, and the period post-eighteen years of age, when selection is virtually completed. The major control on the structuring of knowledge at the secondary level is the structuring of knowledge at the tertiary level, specifically the university. Only if there is a major change in the structuring of knowledge at this level can there be effective code change at lower levels.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful to Professor Wolfgang Klafki, and particularly to Mr Hubertus Huppauf of the University of Marburg, for many valuable suggestions and constructive criticism. I should also like to acknowledge many hours of discussion with my colleague Mr Michael Young. I have learnt much from Mr David Adelstein, graduate student in the Department of Sociology of Education, University of London Institute of Education. I am particularly grateful to Mr W. Brandis, research officer in the Department's Research Unit. I have also benefited from the stringent criticisms of Professor R. Peters and Mr Lionel Elvin, of the University of London Institute of Education. My greatest debt is to Professor Mary Douglas, University College London.

I should like to thank the Director of the Chaucer Publishing Company, Mr L. G. Grossman, for a small but vital grant.

#### References

- BERNSTEIN, B. 1967. Open Schools, Open Society? *New Society*, 14 September, 10 (259): 351-3.
- BERNSTEIN, B., ELVIN, H. L. & PETERS, R. S. 1966. Ritual in Education. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, series B, vol. 251, no. 772, pp. 429-36.
- DAVIES, D. I. 1970. The Management of Knowledge: A Critique of the Use of Typologies in Educational Sociology. *Sociology* 4 (1). Reprinted in M. F. D. Young (ed.), *Knowledge and Control*. London & New York: Collier-Macmillan, 1971, pp. 267-88.
- DOUGLAS, M. 1966. *Purity and Danger*. London: Routledge.
- 1970. *Natural Symbols*. London: Barrie & Rockliff.
- DURKHEIM, E. 1947. *On the Division of Labor in Society*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.

- 1961. *Moral Education*. (Translated by E. K. Wilson & H. Schnurer.) New York: Free Press.
- DURKHEIM, E. & MAUSS, M. 1963. *Primitive Classification*. (Translated by R. Needham.) London: Cohen & West.
- JEFFREY, G. B. 1950. *The Unity of Knowledge: Reflections on the Universities of Cambridge and London*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- KEDDIE, N. G. 1970. The Social Basis of Classroom Knowledge. MA dissertation, University of London Institute of Education.
- HOYLE, E. 1969. How does the Curriculum Change? (1) A Proposal for Enquiries. (2) Systems and Strategies. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 1 (2) and (3).
- MUSGROVE, F. 1968. The Contribution of Sociology to the Study of the Curriculum. In J. F. Kerr (ed.), *Changing the Curriculum*. London: University of London Press.
- YOUNG, M. 1971. Curricula as Socially Organised Knowledge. In M. F. D. Young (ed.), *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*. London & New York: Collier-Macmillan.

© Basil Bernstein 1973

## Name Index

---

- Abbot, J., 198n, 198  
Abrams, P., 206, 216  
Adams, R., 156, 160  
Adelstein, D., 391  
Agersnap, T., 289, 294  
Albrow, M., 255, 289  
Anderson, C. A., 144, 161  
Anderson, C. A. & M. J. Bowman, 141, 161  
Anderson, P., 346, 347, 360  
Archambault, R., 362  
Argyris, C., 286n, 289  
Arnold, M., 320, 324, 335  
Ash, M., 313n, 314  
Ashby, E., 206-7, 208, 209, 210, 211, 213, 215, 216  
Asquith, H. H., 193n
- Bakke, E. W., 255, 289  
Balan, J., 142, 144, 147, 152, 155, 160n, 161  
Baldamus, W., 9, 15  
Banks, O., 2, 15, 64n, 66n, 68, 203, 204, 206, 216  
Barker-Lunn, J., 280, 285n, 289n, 289  
Baron, G. & W. Taylor, 292  
Baron, G. & A. Tropp, 279, 289  
Barrie, J. M., 170-1, 198  
Beard, R., 59, 68  
Becker, H. S., B. Geer & E. C. Hughes, 181, 198, 270, 287n, 289, 345, 360  
Becker, H. S. *et al.*, 360, 361  
Bell, R. E., 187n, 192n, 197n  
Bell, R. R. & H. R. Stub, 289, 292, 293  
Bellah, R. N., 205, 216  
Ben-David, J., 349, 360  
Bensley, P., 279, 290  
Berger, P. L. & T. Luckmann, 322, 335, 359n, 360  
Bernbaum, G., 287n, 290  
Bernstein, B., vii, ix, 1-2, 9, 10, 11, 15, 62n, 66n, 267, 278, 283, 285n, 290, 313n, 319, 333, 334n, 335, 350, 351, 353, 359n, 360, 363, 391  
Bernstein, B., H. L. Elvin & R. S. Peters, 278, 289n, 290, 363, 391  
Bertalanffy, L. von, 214, 216, 286n, 290
- Bettelheim, B., 300, 315  
Bidwell, C. E., 262, 263, 274, 275, 285n, 288n, 290  
Birrell, A., 193  
Black, M., 255, 286n, 290  
Blake, R., 346, 361  
Blau, P. & O. T. Duncan, 147, 161  
Blau, P. M., W. V. Heydebrand & R. E. Staufier, 274, 290  
Blau, P. M. & W. R. Scott, 252, 258, 274, 285n, 288n, 290, 313n, 315  
Blegen, H. M., 285n, 290  
Bloom, B. S., 334n, 335  
Blyth, W. A. L., 261, 290  
Booth, C., 343  
Borda, O. F., 139n, 139  
Bourdieu, P., ix, 5, 12, 14, 346, 350, 361, 377  
Bourdieu, P. & A. Darbel, 105n, 112  
Bourdieu, P. & J. C. Passeron, 334n, 335  
Bourdieu, P., J. C. Passeron & M. de Saint-Martin, 334n, 335  
Bourdieu, P. & M. de Saint-Martin, 111n, 112  
Brandis, W., 391  
Breese, G., 161  
Brim, O. G. & S. Wheeler, 262, 270, 271, 283, 284, 290, 344, 361  
Brown, R. K., ix, 286n, 289n, 290  
Browning, H., 147, 161  
Buckley, W., 213, 216, 257, 285n, 287n, 290  
Bullock, R., x, 2, 8  
Burns, T., 226, 239, 240, 241, 242, 246, 251-2, 253, 290  
Burns, T. & G. H. Stalker, 282, 290  
Busch (President of Bolivia), 119  
Butcher, H. J., 285n, 290
- Cairncross, A. K., 199  
Callahan, D., 253, 290  
Cant, R., 197n, 198  
Carlson, O., 280, 288n, 290  
Carnegie, A., 168  
Carroll, T., 138n  
Carter, M. P., 1, 15, 343, 361

- Cave, R. G., 317, 335  
 Child, A., 345, 359n, 361  
 Child, H. A. L., 313n, 315  
 Chomsky, N., 334n, 335  
 Cicourel, A. V., 289n, 291  
 Cicourel, A. V. & J. Kitsuse, 272, 273, 287n, 291, 344, 345, 361  
 Clark, B. R., 29, 65n, 68, 167, 198, 210, 215, 216, 259, 263, 291  
 Clarke, R. V. G. & D. N. Martin, 309, 315  
 Cockburn, A. & R. Blackburn, 245n, 246, 317, 335, 360  
 Cohen, P. S., 205, 216  
 Cohn-Bendit, D. *et al.*, 245n  
 Coleman, J. S., 26, 29, 68, 270, 271, 285n, 291, 298, 315  
 Collier, A., 172, 193n, 198  
 Collison, P., vii  
 Comitas, L., 123, 138n, 139  
 Corwin, R. G., 280, 285n, 291  
 Couper, M., 216  
 Cox, C. B. & A. E. Dyson, 226, 231, 232, 246, 317, 335, 336  
 Cremin, L. A., 360n, 361  
 Crick, B., 246n, 246  
 Crittenden, B. S., 203, 216  
 Cross, M. & R. G. Jobling, 210, 216  
 Crozier, M., 288n, 291  
 Dandler-Hanhart, J., 138n, 139  
 Davie, G. E., 164, 171, 172, 173, 175, 176, 177, 181, 182, 183, 189n, 192n, 198, 332, 335, 359n, 361  
 Davies, D. I., x, 3, 9, 62n, 68, 164, 198, 319, 324, 333, 335, 363, 391  
 Davies, W. B., x, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15n, 298, 313n, 360n, 360  
 Davis, K. & H. H. Golden, 152, 161  
 DeCharms, R., 26, 68  
 Despres, L. A., 335n, 335  
 Dewey, J., 320, 324  
 Dick, J., 168  
 Douglas, J. W. B., 1, 15, 26, 41, 68, 165, 187n, 198  
 Douglas, J. W. B. *et al.*, 165, 187n, 198  
 Douglas, J. W. B., J. M. Ross & H. R. Simpson, 26, 41, 68, 188n, 199, 343, 361  
 Douglas, M., 391  
 Downes, D. M., 311, 315  
 Dreeben, R., 270, 285n, 291  
 Dumont, R., 327, 335  
 Dunning, E. G. & E. I. Hopper, 59, 68  
 Durand, J. D. & C. A. Pelaez, 160n, 161  
 Durand, V., 315  
 Durkheim, E., 10, 72, 203, 205, 211, 217, 230, 231, 232, 319, 320, 327, 336, 339, 346, 349–50, 361, 364, 391, 392  
 Durkheim, E. & M. Mauss, 392  
 Dusenbury, J. F., 49, 68  
 Easton, D., 337  
 Eisenstadt, S. N., 205, 217  
 Elvin, L., 391  
 Emery, F. E. & E. L. Trist, 214, 217, 282, 286n, 291  
 Etzioni, A., 185, 197n, 199, 252, 257, 269, 287n, 291, 293, 295, 301, 303, 313n, 315  
 Ewbank, I-S., 335n, 336  
 Faris, R. E. L., 68, 294  
 Feldman, J. & H. E. Kanter, 289n  
 Floud, J. E., 250, 291  
 Floud, J. E. & A. H. Halsey, 2, 6, 15, 204, 205, 206, 215, 217, 250, 291  
 Floud, J. E., A. H. Halsey & F. M. Martin, 174, 199, 340, 361  
 Floud, J. E. & W. Scott, 287n, 291  
 Folger, J. K. & C. B. Nam, 147, 161  
 Ford, J., 313n, 315  
 Fortes, M., 203, 217  
 Foster, P. J., 150, 161  
 Frank, A. G., 138n, 139, 287n, 292, 334n, 336  
 Freud, S., 282, 289n  
 Friede, J., 139n, 139  
 Friedron, A., 295  
 Froome, S. H., 323, 336  
 Frye, N., 320  
 Garfinkel, H., 334n, 336  
 Geer, B., 270, 275, 285n, 291  
 Gerth, H. H. & C. W. Mills, 218, 362  
 Giallombardo, R., 300, 301, 308, 315  
 Ginsberg, M., 206  
 Gittus, E., vii  
 Glass, D. V., 199, 206  
 Glaser, B. G. & A. L. Strauss, 253, 291  
 Goblot, E., 350, 361  
 Goffman, E., 65n, 68, 265, 266, 291, 300, 301, 307, 313n, 314n, 315, 334n, 336  
 Goldthorpe, J. H., 12, 15  
 Gomes, J. da Silva, 138n  
 Goodman, P., 360n, 361  
 Gordon, C. W., 270, 277, 285n, 292  
 Goslin, D. A., 65n, 68, 274, 292  
 Gould, J., 15, 289  
 Gouldner, A. W., 274, 288n, 292, 335n, 336  
 Gramsci, A., 320, 327, 328, 331, 333, 334, 336  
 Greenblatt, M. *et al.*, 294  
 Grierson, 192n  
 Griffiths, D. E., 253, 290–1, 292  
 Gross, E., 255, 292  
 Gross, L., 336

- Gross, N. & R. E. Herriott, 253, 292  
 Gross, N. C., W. S. Mason & A. W.  
     McEachern, 279, 292, 345, 361  
 Gurr, T. R., 65n, 68  
 Gurrieri, A., 156, 161  
 Gusfield, J. R. & D. Riesman, 359n, 361
- Haddox, B. E., 139n, 139  
 Haire, M., 286n, 289, 292  
 Haldane, R. B., 193n  
 Hall, E. T., 325, 336  
 Halpin, A. W., 292, 294  
 Halsey, A. H., 187n, 196n, 199, 210,  
     217, 348, 362  
 Halsey, A. H., J. Floud & C. A.  
     Anderson, 2, 4, 15, 16, 161, 198,  
     199, 200, 201, 287n, 289, 291, 292,  
     294, 362  
 Hanham, H. J., 189n, 199  
 Hannay, 193n  
 Hansen, D. A. & J. E. Gerstl, 291  
 Hargreaves, D., 250, 270, 271, 277,  
     285n, 292, 298, 300, 314n, 315  
 Hatt, P. K. & A. J. Reiss, 161  
 Hauser, A., 321, 336  
 Henderson, I., 189n, 199  
 Henry, J., 268, 270, 285n, 292, 360n,  
     362  
 Herrick, B., 142, 144, 161  
 Hextall, I. J., 265, 285n, 287n, 289n,  
     292  
 Hightet, J., 165, 168, 188n, 189n, 199  
 Himmelweit, H. T. & B. Swift, 289n,  
     292  
 Hindess, B., 6, 15  
 Hinings, C. R., D. S. Pugh, D. J.  
     Hickson & C. Turner, 253, 292  
 Hirst, P. H., 342, 362  
 Hirst, P. Q., x, 7, 12, 13, 15n  
 Hoare, Q., 324, 336  
 Hobhouse, L. T., 206  
 Hodges, V., 314n, 315  
 Hogben, L. T., 206, 217  
 Holbrook, D., 313n  
 Homans, G. C., 49, 68  
 Hopper, E., x, 4, 5, 12, 14, 17, 22, 32,  
     51, 52, 57-8, 63n, 64n, 65n, 66n, 68,  
     69, 187n, 199  
 Hopper, E. & Pearce, A., 63n, 69  
 Horowitz, I. L., 362  
 Horton, J., 246n, 246  
 Howarth, T. E. B., 297, 315  
 Hoyle, E., 250, 253, 254, 285n, 292,  
     344, 362, 363, 392  
 Humboldt, K. W. von, 207  
 Huppauf, H., 391  
 Hutchinson, B., 154, 161
- Irvine (Principal of St Andrews), 196n  
 Iutaka, S., 155n, 160n, 161
- Jackson, B., 313n  
 Jackson, B. & D. Marsden, 1, 15  
 Jackson, P. W., 265, 270, 285n, 288n,  
     293  
 Jacobsen, L. & R. Rosenthal, 272, 293  
 Jaques, E., 289n  
 James, C., 267, 293, 378  
 James, Lord, 212  
 Jeffrey, G. B., 392  
 Jenkins, R., 193n, 199  
 Jenks, C. & D. Riesman, 40, 69  
 Jensen, A. R., 285n, 293  
 Jobling, R., xi, 7, 12, 13, 15n, 210, 217  
 Jones, G. W., 334n, 336  
 Jones, M., 313n, 315
- Kahl, J. A., 26, 68, 69  
 Kalton, G., 293  
 Katz, D. & R. L. Kahn, 286n, 293  
 Keddie, N. G., 392  
 Kelly, J., 289n, 293  
 Kelsall, R. K., 166, 172, 188n, 199  
 Kelsall, R. K. & H. Kelsall, 287n, 293  
 Kerr, C., 215, 217  
 Kerr, J., 168, 171, 173, 189n, 199  
 Kerr, J. F., 362  
 Kimball, E. P., 205, 217  
 King, R. A., 262, 266, 293, 308, 315  
 Klaftki, W., 391  
 Knox, J., 169, 190n  
 Kuhn, T. S., 321, 324, 336
- Lacey, C., 150, 161, 272, 293  
 Lagos, G., 334n, 336  
 Lambert, R. J., xi, 2, 8, 9, 13, 15, 256,  
     261, 266, 269, 275, 277, 278, 293  
 Lambert, R. J., R. Bullock & S.  
     Millham, 252, 288n, 313n, 315  
 Lambert, R. J., J. Hipkin & S. Stagg,  
     16, 256, 293, 307, 315, 359n, 362  
 Lambert, R. J. & S. Millham, 2, 16,  
     256, 262, 293, 309, 315, 359n, 362  
 Landsberger, H. A., 255, 286n  
 Lane, H., 320  
 Larner, K., 193n  
 Lavin, D. E., 65n, 69  
 Leal, V. N., 139n, 139  
 Leavis, F. R., 324, 334  
 Lee, J., 197n, 199  
 Lemert, E. M., 334n, 336  
 Lenin, V. I., 331  
 Levinson, D. & R. H. Williams,  
     250-1, 293  
 Levitt, K., 329, 336  
 Lewin, R. R., 259, 279, 293  
 Lipset, S. M. & R. Bendix, 168, 199  
 Little, A. & J. Westergaard, 187n, 199  
 Litwak, E. & R. J. Meyer, 260, 280,  
     289n, 293

- Lourie, S., 148, 149n, 150, 160n, 161  
 Lyman, S. M. & M. B. Scott, 334n,  
 336  
 Lyons, R. F., 161
- McClelland, W., 191n, 199  
 MacDiarmid, H., 164, 200  
 McDonald, I. J., 173, 200  
 Machiavelli, 334  
 McIntosh, D. M., 191n, 200  
 Mackay, D. I., 171, 172, 176, 177,  
 191n, 196n, 200  
 McKay, D. M., 191n  
 McLeery, R. H., 276, 293  
 McPherson, A. F., xi, 4, 5, 7, 12, 13,  
 15n, 180, 200  
 McPherson, A. F. & G. F. Atherton,  
 195n, 200  
 MacPherson, C. B., 246n, 247  
 Macpherson, J. S., 165, 175, 189n, 200  
 Mannheim, K., 3, 319, 321, 334, 336,  
 345  
 March, J. G., 251, 285n, 289n, 290, 293  
 March, J. G. & H. A. Simon, 313n,  
 315  
 Marsden, D., 313n  
 Martin, D., 233, 246n, 247, 317, 336  
 Martins, H., 3, 16  
 Marx, K., 10, 95, 220, 221, 233, 319,  
 320, 321, 339, 341, 345, 346–8, 350,  
 359n, 364  
 Maxwell, J., 189n, 200  
 Mayntz, R., 251, 285n, 293  
 Mayo, P. E., 312, 315  
 Mead, G. H., 359n  
 Merton, R. K., 282, 293  
 Miller, E. J. & A. K. Rice, 283, 289n,  
 293  
 Miles, M., 322, 327, 336  
 Millham, S., xi, 2, 8  
 Mills, C. Wright, 67n, 69, 346, 348,  
 359n, 362  
 Milne, 168  
 Moeller, G. H., 274, 293  
 Monks, T. G., 263, 279, 294  
 Moore, G. H., 212, 217  
 Morgan, I. N. & J. A. Sonquist, 178,  
 200  
 Morris, T. & P. Morris, 300, 315  
 Morrison, A. & D. McIntyre, 287n,  
 294  
 Mouzelis, N., 251, 285n, 287n, 288n,  
 294  
 Musgrave, P. W., 2, 16, 255, 294  
 Musgrave, F., 212, 217, 348, 359n,  
 362, 363, 392  
 Musgrave, F. & P. H. Taylor, 263,  
 264, 266, 294, 312, 316  
 Mussen, P. *et al.*, 292  
 Mussolini, B., 327  
 Myers, J. D., 189n, 200  
 Newcomb, T. M., 311, 316  
 Newman, J. H., 320  
 Niblett, W. R., 337  
 Nicoll, A., 335n, 337  
 Nisbet, J. D., 200  
 Nisbet, R. A., 245n, 247  
 Ormell, C. P., 323, 337  
 Osborne, G. S., 163, 165, 169, 171,  
 174, 187n, 188n, 192n, 194n, 195n,  
 200  
 Pando (President of Bolivia), 118  
 Parker, S. R. *et al.*, 295  
 Parsons, T., 9, 10, 12, 205, 208, 209,  
 210, 211, 213, 215, 217, 254, 255–6,  
 258, 269, 274, 286n, 287n, 294, 320,  
 321, 322, 325, 326, 327, 330, 331,  
 334, 337, 350  
 Pearse, Andrew, xii, 6, 13, 138n, 139  
 Pérez, E., 119, 120, 138n, 139  
 Perrow, C., 281, 282, 289n, 294  
 Perry, L. R., 320, 337  
 Peters, R., 391  
 Phenix, P., 334n, 337  
 Polsky, H. W., 300, 316  
 Postic, M., 246n  
 Power, M. J. *et al.*, 312, 316  
 Praderie, M., 97, 112  
 Pugh, D. S. *et al.*, 9, 16  
 Punch, M., 307, 316  
 Rapoport, R. N., 300, 305, 316  
 Ratinoff, L., 127, 138n, 139  
 Razell, A., 277, 287n, 294  
 Ree, H., 314n  
 Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. & A. Reichel-  
 Dolmatoff, 127, 139  
 Reiss, A. J., 293  
 Rex, J., vii  
 Rhenman, E., 255, 294  
 Roberts, B., xii, 6, 13, 160n, 162  
 Robinson, E., 317, 337  
 Robson, R., 199  
 Rock, P. & F. Heidensohn, 226, 233  
 Roethlisberger, F. J. & W. J. Dickson,  
 287n, 294  
 Rogers, E. R., 322, 337  
 Rose, S. & H., 334n, 337  
 Rothblatt, S., 332, 337  
 Rowntree, J., 343  
 Russell, B., 320  
 Salz, B., 138n, 140  
 Sandford, C. T. *et al.*, 212, 217  
 Sanginés Uriarte, M., 118, 123, 124,  
 136, 138n, 140  
 Saunders, L. J., 168, 200

- Schnore, L. F., 142, 162, 205, 218  
Schurmann, H. F., 331, 337  
Schutz, A., 330, 334, 334n, 337, 359n  
Scotland, J., 194n, 200  
Scott, W. R., 251, 285n, 294  
Selznick, P., 65n, 69, 257, 294  
Servan-Schreiber, J.-J., 334n, 337  
Shipman, M., 255, 294  
Siles (President of Bolivia), 118  
Silverman, D., 12, 15n, 16, 252, 256,  
    294  
Skidelsky, R., 313, 316  
Smiles, S., 168  
Smith, D., 62n, 65n  
Smith, D. M., 263, 295  
Smith, M. A., 252, 285n, 295  
Smith, M. G., 335n, 337  
Snow, R. E., 272, 295  
Solari, A. E., N. Campiglia & S.  
    Prates, 147, 148, 162  
Sorokin, P., 65n, 69  
Sparks, R. F. & R. G. Hood, 316  
Sparrow, J., 246n  
Spencer, H., 205, 206, 213, 218  
Stalin, J., 329, 331  
Stevens, F., 262, 266, 295  
Stinchcombe, A. L., 285n, 295  
Strauss, A. L. *et al.*, 251, 257, 295  
Street, D., R. D. Vinter & C. Perrow,  
    300, 308, 316  
Sugarman, B., 298, 300, 316  
Svensson, N. E., 285n, 295  
Swift, D. F., 2, 16  
Sykes, G., 299, 300, 301, 308, 316  
  
Taylor, D., 289n  
Taylor, F., 252  
Taylor, W., 257, 287n, 295  
Teixeira, A., 128, 140  
Templeman, G., 212  
Termini, D., 155, 160n, 162  
Terreberry, S., 214, 218  
Thistlethwaite, F., 212  
Thompson, E. P., 332, 337  
Thomson, G., 197n  
Titmuss, R., 246n  
Toro (President of Bolivia), 119  
Townsend, P., 313n  
Trotsky, L., 320, 327, 328, 329, 337  
  
Trow, M., 317, 337  
Turner, C. M., 250, 295  
Turner, R. H., 4, 13, 16, 17-18, 19,  
    26, 60, 62n, 63n, 64n, 69, 165, 172,  
    187n, 193n, 200  
Tyerman, M. J., 314n, 316  
  
Veliz, C., 160  
Venturi, 246n, 247  
Vroom, V. H., 290  
  
Wakeford, J., 308, 316, 359n, 362  
Waldo, D., 285n, 295  
Walker, W. L., 314n, 316  
Waller, W., 204, 205, 218, 266, 270,  
    277, 285n, 295  
Walters, G., 212, 217, 218  
Ward, D. F. & G. Kassebaum, 308,  
    316  
Ward, L. F., 205, 213, 218  
Webb, J., 270, 287n, 295  
Weber, M., 10, 210, 218, 255, 273,  
    275, 288n, 319, 320, 339, 343, 348-9,  
    350, 359n, 362  
Weinberg, I., 308, 316  
Welford, A. T. *et al.*, 291  
White, J., 287n, 295  
Whiteley, J. S., 316  
Whyte, W. F., 286n  
Wilkinson, R., 349, 362  
Willener, A., 334n, 337  
Williams, R., 343, 346, 347, 362  
Williamson, B., 14n, 16  
Wilson, B. R., 226, 227, 228, 229, 230,  
    231, 232, 233, 246n, 268, 295  
Wilson, H., 237  
Woodward, J., 261, 282, 295  
Wolfe, M., 114, 140  
Worsley, P., vii  
  
Yates, A., 285n, 295  
Young, D., 197n, 201  
Young, M. F. D., vii, xii, 3, 9, 10, 13,  
    68, 285n, 335, 358n, 362, 363, 391,  
    392  
Young, T. R. & P. Beardsley, 285n,  
    295  
Zubaida, S., 2, 16



Taylor & Francis  
Taylor & Francis Group  
<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

## *Subject Index*

---

- academic  
education, 150-1, 324  
market, 82-4, 86, 98, 99  
qualifications, 81, 96, 97, 98  
*see also* university(ies)
- administration, 253, 264, 273, 278-80  
centralization of, 32, 33, 40, 41, 57  
Chinese, 348  
*see also* local education authorities
- agricultural innovation, 327
- Algeria, war with France, 236
- alienation, in schools, 269, 301, 375
- ambition, education and, 18, 21, 26,  
48, 150, 152  
regulation of, 22-4, 27, 28, 30, 37
- Anderson Report, 190n, 198
- anomie, social change and, 230
- anthropology, British social, 203
- authority, 21, 47, 65n, 184, 227, 273,  
341, 353, 371, 378
- Aymara-speaking peasants, 118
- Belgian, educational mission to Bolivia  
(1909), 118
- Bolivia, 138  
class in, 134-7, 138n  
education in, 113, 117, 118-25  
government in, 118-25, 132  
land tenure in, 117, 120, 122-3  
peasants in, 117-18, 122, 125, 138n  
politics in, 118, 119-20, 122-5  
post-revolutionary, 122-5, 132, 135  
pre-revolutionary, 116-22  
revolution in, 121, 122, 132, 135  
schools in, 117-25, 136  
Spanish culture in, 116-17  
Unesco in, 123, 124, 138n  
urban conditions in 117, 119, 125
- boundary relationships, 366, 367, 371,  
374, 382, 386, 388, 390n
- Brazil  
careers in, 128  
class in, 129-30  
education in, 113, 127-31  
government in, 132  
politics in, 128-31, 132, 139
- schools in, 128-31, 138n  
rural, 127-8, 132  
urban, 127
- Britain, 151, 182, 187n, 207, 208, 250,  
254, 324, 328, 331, 332-4, 390n
- Empire of, 172
- politics in, 171, 192n, 234, 235, 236,  
237, 239, 246n  
Labour party, 233, 237
- student militancy in, 219, 226  
*see also* England; Scotland; Wales
- British Sociological Association, vii,  
1, 2
- bureaucracy  
educational, 40, 137, 242, 273, 274,  
332  
Weber's notion of, 348, 349
- Calvinist teaching in Scotland, 190n
- Canada  
education in, 329  
universities in, 329  
USA and, 329
- Catholic orders, 308, 313n
- Central Advisory Council for Education (England)  
(1954) *Early Leaving*, 340, 361  
(1959) *see* Crowther Report  
(1963) *see* Newsom Report  
(1967) *see* Plowden Report
- centralization  
of administration, 32, 33, 40, 57  
of education, 29, 40, 41, 56, 57, 58  
of politics, 40
- Centre of European Sociology (Centre de Sociologie Européenne), 76, 108n, 109n
- change  
in classification, 374  
in code, 387-8  
in curriculum, 181, 257, 276, 280,  
324, 341-2, 347, 353, 357-8,  
389n
- economic, 6, 12, 55, 124, 143
- educational, 141, 142, 167-79, 227,  
245, 253, 259, 306, 322-4  
in examinations, 181

- change—*contd*  
 occupational, 227, 230, 231, 242,  
     245, 352  
 social, 6, 58, 141, 205, 227, 230, 234,  
     339n, 352  
 structural, 175–8, 229–30, 313n,  
     320, 363  
 urbanization and, 141  
 Chelsea Centre for Science Education,  
     378  
 Chicago, 147  
 China  
     Communist, 330  
     Confucian education in, 348–9  
 churches, and education, 126, 127,  
     132, 148, 190n, 287n, 308, 313n  
     mission schools, 139n  
 city(ies)  
     Chicago, 147  
     environments of, 157, 158  
     growth of, 156  
     Guatemala, 142, 144–8, 153, 154,  
     155, 156, 157, 158, 160n  
     Latin American, 153–4  
     London, 259  
     migration to, 144, 160n  
     Monterrey (Mexico), 147, 154, 155,  
     157, 160n  
     Montevideo (Uruguay), 147, 148,  
     154, 155, 160n  
     Ontario, 329  
     Quebec, 329  
     Rio de Janeiro, 128, 134, 138n  
     São Paulo, 154, 155, 160n  
     types of, 156  
     in USA, 147  
 class, social, 1, 5, 14, 18, 19, 21, 26, 30,  
     36, 38, 41, 42, 43, 47, 49, 50, 51,  
     52–5, 61, 71, 73, 78, 80, 81, 82–4,  
     92, 97, 98, 125, 127–9, 130, 134–7,  
     171, 229, 343–4, 346–7, 389n, 390n  
     English, 19, 65n, 174, 288n  
     French, 5, 78  
     Guatemalan, 158  
     Latin American, 6, 131–2  
     mobility and, 17, 18, 21, 30, 36  
     Scottish, 165–6, 170, 188n, 190n  
     in USA, 19, 65n  
 classification  
     changes in, 374  
     of knowledge, 363, 364, 365, 366–8,  
     378, 388  
     primitive, 350  
     social, 364  
     strength of, 368, 371, 372, 374, 383,  
     390n  
 code(s)  
     collection, 368–70, 372, 386  
     cultural, 80, 379  
     integrated, 370–1, 377–86, 389, 390  
 knowledge, 363–4, 366, 368–88  
     typology of, 368, 372, 388  
     linguistic, 2, 11  
 Cold War, the, 235, 236, 237, 238  
 ‘collection’ curriculum, 351–4, 364–8  
 colleges, 2, 341  
     Hornsey Art, 317  
     organization of, 249, 253, 254, 258  
     259, 270, 273  
     technical, 211, 212  
 Colombia  
     church in, 126, 127, 132  
     class in, 134–7  
     education in, 113, 125–7, 143  
     land tenure in, 125–6  
     schools in, 126–7  
     teachers in, 126, 127  
     urban conditions in, 126  
 Committee on Education and Science,  
     197n, 198  
 Committee on Grants to Students  
     (1960) *see* Anderson Report  
 Committee on Higher education (1963)  
     *see* Robbins Report  
 communications, 80, 134, 252, 268,  
     317, 332  
     staff/student, 181–2  
 Communism, 238, 346  
 comprehensive schools, 59, 257, 259,  
     263, 340, 341, 378  
 computer science, 323  
 conflict, 119, 120, 264, 313n, 325, 331,  
     340  
     class, 12  
     role, 131  
     social, 22, 24, 30, 31, 55, 56  
     student, 8, 12, 13, 224, 226  
         *see also* student militancy  
     theory, 12  
 Confucian education 348–9  
 criminology, 300, 308  
 Crowther Report, 340, 361  
 Cuba  
     education in, 159  
     urbanization in, 159  
 culture  
     activities of, 73–80, 89, 90, 91, 99,  
     108n  
     aspects of, 317, 318  
     ‘capital’, 72, 81, 92, 93, 94, 96  
     codes, 80, 319  
     definition of, 320–5  
     education system and, 71, 72–84,  
     101, 349  
     elite, 227  
     museums and, 73, 76–8, 79, 87,  
     105n–106n  
     newspapers and, 86, 87, 88, 108n  
     occupational structure and, 77, 78,  
     87, 88, 95, 101, 104, 111n–112n

- plural, 334n  
 political, 317  
 reading habits and, 77, 88  
 reproduction of, 71–112  
 schools and, 311–12  
 Spanish, in Bolivia, 116–17  
 symbols of, 321–3, 325, 326  
 theatres and, 73, 87, 90, 105n  
 transmission of, 5, 71, 72–84, 128,  
     209, 254, 350, 363  
 curriculum(a), 182, 259, 267, 270,  
     275, 283, 287n, 333, 350, 369  
     changes in, 181, 257, 276, 280, 324,  
     341–2, 347, 353, 357–8, 389n  
     ‘collection’, 351–4, 364–8  
 education and, 3, 11, 62n, 259, 318,  
     322  
     ‘integrated’, 351–4, 364–8  
     knowledge and, 339, 343, 345–6,  
     351, 358, 360n, 363  
     reform of, 10, 323, 340  
     sociology of education and, 342–5,  
     357–8  
     types of, 364–5  
 Czechoslovakia, education in, 168
- delinquency, 309, 312  
 demography, 2, 4, 210  
 Department of Education and Science,  
     332  
 deprivation, 300  
     in schools, 299, 301, 308  
     student militancy and, 230, 243–4  
 development  
     economic, 141, 142, 334n  
     models of, 141  
     social, 141, 142, 151  
 Durkheim, theories of  
     anomie, 230  
     educational, 10, 203, 205, 211, 327,  
     339, 349–50  
     on religion, 350  
     on social solidarity, 319, 327
- economic(s), 2, 5, 20, 25, 26, 28, 73,  
     82, 122, 156, 157, 159, 169, 318,  
     329, 332  
 capital of, 85, 91, 99, 108n  
 change, 6, 12, 55, 124, 143  
 development, 141, 334n  
 goals, 30, 45, 143  
 mobility and, 27  
 power in, 21, 111n
- Ecuador  
     class in, 134–7  
     education in, 113, 116  
     peasants in, 116, 125, 126  
     primary schools in, 116  
     social structure of, 138n
- education  
     administration of, 32, 33, 40, 57,  
     113, 253, 264, 273, 278–80  
     bureaucracies in, 40, 242, 332  
     *see also under local authorities*  
     ambition and, 18, 21, 26, 48, 150,  
     152  
     regulation of, 22–4, 27, 28, 30, 37  
 anxiety and, 18, 19, 63n  
 centralization of, 29, 40, 41, 56–8  
 change in, 167–9, 175–7, 227, 245,  
     253, 259, 306, 322–4  
     urbanization and, 141, 142  
 churches and, 126, 127, 132, 148,  
     190n, 287n, 308, 313n  
     mission schools, 139n  
 codes in, 2, 11, 363, 364, 368–74, 388  
 changes in, 387–8  
     in England, 370, 372, 373, 374  
     in Europe, 368, 369, 370, 372–82  
 content of, 3, 10–11, 14n, 347, 364–  
     5, 366  
     *see also under curriculum*  
 cultural transmission of, 5, 71, 72–  
     84, 101, 349–50  
 curriculum in, 3, 11, 62n, 257, 259,  
     267, 270, 276, 280, 283, 287n,  
     318, 322, 324, 333, 341–2  
     knowledge and, 339, 343, 345–6,  
     351  
     reform of, 10, 323, 340  
 health, 113  
 ideologies, 19, 20, 32, 39, 46–55, 57,  
     67n, 323, 332  
     egalitarian, 33–4, 46, 47, 48, 49,  
     65n, 387  
     elite, 33, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50  
     selective, 34–5  
 in industrial societies, 21, 23, 29–32,  
     84, 325, 356, 387  
 institutions of, 6, 45, 72, 79, 81, 94,  
     203, 204, 256, 259, 308, 318,  
     320, 339, 344, 364, 365, 388  
     Canadian, 329  
     French, 93, 94, 97, 110n  
     *see also colleges; polytechnics;*  
     *schools; universities*  
 knowledge and, 10–11, 13, 189, 363,  
     367, 372, 380  
 message systems in, 10, 363, 366,  
     367  
 selection of, 363  
 in Latin America, 6, 12, 113–37,  
     142–3, 145–56, 158, 159  
     *see also Bolivia; Brazil; Colombia;*  
     *Cuba; Ecuador; Guatemala;*  
     *Honduras; Mexico; Nicaragua;*  
     *Peru; Uruguay*  
 leadership in, 257, 283, 377  
     *see also teacher(s)*

- education—*contd*  
 linguistics and, 2, 11, 350  
 local authorities and, 8, 259, 286n,  
 287n, 288n, 332  
 ILEA, 273  
 occupations and, 77, 78, 87, 88, 95,  
 101, 104, 147, 148, 354, 356  
 organization of, 8, 9, 15n, 204, 215,  
 249–85, 340, 344  
 colleges, 249, 253, 254, 258, 259,  
 270, 273  
 schools, 249, 250, 254–5, 256–85,  
 286n  
 in Scotland, 163, 174, 178, 184–6  
 technology of, 281–4  
 parents and, 259, 260, 266, 312, 332  
 planning of, 114, 253  
 primary, 81, 89, 266, 267  
 in Latin America, 114, 143  
 programmes of, 40, 56, 57, 137  
 psychology of, 325  
 reform in, 3, 4, 114, 340  
 of curriculum, 10, 323, 340  
 rural  
 in Bolivia, 117, 118, 119–25, 135,  
 136  
 in Brazil, 127–8, 132  
 in Colombia, 127, 135  
 in Ecuador, 116, 135  
 secondary, 81, 85, 89, 266, 273, 275,  
 340, 359n  
 in Latin America, 114, 149, 150  
 selection processes and, 4–5, 7, 12,  
 21, 22, 23, 27, 32, 33, 43, 66n,  
 85, 166–7, 186, 264–5, 340, 349  
 control of, 24–9  
 ideologies of, 34–5  
 social class and, 17, 18, 19, 21, 26,  
 30, 36, 38, 41, 42, 43, 47, 49,  
 50, 51, 52–5, 61, 71, 83, 84,  
 343–4, 346–7, 389n, 390n  
 in England, 19, 65n, 288  
 in USA, 19, 65n  
 social mobility and, 4, 13, 17, 19, 20,  
 21–62, 227  
 social status and, 22  
 rigidity of, 20, 25, 27–9, 35, 36,  
 39, 57, 58, 64n, 66n  
 social stratification and, 2, 4, 5, 19,  
 20, 21, 24, 25, 29, 36, 37, 58,  
 151, 152  
 social structure and, 2, 6, 8, 13, 31,  
 115, 148  
 sociology of, 1, 8, 11–12, 13, 62n,  
 163, 298, 300, 317–20, 326,  
 339, 344, 357, 363  
 curriculum studies and, 342–3,  
 357–8  
 structure of, 32–62, 71, 262, 273  
 systems of, 3, 29–62, 71, 113–15,  
 258–64  
 ‘contest’, 17, 32, 46, 47, 48, 49,  
 50, 67n  
 English, 4, 5, 7, 17, 18, 57–62,  
 63n, 164, 176  
 French, 76, 82, 327  
 Latin American, 113–37  
 Scottish, 4, 5, 7, 163, 164  
 ‘sponsorship’, 17, 18, 32, 46, 47,  
 48, 49, 57, 67n  
 typology of, 4, 9, 13, 17, 32, 66n,  
 164–7, 304–5  
 in USA, 4, 17, 19, 57–62, 253,  
 254, 277, 279  
 theories of, 4, 9, 11–12, 13, 18, 62n,  
 163, 203  
 Durkheim, 10, 203, 205, 211, 327,  
 339, 349–50  
 Marx, 10, 346–8, 350, 359n  
 Weber, 10, 210, 348–9, 350, 360n  
 training and, 21–2, 23, 24, 29, 31,  
 36, 59, 79, 80, 124  
 career, 31, 61  
 university *see under* university(ies)  
 urban, 116, 127, 148–50, 151–3,  
 155  
 urbanization and, 141, 142–60  
 wastage in, 340  
 Education Acts (1944/46), 63n, 164  
 elite(s), 44, 45, 110n, 112, 117, 134,  
 172, 181, 194n, 207, 210, 229,  
 244, 245, 284, 328, 348, 376  
 culture of, 224  
 ideology of, 33, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49,  
 50, 51, 57  
 political, 172  
 England, 62n, 64n, 368  
 Canada and, 329  
 class in, 19, 65n, 174, 288n  
 CND campaign in, 236  
 codes in, 370, 372–3, 374  
 education system in, 4, 5, 7, 17, 18,  
 57–62, 63n, 150, 164, 176, 369,  
 390n  
 industrial society in, 25, 150  
 mobility in, 59–62  
 northern, 150  
 schools in, 67n, 166, 174, 189n,  
 192n, 250, 349  
 stratification in, 20, 163  
 universities in, *see under* university(ies)  
 Essex, industry in, 261, 282  
 Eton school, 301  
 Europe  
 education in 7, 168  
 codes in, 368, 369, 370, 372–82  
 manorial system in, 135  
 minorities in, 168

- evolution, social, 205–6  
 examinations, 174, 175, 188n, 190n, 194n, 265, 333, 348–9, 369, 376, 377, 389n  
 boards of, 259, 333  
 in Brazil, 129, 130  
 changes in, 181  
 selective, 18, 173  
 university, 5, 167, 183, 189n, 332, 370
- Fabian socialism, 343  
 fascism, 235–8  
 Finland, education in, 168  
 France, 246n  
   academic structure in, 93, 94  
   Algerian war and, 236  
   Canada and, 329  
   class in, 5, 78  
   cultural transmission in, 71–112  
   educational system in, 5, 76, 82, 101, 102, 327, 369  
   industrial society in, 25  
   museum attendance and culture, 76–8, 79, 87, 105n–106n  
   occupations in, 75, 76, 77, 78, 87, 88, 95, 101, 104, 104n, 109n, 111n–112n  
   schools in, 67n  
   social transmission in, 71, 84–112  
   teachers in, 78, 86, 107n–108n  
   theories in, 221  
 friends, network of, 22, 43, 152  
 functional analysis, 3, 12, 64n, 83, 204, 205, 258, 298–9, 345
- Germany  
   education in, 369, 378  
   Nazi, 235, 236  
   politics in, 235–6, 237  
   schools in, 67n  
   universities in, 207–10, 213  
   theories in, 221
- goal(s), 8, 22, 23, 29, 31, 45, 49, 115, 125, 143, 159, 228, 235, 237, 238, 239, 252, 255–8, 262, 264, 272, 278, 279, 280, 281, 298–9, 300, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307
- governments, and education, 118–25, 132–3, 300, 340–1, 377
- Guatemala, 142  
   education in, 148–50, 151–3  
   industry in, 144–5, 154  
   low incomes in, 152, 153, 157  
   schools in, 145, 147, 149–51, 152, 155  
   universities in, 150, 153  
   urbanization in, 142, 151  
   *see also* Guatemala City
- Guatemala City, 142  
   class in, 158  
   education in, 154–5  
   incomes in, 144–5, 156, 160n  
   industry, in, 154  
   literacy in, 145, 146, 157, 158  
   migration to, 160n  
   occupations in, 145–8, 153  
   rapid growth of, and education, 144–6
- Hale Report, 181, 188n, 196n, 201
- health  
   education, 113  
   mental, 250, 256, 300
- Home Office, 310, 315  
   Development Group, 300, 313n
- homosexuality, in schools, 311–12
- Honduras, education in, 143
- Hornsey College of Art, 317, 336
- hospitals, mental, 250, 256, 300, 314n, 344
- ideologies, 9, 11, 137, 220, 221, 222, 231, 234, 238, 239, 241, 242, 281, 318, 319, 329, 348, 384, 390n  
   definition of, 320–6  
   educational, 19, 20, 32, 39, 46–55, 57, 67n, 323, 332  
   egalitarian, 33–4, 46, 47, 48, 49, 65n, 387  
   elite, 33, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 57  
   Marxist, 95, 220, 221, 233, 320, 348  
   selective, 34–5  
   students and, 219
- ILEA, 273
- illiteracy *see* literacy, lack of
- income(s)  
   education and, 148–9, 156, 343  
   low, 144–5, 152, 153, 157, 158  
   *per capita*, 150, 168
- industrial societies  
   French, 25  
   education in, 21, 23, 29–32, 84, 325, 356, 387  
   English, 25  
   USA, 25
- industry, 6  
   in Essex, 261, 282  
   in Latin America, 154  
   organization of, 9, 240, 274  
   in Scotland, 282  
   sociology of, 1, 12, 13
- informal system(s), 260–2, 269, 297–314  
   definition of, 298, 313n  
   and formal system(s), 260–2, 300–3, 304–6

- informal system(s)—*contd*  
 functions of, 298–300  
 kinds of, 303–7  
 study of, 309–12
- innovation(s), 10, 114, 215, 276, 322, 324, 327, 341, 352, 357
- institutions, educational, 2, 6, 45, 72, 79, 81, 94, 203–4, 256, 259, 308, 316, 320, 339, 344, 364, 365, 388  
*see also* colleges; polytechnics; schools; universities
- Instituto Piloto de Educación Rural, 126, 139
- integrated curriculum, 351–4, 364–8
- Interamerican Committee for Agricultural development, 138n
- Italy  
 education in, 327, 331  
 schools in, 67n
- Jews, education among, 168
- kin(ship), 143  
 networks of, 22, 27, 151
- knowledge, 223, 331, 350–8, 359n, 360n, 390n, 391n  
 classification of, 363, 364, 365, 366–8, 378, 388  
 codes, 363–4, 366, 368–88  
 curriculum and, 339, 343, 345–6, 351, 358, 360n, 363  
 definition of, 320  
 education and, 10–11, 13, 189, 363, 367, 372, 380  
 message systems in, 10, 363 366, 367  
 expansion of, 351–2  
 high- and low-status, 355  
 order and, 383–6  
 organization of, 10, 342, 348, 351, 359n, 363, 389n  
 paradigms in, 323, 324  
 selection of, 348, 363, 389n  
 stratification of, 351, 354–5, 358  
 transmission of, 317, 320, 355–6, 366, 376, 388
- knowledge, sociology of, 3, 9, 319, 320, 321, 326, 331–4
- Korea, North, 358
- labour market, 20, 31, 42, 44, 45, 119
- labour movements, 229, 233
- land tenure, 133–4, 135–6, 138n  
 in Bolivia, 117, 120, 122–3  
 in Colombia, 125–6
- Latin America  
 change in, 6  
 cities in, 153–4  
*see also under* urbanization
- class in, 6, 131–2  
 education in, 6, 12, 142–3, 145–9, 150, 151–6, 158, 159  
 academic, 150–1  
 primary, 114, 143, 153  
 programmes of, 137  
 secondary, 114  
 systems of, 113–37  
 development in, 114  
 industry in, 154  
 migration in, 144, 160n  
 occupations in, 136, 152  
 peasants in, 6, 125, 135–6  
 politics in, 6, 114–15  
 rural system in, 135–7  
 schools in, 113, 114, 149, 150  
 Spanish culture in, 117, 135  
 urban conditions in, 6, 141–59  
 rate of change of, 141, 147, 159  
*see also* Guatemala City; Monterrey; Montevideo; Rio de Janeiro; São Paulo  
*see also under* individual countries
- LEAs *see* local education authorities
- leadership, education and, 257, 283  
*see also* teacher(s)
- learning processes, 317, 325
- lectoral system, 181–4, 192n, 197n
- linguistics, education and, 2, 11, 350
- literacy, 355–6  
 in Guatemala City, 145, 146, 157, 158  
 lack of, in Bolivia, 123  
 urbanization and, 142
- local education authorities, 8, 259, 286n, 287n, 288n, 332
- ILEA, 273
- London boroughs, and comprehensive reorganization, 259
- Lutheran teachings in Scotland, 190n
- market  
 academic, 82–4, 86, 98, 99  
 labour, 20, 31, 42, 44, 45, 119
- Marx, educational theories of, 10, 339, 346–8, 350, 359n
- Marxism, 95, 220, 221, 233, 320, 321, 339, 341, 346–8, 350, 359n
- masques, political, 333–4, 335n
- Mathematical Association, 334n, 336
- mathematics, teaching of, 322–5, 330, 341, 353
- mental health, 300
- mental hospitals, 250, 256, 300, 314n, 344
- Merchant Navy, training for, 311
- Mexico, education in, 147  
*see also* Monterrey
- migration, in Latin America, 144, 160n
- militancy, student, *see* student militancy

- military power, 134  
 minority groups, 2  
 mobility  
     economic, 27  
     occupational, 147, 227  
     social, 4, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21–62,  
       71, 89–92, 159–62, 163, 169,  
       227, 228, 309  
 model(s), 4, 14, 19, 167, 204, 205, 216,  
       242, 252, 257, 331, 340, 354  
 consensus, 12  
 developmental, 141  
 evolutionary, 205–6  
 ideal, 56–7  
 open-system, 13, 204–5  
 planning, 141  
 Monterrey (Mexico), 160n  
     education in, 147, 148, 154–5  
     industry in, 154, 157  
     occupational mobility in, 147  
 Montevideo (Uruguay), 160n  
     education in, 147, 154–5  
     industry in, 154  
 movement(s)  
     labour, 229, 233  
     Russian, 244  
     student, 118, 219, 226, 229  
         *see also* student militancy
- Narodniiki movement (in Russia), 244  
 National Union of Publishers (in France), 105n, 112  
 Nazi Germany, 235, 236  
 Negro students in USA, 341, 359n  
 network(s)  
     friendship, 22, 43, 152  
     kinship, 22, 27, 152  
     roles, 113  
 Newsom Report (1963), 287n, 291,  
       300, 315, 342  
 Newsom Report (1968) *see* Public Schools Commission  
 Nicaragua, education in, 143  
 Nuffield Council, 259, 263, 280, 322,  
       332, 357, 377
- occupation(s)  
     activities of members, 73–80, 89, 90,  
       91, 99, 108n  
     changes in, 227, 230, 231, 242, 245  
     distribution of power and, 73  
     education and structure of, 77, 78,  
       87, 88, 95, 101, 104, 147, 148,  
       354, 356  
     in England, 150  
     in France, 75, 77, 78, 87, 88, 95,  
       101, 104, 104n, 109n  
     in Guatemala City, 145–8, 153  
     in Latin America, 136, 152
- mobility of, 147  
 qualifications and, 144, 150  
 reading habits and, 77, 78  
 rural, 144  
 in Scotland, 167  
 urban, 117  
 Ontario, 329  
 organization(s)  
     analysis of, 249, 250, 253, 261,  
       284–5, 297–8, 309, 312, 317,  
       340, 344  
     college, 249, 253, 258, 259, 270, 273  
     educational, 8, 9, 15n, 204, 215,  
       249–85, 340  
       Scottish, 163, 174, 178, 184–6  
     goals in, 252, 255–8, 264, 278, 280,  
       281, 304  
     industrial, 9, 240, 274  
     of knowledge, 10, 342, 348, 351,  
       359n, 363, 389n  
     labelling in, 271–3  
     school, 249, 250, 254–5, 256–85,  
       286n  
     structure of, 251, 252, 261, 281,  
       282, 284, 289n  
     technological, 281–4  
     theory of, 8, 211, 251, 340, 344  
     urban, 151–8
- paradigms, knowledge, 323, 324  
 parents, education and, 259, 260, 266,  
       312, 332  
 Paris, 75, 95, 97, 105n  
 peasants  
     Aymara-speaking, 118  
     land tenure and, 117, 120, 122–3,  
       125–6, 133–4, 135–6, 138n  
     Latin American, 6, 125, 135–6  
     Quechua-speaking, 116, 118, 138n  
     schooling of, 118, 120, 123, 124, 125
- peer groups, 41, 43, 49  
 Peru, 138n  
 phenomenology, 221, 319, 320  
 planning, 143, 159, 160  
     educational, 114, 253  
     model of, 141  
 Plowden Report, 1, 15, 266, 268, 275,  
       285n, 289n, 291, 343, 361  
 plural cultures, 334n  
 politics, 5, 9, 55, 93, 132–3, 225, 238,  
       242, 318, 320, 321, 330, 332, 340,  
       341–2, 345, 346  
     Bolivian, 118, 119–20, 122–5  
     Brazilian, 128–31, 132, 139n  
     British, 172, 193n, 234–5, 236, 237,  
       239, 246n  
     centralization of, 37  
     the Cold War and, 235, 236, 237,  
       238  
     culture of, 317

- politics—*contd*  
 fascism, 235  
 French, 236  
 German, 235–6, 237  
 goals of, 235  
 Latin American, 6, 114–15  
 masques in, 333–4  
 power in, 21, 229  
 science of, 328  
 socialization and, 236, 390n  
 in Soviet Union, 235, 236, 331  
 student militancy and, 219, 225, 228,  
     232, 233–9, 241, 243, 244–5  
 USA and Vietnam war and, 236  
 polytechnics, 12, 211, 213, 215  
 poverty, 343  
     urbanization and, 6, 143, 152, 156  
 prisons, 300, 313n, 343  
 programmes, educational, 40, 56, 57  
 Protestantism, 374  
 psychology, 4, 275, 288n, 299, 309,  
     311, 313n, 314n  
     educational, 325  
     social, 239  
 Public Schools Commission, 65n, 69,  
     300, 316  
 pupil(s), 261, 263, 268, 269, 297–8,  
     299–312, 313n, 327, 340  
     goals of, 256–7, 303–4  
     labelling of, 271–3  
     relations with teachers, 253, 255–6,  
         262, 266, 272, 276, 283, 297,  
         305, 310, 353, 382  
     role of, 265, 298  
 qualifications 5, 18, 59, 98, 146  
     academic, 81, 96, 97, 98  
     occupations and, 144, 146, 150  
 Quebec, 329  
 Quechua-speaking peasants, 116, 118,  
     138n  
 reform, educational, 3, 4, 114, 340  
     of curriculum, 10, 323  
 religion, 9, 95, 126, 127, 132, 190n,  
     221, 287n, 307, 308, 313n, 317,  
     321, 332, 341, 349, 354  
     of minority groups, 168  
     *see also* churches, and education  
 reproduction  
     cultural, 71–112  
     social, 71–112  
     of structures, 71  
 revolutions  
     education and, 320, 327, 328  
     political, Bolivian, 121–2, 132, 135  
 Rio de Janeiro, 128, 134, 138n  
 Robbins Report, 1, 15, 164, 172, 177,  
     181, 188n, 189n, 194n, 196n, 198,  
     313n, 315, 340, 361  
 role(s), 114, 115, 224, 227, 228, 229,  
     230, 231, 242, 262, 287n, 301  
     conflict of, 137  
     network of, 113  
     occupational, 22, 23, 29, 31, 49, 151,  
         242  
     pupil, 265, 298  
     set, 282  
     socialization of, 262, 263  
     status, 21, 23, 49  
     of students, 7, 219, 242, 243  
     of teachers, 12, 14n, 262–3, 268–9,  
         302  
 Royal Navy, training in, 311  
 rural education  
     in Bolivia, 117, 118, 119–25, 135,  
         136  
     in Brazil, 127–8, 132  
     in Colombia, 127, 135  
     in Ecuador, 116, 135  
 rural occupations, 144  
 rural system, 135–6  
 Russia, nineteenth-century movements in, 244  
     *see also* USSR  
 São Paulo, 160n  
     education in, 154–5  
     industry in, 154  
 schools, 2, 11, 83, 96, 97, 253, 301,  
     313n, 314n, 372, 390n  
     approved, 301, 302, 304, 310–11  
     boarding, 172, 262, 265–6, 299, 301,  
         307, 308, 309, 311, 314n  
     in Bolivia, 117–18, 119–25, 136  
     in Brazil, 129–31, 138n, 143  
     in Colombia, 126–7  
     comprehensive, 59, 257, 259, 263,  
         340, 341, 378  
     elementary, 59, 254  
     in England, 67n, 166, 174, 189n,  
         192n, 250, 349  
     in France, 67n  
     in Germany, 67n  
     in Guatemala, 145, 147, 148, 149–  
         50, 151, 152  
     graduate, 48–51  
     grammar, 150, 174, 262, 266, 272,  
         273, 288n, 289n, 341, 352, 357,  
         390n  
     homosexuality in, 311–12  
     in Italy, 67n  
     in Latin America, 113, 149  
     leaving age, 340  
     mission, 139n  
     organization of, 249, 250, 253–5,  
         256–85, 286n  
     primary, 1, 86, 113, 127, 128, 138n,  
         153, 257, 265, 288n, 310, 333,  
         387

- private, 129  
 public, 65n, 261, 299, 303, 304, 306,  
     308, 349  
 reform, 300  
 in Scotland, 171, 173, 185, 189n,  
     192n, 194n  
 secondary, 59, 86, 149, 150, 257,  
     262, 272, 277, 287n, 289n,  
     333, 376, 389n  
 social relations in, 8, 13, 268, 298  
 socialization in, 3  
 structures, 306  
 system, 300, 301  
 in Uruguay, 149  
 in USA, 67n, 273, 274, 275, 286n,  
     360n  
 Schools Council, 259, 262, 263, 266,  
     294, 313n, 322, 332, 333, 340,  
     342, 355  
 Science Masters' association, 357  
 sciences, teaching of, 341-2, 353-4  
 Scotland  
     Canada and, 329  
     class in, 165-6, 170, 171, 188n,  
     190n  
 Education Department, *see* Scottish Education Department  
 educational system in, 4, 5, 7, 163,  
     164  
     Knox and, 169, 190n  
     organization of, 163, 174  
     religion and, 190n  
     typology of, 164-7  
 industry in, 282  
 occupations in, 167  
 schools in, 171, 173, 185, 189n,  
     192n, 194n  
 society in, 167  
     mobility of, 163  
 universities in, *see under* university(ies)  
 values, 163, 167, 174  
 Scottish Council for Research in Education, 176, 187n, 193n, 194n,  
     200  
 Scottish Education Commission, 169,  
     170, 171, 173, 176, 190n, 191n,  
     192n, 194n, 197n  
 Scottish Education Department, 165,  
     169, 177, 200  
 Scottish Universities' Commission,  
     190n, 191n, 194n, 201  
 selection, 4-5, 7, 12, 21, 22, 23, 27, 32,  
     33, 43, 66n, 85, 166-7, 196, 264-5,  
     340, 349  
     control of, 24-9  
     and examinations, 5, 167  
     ideologies of, 34-5  
     of knowledge, 348, 363, 389n  
 SEMA, 106n, 112  
 sexual behaviour in schools, 309, 311,  
     312  
 skills, 21, 23, 26, 27, 30, 34, 35, 143,  
     153, 356, 387  
 social anthropology, 203  
 social change, 6, 58, 141, 205, 227,  
     230, 234, 245, 334n, 352  
 social class, 1, 5, 14, 17, 18, 19, 21, 26,  
     30, 36, 38, 41, 42, 43, 47, 49, 50,  
     51, 52-5, 61, 71, 73, 78, 80, 81,  
     82-4, 92, 97, 98, 125, 127-9, 130,  
     134-7, 165-6, 170, 171, 174, 188n,  
     190n, 229, 288n, 343-4, 346-7,  
     389n-390n  
 social classification, 364  
 social conflict, 22, 24, 30, 31, 55, 56  
 social control, 364, 369, 376  
 social development, 141, 142, 151  
 social evolution, 205-6  
 social growth, 142  
 social mobility, 4, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20,  
     21-62, 71, 89-92, 163, 169, 227,  
     228, 309  
 social psychology, 239  
 social stratification, 2, 4, 5, 10, 14, 19,  
     20, 21, 24, 25, 29, 36, 37, 38, 151,  
     152, 156, 157, 317, 343, 352  
 social structure, 2, 6, 8, 13, 31, 115,  
     138n, 148, 241, 349, 382  
 social system, 113  
     informal, 298-312, 313n  
 socialization, 137, 166, 174, 180, 183,  
     187n, 209, 210, 211, 228, 254,  
     268, 283, 284, 330, 333, 363, 372,  
     373, 374, 375, 376, 383, 384, 385,  
     386, 387, 389n  
     political, 236, 390n  
     role, 262, 263  
     schools and, 3  
     status, 262, 263  
 sociological theories  
     action, 12  
     educational, 1, 8, 11-12, 13, 62n,  
     163, 203, 204, 205-16, 318-20,  
     327, 339, 346-50, 360n  
     evolutionary, 205-6  
     phenomenological, 319, 320  
     structural-functional, 11-12, 204,  
     205  
     *see also* education, theories of  
 sociology  
     of education, 1, 8, 11-12, 13, 62n,  
     163, 203-16, 298, 300, 317-20,  
     326, 339, 344, 357, 363  
     curriculum studies and, 342-5,  
     357-60  
     theories in, 10, 17, 18-20, 187n,  
     203, 204-16  
     of industry, 1, 9, 12, 13

- sociology—*contd.*  
   of knowledge, 3, 9, 319, 320, 321,  
     326, 331–4, 339  
   and student militancy, study of, 7–8,  
     13, 219–22, 226, 231, 239–40  
   of work, 1
- SOFRES, 106n, 112
- Soviet Union *see USSR*
- Spain  
   colonial system of, 117, 135  
   culture of, in Bolivia, 116  
   language of, in Bolivia, 123, 125, 134
- statistics, 75, 81, 123, 147, 160n, 187n,  
   344
- status, social, 22, 27  
   hierarchies in, 23, 41, 49, 63n  
   rigidity of, 20, 25, 27–9, 35, 36, 39,  
     57, 58, 64n, 66n  
   roles, 21, 23, 49  
   training for, 30, 31, 61, 262
- stratification  
   of knowledge, 351, 354–5, 358  
   social, 2, 4, 5, 10, 14, 19, 21, 24, 25,  
     29, 36, 37, 38, 151, 156, 157,  
     317, 343, 352
- structure  
   career, 273  
   educational, 32–62, 71, 262, 273  
   organizational, 251, 252, 261, 281,  
     282, 284, 289n  
   social, 2, 6, 13, 31, 115, 138n, 148,  
     241, 349, 382  
   change in, 175–8, 229–30, 313n,  
     320, 363
- student(s)  
   communication with staff, 181–2, 222  
   conflict, 8, 12, 13, 224, 226  
   student militancy, 7–8, 12, 13, 219–45,  
     246n  
   causes of, 222  
   deprivation and, 230, 243–4  
   explanations of, 226–33  
   ideologies in, 219  
   opposition to, 234  
   politics and, 219, 225, 228, 232,  
     233–9, 241–3, 244, 245  
   research strategy for study of, 219,  
     222–6, 239–41  
   sociology and, 219–22, 226, 231,  
     239–40, 241  
   universities and, 222  
   violence and, 226, 233–9, 246n
- student movements  
   American, 226  
   Bolivian, 118  
   British, 219, 226
- student roles, 7, 219, 242, 243
- student unions, 65n
- Sweden, education system in, 369
- symbols, 321–3, 325–8, 330, 333, 334n
- Syndicat national des éditeurs *see*  
   National Union of Publishers
- system(s)  
   analysis of, 214, 282–3, 286n  
   educational, 3, 29–62, 71, 113, 114,  
     115, 258–64  
   ‘contest’, 17, 32, 46, 47, 48, 49,  
     50, 67n  
   English, 4, 5, 7, 17, 18, 57–62,  
     63n, 164, 176  
   French, 76, 82, 327  
   Latin American, 113–37  
   Scottish, 4, 5, 7, 163, 164  
   ‘sponsorship’, 17, 18, 32, 46, 47,  
     48, 49, 57, 67n  
   typology of, 4, 9, 13, 17, 32, 66n,  
     164–7, 304–5  
   in USA, 4, 7, 19, 57–62, 253, 254,  
     277, 279
- general theory, 7
- social, 113  
   informal, 298–312, 313n
- Tavistock Institute, 252, 282, 286n,  
   289n
- teacher(s), 263, 267–8, 275–83, 297–  
   312, 327, 332, 341, 342, 367, 371,  
   380–2, 385  
   in Brazil, 128  
   in Colombia, 126, 127  
   in Ecuador, 116  
   in France, 78, 86, 89, 107n–108n  
   goals of, 256  
   relations with pupils, 253, 255–6,  
     262, 266, 272, 276, 283, 297,  
     305, 310, 353, 382  
   roles of, 12, 15n, 262–3, 268–9, 302  
   training of, 128, 171, 194n, 263, 324  
   university, 171  
   values of, 250, 280
- technology, 252  
   colleges of, 211, 212, 213  
   organizational, 281–4  
   universities and teaching of, 211–12
- tensions, 22, 31, 55
- training  
   education and, 21–2, 23, 24, 29, 31,  
     36, 59, 79, 80, 124  
   career, 31, 61  
   in Merchant Navy, 311  
   in Royal Navy, 311  
   status, 30, 31, 61  
   of teachers, 128, 171, 194n, 263, 324
- transmission  
   of culture, 5, 71, 72–84, 128, 209,  
     254, 350, 363  
   of knowledge, 317, 320, 355–6, 363,  
     366, 376, 388  
   of power, 72  
   of privilege, 72

- typology, 197n, 253, 319  
 of educational systems, 4, 9, 13, 17,  
 32, 66n, 164–7, 304–5  
 of knowledge codes, 368–72, 388
- Unesco mission in Bolivia, 123, 124,  
 138n
- United Nations, 151, 160n
- university(ies), 2, 7, 12, 13, 45, 96,  
 150–1, 153, 206, 330, 332, 340,  
 348, 369  
 Bath, 212  
 Berlin, 207  
 Bordeaux, 203  
 Bradford, 212  
 British Columbia, 329  
 Cambridge, 192n, 207, 209, 213, 214  
 Canadian, 329  
 Cornell, 68  
 Czech, 168  
 Durham, vii  
 English, 211, 214–15, 344, 349  
 compared with Scottish, 163–7,  
 168, 172, 177, 181, 182, 184,  
 185, 186, 187n, 188n, 192n,  
 194n  
 Germany and, 207–10, 213  
 'new', 211, 212  
 in nineteenth century, 192n, 207,  
 208  
 and political system, 172  
 tutorial system in, 181  
*see also under individual names*
- Essex, 212  
 examinations, 5, 167, 183, 189n,  
 332, 370  
 German, 207–10, 213  
 Lancaster, 212  
 Leicester, 62n  
 London, 214, 378  
 Goldsmiths College, 378  
 London School of Economics,  
 63n, 68, 206  
 University College, 391  
 Marburg, 391  
 National University of Guatemala,  
 151  
 Oxford, 192n, 207, 208, 209, 213,  
 214, 389n  
 Queen's (Ontario), 329  
 Scottish, 4, 7, 12, 163–7  
 Aberdeen, 167, 170, 171, 176,  
 187n, 189n, 191n, 193n, 201  
 change in, 175–8  
 compared with English, 163–7,  
 168, 172, 177, 181, 182, 184,  
 185, 186, 187n, 188n, 192n,  
 194n, 196n  
 courses at, 170, 182, 187n
- Edinburgh, 166, 170–1, 185,  
 187n, 191n, 197n, 198n, 201  
 Glasgow, 170, 176, 187n, 190n,  
 191n, 192n, 193n  
 Heriot-Watt, 178, 195n  
 individualism in, 182–3, 184  
 lectorial system in, 181–4, 192n,  
 197n  
 in nineteenth century, 164, 168–  
 73, 176–7, 181, 189n, 190n,  
 191n, 192n, 359n  
 organization of, 178, 184–6  
 St Andrews, 187n, 193n, 196n–  
 197n  
 Strathclyde, 178, 195n  
 teaching at, 171  
 Sorbonne, 203  
 student militancy in, 7–8, 12, 13,  
 219–45, 246n  
 technological, 211–12, 213  
 in USA, 207–8, 209, 210, 215, 349  
 Warwick, 332
- University Grants Committee, 201  
*(1964) see Hale Report*
- urban(ization)  
 in Bolivia, 117, 119, 125  
 in Brazil, 127  
 in Colombia, 126  
 in Cuba, 159  
 education and, 116, 127, 141, 142–3  
 environments, 141, 152, 156–7, 158  
 in Guatemala, 142, 144–8, 154–8  
 in Latin America, 6, 141–59  
 literacy and, 142  
 organization, 151–8  
 poverty and, 6, 143, 152, 156  
 rapid rate of growth of, 141–59  
 social change and, 141  
 stratification in, 156, 157
- Uruguay, education in, 147, 148, 149  
*see also Montevideo*
- USA, 62n, 64n, 172, 177, 187n, 205,  
 246n, 289n, 324, 329, 334n  
 cities in, 147  
 class in, 19, 65n  
 educational system in, 4, 17, 19,  
 57–62, 253, 254, 277, 289, 328,  
 368, 369, 370  
 industrial society in, 25  
 mobility in, 19, 59–62  
 occupational, 147  
 Negro students in, 341, 359n  
 schools in, 67n, 272, 274, 275, 286n,  
 360n  
 stratification in, 20  
 student militancy in, 226  
 theories in, 221, 345  
 universities in, 207–8, 209, 210, 215,  
 349  
 Vietnam war and, 237

- USSR, 62n, 328  
change in, 55  
politics in, 235, 236, 331  
*see also* Russia
- values, 18, 115, 163, 167, 174, 219, 227, 228, 229, 230, 232, 235, 237, 239, 240, 250, 253, 258, 277, 280, 282, 297, 356
- Vietnam, war in, and USA, 237
- violence, student militancy and, 226, 233–9, 246n
- Wales, education in, 176, 187n, 188n, 196n
- Weber, education theories of, 10, 210, 339, 348–9, 350, 360n
- white-collar groups, 6, 75, 144, 148, 152
- Winchester school, 301
- work, sociology of, 1