

THE SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO TEACHING AND LEARNING IN
HIGHER EDUCATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO FIRST YEAR
SOCIOLOGY COURSES AT A TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY

by

Roger Fielding

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy of the University
of Aston in Birmingham. September 1980.

AWARDED THE DEGREE OF M.PHIL.

The Sociological Approach to Teaching and Learning in Higher
Education with Special Reference to First Year Sociology
Courses in a Technological University

Roger Fielding

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
the University of Aston in Birmingham. September, 1980.

This thesis attempts to articulate a sociological perspective on teaching and learning in higher education with particular reference to the teaching of sociology. The empirical work of the thesis reports on first year courses in sociology at a technological university. It relies, in its initial analysis, on the concepts of "student culture" and "perspective". Studies of both staff and student perspectives are reported. The thesis, and the empirical work it reports, ought to be viewed within the context of the wider upheavals within the sociology of education during the 1970's. Following the presentation of the early empirical work, the thesis therefore reports later developments to the theoretical framework which draw insight from these wider debates in the sociology of education. These developments, therefore, both stem from, and serve to criticise, the earlier work of the thesis. A study of school sociology teaching is reported which was partially informed by these later developments and which serves to indicate their utility. The concept of "hidden curriculum", which became increasingly important to the theoretical framework articulated here, informs both this study and the considerations of the more general problems of teaching sociology found elsewhere in the thesis. The concept is used in the attempt to articulate both 'structuralist' and 'interactionist' approaches to the study of teaching and learning. The thesis closes with a review of the sociology of higher education and the problems of teaching sociology in higher education which draws upon the theoretical developments discussed above. The closing section of the thesis also includes a reappraisal of the data reported earlier on first year sociology courses at a technological university which is informed by the foregoing and which looks particularly at the "hidden curriculum" of teaching sociology in higher education.

Sociology : Higher Education : Teaching : Hidden Curriculum : Perspectives

CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgements	vi
Tables List	viii
SECTION ONE : EARLY THEORETICAL APPROACHES	1
Chapter 1 : Introduction - Teaching Sociology. The Research Problem and the Approach taken.	2
Chapter 2 : The Concepts of "Student Culture" and "Perspective".	19
SECTION TWO : THE RESEARCH SETTING	45
Chapter 3.1 : The Ex-Colleges of Advanced Technology and the Development of their Sociology and Social Science Courses.	46
3.2 : Aston University and Sociology.	59
SECTION THREE : EARLY EMPIRICAL STUDIES	70
Chapter 4 : Student Culture and Student Perspective in One University - A Study of Aston University Sociology Group.	71
Chapter 5 : Staff Perspectives at Aston.	107
SECTION FOUR : LATER THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENTS	124
Sociological Analyses of Education and the Teaching of Sociology.	
Chapter 6.1 : Introduction	125
6.2 : The 'New' Sociology of Education.	132
6.3 : The 'New' Sociology of Education and the Teaching of Sociology.	148
Chapter 7 : The Idea of a Hidden Curriculum.	154
Chapter 8.1 : Introduction.	171
8.2 : Macro-Micro Linkages and Educational Change.	174
8.3 : Sociology Teaching and the Hidden Curriculum.	192

	<u>Page</u>
SECTION FIVE : LATER EMPIRICAL WORK	201
Chapter 9 : The Hidden Curriculum of School Sociology.	202
SECTION SIX : CONCLUSIONS	219
Chapter 10.1: The Sociology of Higher Education.	220
10.2: Teaching Sociology in Higher Education.	235
Chapter 11 : The Hidden Curriculum of Sociology Teaching in Higher Education.	245
APPENDIX I : THE FIRST QUESTIONNAIRE	262
APPENDIX II : THE DIARY	276
APPENDIX III : THE SECOND QUESTIONNAIRE	291
APPENDIX IV : THE SCHOOL QUESTIONNAIRE	310
APPENDIX V : CONFERENCE PAPERS AND PUBLICATIONS	312
V(a): "The Academic Role of the Sociology Student". Paper presented to the British Sociological Association Industrial Sociology Study Group meeting "Crises in Sociology and Industrial Sociology Teaching : Some Ways of Comprehending and Coping" held at Aston University, March 5th, 1977.	313
V(b): "Social and Educational Background and the Performance of Behavioural Science Students". with Podmore, D., and Yeomans, K., The University of Aston Management Centre Working Paper Series, No. 135, March, (1979).	329
V(c): "Towards Democratic Teaching and Learning". with Rutherford, D., Meighan, R., and Sparkes, J. Paper presented to the Fifth International Conference on "Improving University Teaching" held at The City University, London, July 4th - 9th, 1979, in "Improving University Teaching: Fifth International Conference", University of Maryland and City University, Maryland, U.S.A., (pp 333 - 344).	342

V(d): "The Learner and Social Education:
Some Unintended Consequences of the
Hidden Curriculum". 356
Paper presented to the Social Science
Education Consortium, Inc., (U.S.A.)
Annual Conference on "International
Perspectives on Social/Political
Education" held at Surrey University,
Guildford, England,
July 6th - 11th, 1980.

REFERENCES

391

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my parents, without whose help and encouragement in years past this would not have been possible and my wife, Sara, for all she has done for me.

I would like to thank George Paton of Aston University's Sociology Group whose initial proposals prompted the research reported here and whose supervision shaped the early work of the thesis and laid the way for its subsequent development. Dr Gloria Lee's clear thinking and encouragements, too, were of immense help to me throughout the research and especially during its later stages, at the time of George's sabattical leave. Both George and Gloria were very generous in the time they gave to me, for reading, commenting upon and discussing with me the research in its various stages, and to them both I am very grateful.

To other members of the Sociology Group at Aston, particularly John Fairhead, with whom I taught, and Dr David Podmore, I also offer thanks for their encouraging interest in, and support for, my research. I would also like to thank both Geoff Whitty and Dr Roland Meighan for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of Section Four of my thesis, and Roland for his help in the initial stages of the school study reported in Chapter Nine.

The secretaries of the Sociology Group, particularly Jackie Hanson and Monika Chamberlain, were also of great help in innumerable ways, including the typing of earlier drafts of the thesis in its various stages and in the production of my questionnaires. My thanks also must go to Sheila Kirby for typing the final draft of my thesis at such speed over the summer months. Janet Latham reproduced the tables on pages 62, 64 and 65.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the great help given to me by Professor Colin Bell since his arrival at Aston University's Sociology Group earlier this year. I am very grateful to him for the invaluable contribution he has made to my thesis in his supervision of its final stages. The thesis very firmly bears the stamp of his advice and guidance, and I am indebted to him for this.

Roger Fielding

September, 1980

TABLES LIST

	<u>Page Number</u>
1.1 THE POPULATIONS OF THE 'PILOT' QUESTIONNAIRE	8
1.2 SECOND QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY: POPULATIONS TESTED AND RESPONSE RATES	10
3.1 SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE EX-C.A.T.s (for entry 1978)	53
3.2 NEW ENTRANTS TO ALL SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE COURSES AT EX-C.A.T. UNIVERSITIES FOR THE YEARS 1971 TO 1977.	55
3.3 NEW ENTRANTS TO SOCIOLOGY COURSES IN 1976 BY UNIVERSITY TYPE	56
3.4 ACADEMIC STAFF IN SUBJECT GROUPS BY PERIOD OF APPOINTMENT FOR THE EIGHT TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITIES	56
3.5 PROPORTIONS OF SUBJECT GROUPS: RECOMMENDED AND ACTUAL PERCENTAGES 1962 AND 1974	57
3.6 STUDENT ENROLMENTS 1971 AND 1974 BY SUBJECT GROUPS IN THE EIGHT TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITIES: PERCENTAGES	58
3.7 STAFF "EVER IN INDUSTRY" BY RANK AND PERIOD OF APPOINTMENT: PERCENTAGES	59
3.8 GROWTH OF STUDENT NUMBERS IN ASTON UNIVERSITY 1969-1974	62
3.9 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FULL-TIME STUDENTS BY SUBJECT GROUP: U.K. UNIVERSITY STUDENTS 1974/5	64
3.10 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FULL-TIME STUDENTS BY SUBJECT GROUP: THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON 1975/6	65
4.1 METHODS OF ENTRY TO ASTON'S SOCIOLOGY COURSES	73
4.2 THE DECISION TO ENTER HIGHER EDUCATION: FACTORS INFLUENCING ASTON'S STUDENTS	74
4.3 STUDENTS' IDEAS ABOUT THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THEIR "IDEAL" UNIVERSITY	76
4.4 ASTON STUDENTS' SELF-REPORTED SUB-CULTURAL ORIENTATIONS	81
4.5 THE "GOOD STUDENT" PROFILE	84
4.6 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE "GOOD" LECTURER	85

	<u>page number</u>
4.7 STUDENTS' PERCEIVED LEGITIMACY OF SOCIOLOGY	99
4.8 THE PERCEIVED PERSONAL RELEVANCE OF SOCIOLOGY	100
4.9 STUDENTS' COMMITMENT TO SOCIOLOGY	100
4.10 STUDENTS' PERCEIVED WORK LOAD OF SOCIOLOGY	100
11.1 SOCIOLOGY IS "NOT JUST ANOTHER SUBJECT": STUDENTS' RESPONSES	225

SECTION ONE : EARLY THEORETICAL APPROACHES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Teaching Sociology - The Research Problem
and the Approach taken

I am attempting in what follows to articulate a sociological perspective upon the problems of teaching and learning in higher education, paying particular attention, within those broad terms of reference, to the problems of teaching sociology on a first year course to students at a technological university.

The delimitation of my research aims to those I describe above occurred during the development of the research and were initially rather different. Perhaps I should explain at this point that I had initially, after my graduation, been seeking a research studentship for research in the area of the sociology of religion, in particular into the problem of 'secularisation'. It was my lack of success in securing a firm grant to engage in research in this area which initially and, in retrospect, I feel fortunately, led me into the field of the sociology of education. It was in the academic year of 1974/5 that the Sociology Group at the University of Aston was granted its own identity as a subject group and a place in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Science from the Management Centre. To mark this, the Group were awarded a three year postgraduate studentship. This award to the Group of a studentship coincided with my own graduation from the University of Aston and my own search for a research place. Failing to obtain awards in the sociology of religion, therefore, I was asked to look at Aston's project on the teaching of sociology in higher education. This I was glad to do, and I began work on the project in the October of 1975.

The initial research proposals suggested that the research should aim to "elicit students' expectations of the 'academic role' of the university student paying particular attention to the effects of different sub-cultures on the students' perceptions of that role".

These early proposals specified the four sub-cultures identified by Clark and Trow (1966) for particular attention. The initial aims, therefore, were to identify various aspects of students' activities and to explore any associations these may have exhibited to students' sub-cultural orientations. These early proposals, therefore, were essentially straightforward, 'positivistic' and 'empiricist' proposals without any self-conscious theoretical basis. While initially working within the confines of these terms of reference, I inevitably came to revise these ideas and to almost totally reformulate the problems I wished to explore. My revisions and reformulations came partially in response to the developing concerns within the sociology of education at the time of the research and partially in response to my own developing awareness of the need to articulate a clear theoretical basis to my empirical studies.

The research reported here, therefore, set out to explore various aspects of the role of the student in higher education with particular reference to those aspects of the role which related to the study of sociology. It was never, therefore, concerned with all students in higher education, nor with all aspects of the student role, but had a specific concern for what was called, in the early proposals, the "academic role" of students of sociology.

In retrospect, I can see it is possible to divide the research, as it has happened, into three broad phases, although all three are inter-related and not always mutually exclusive. Following the theoretical developments in the sociology of education during the 1970's, and the emergence of what became known as the 'new' sociology of education, my early worries about the positivistic approach the research had been led to take were reinforced. The third and final phase I might

loosely identify again follows developments within the sociology of education generally, that is the neo-Marxist, structuralist, critiques of the 'new' sociology of education during the late 1970's. My response to these developments is evidenced most clearly within Section Four of the thesis in which I discuss both the 'new' sociology of education and its critiques and relate these to developments in the teaching of sociology. It was the emergence of the neo-Marxist, structuralist critiques of the 'new' sociology of education which gave renewed importance to the idea of a "hidden curriculum" and I discuss this idea, too, in relation to the teaching of sociology in Section Four, and finally again in Section Six with reference to the teaching of sociology in higher education.

It was at this stage, too, of the research that a notion of the aims and objectives of sociology teaching became increasingly important. In conjunction with developing the idea of a hidden curriculum of sociology teaching, it became an important argument of my research that it was aspects of the hidden curriculum which lead to the failure of sociology teaching, often, to achieve its aims and objectives. Indeed the role of a hidden curriculum in sociology teaching became the central problematic of my research and the most useful formulation of the research problem, to allow engagement with some of the theoretical developments I have described.

Earlier sections of my thesis, however, chart both my initial theoretical approaches to the problem I was researching and my early empirical studies within a technological university. The data I report upon in Section Three of the thesis, on the perspectives of both students and staff in the Sociology Group of the technological university of

Aston, clearly reflect the influence of Becker et al (1961, 1968) upon my problem formulation. This section also signals my departure from the "positivism" of the initial proposals and the "empiricism" represented by my early approaches to data collection as witnessed by my early questionnaires. It is indicative of the way in which I developed a theoretical basis to the research that in the final analysis, presented in Section Three, (Chapters Four and Five), I, in fact, utilise open-ended interviews, participant observation and open-ended items on my questionnaire. While Section Two (Chapter Three), outlines the research setting of the ex-colleges of advanced technology, and Aston University in particular, it is Section One (Chapter Two) which discusses the weaknesses, as I saw them, of Clark and Trow's approach to the study of student culture and initially discusses the attractions of Becker's own, alternative and symbolic interactionist, conceptualisations.

My adoption of an open-ended, or unstructured, approach to data collection was facilitated by my being not only a post-graduate student of the Sociology Group of Aston University but also a part-time tutor both within the Sociology Group for first year Combined Honours students, and as a discussion group leader in "Complementary Studies", which involved students from all other faculties in addition to those students from the Humanities and Social Sciences Faculty.

My approaches to data collection, then, were of a variety of kinds. I began with a series of group interviews. These were conducted over a four week period during students' tutorials, within what was called a "Sociology Laboratory" session. This was a practical session which students attended once every four weeks. Each of the four different groups were included in these group discussions and all were tape recorded and later transcribed for analysis. During these sessions I

attempted to guide the discussions into areas which interested me and engaged with the concerns of my research but beyond that adopted a very open and permissive role in order to encourage students to express whatever might have been their feelings on any of the issues. I began by asking the students why it was they had come to university at all, why and how they had come to Aston in particular, and what factors had governed their choice of sociology within their own particular combination of subjects in their Combined Honours course. I then asked them what they had expected of university and what it was they had actually found, and this included discussions of staff-student relationships, lectures and tutorials, the amount of set teaching given and other topics as they emerged in discussion. Following this, I attempted to focus the interviews on sociology as a subject and then on the students' own sociology course at Aston and the interests and difficulties they had found with that. These interviews formed the basis of my early explorations and informed the construction of the questionnaires which were to follow, as the major instruments of data collection in my main survey of Aston students.

The first, and pilot questionnaire was given to all the Combined Honours students who were studying sociology in their first year, all Behavioural Science students and to Human Psychology students who also studied sociology in their first year.

The total population of students to which this first questionnaire was presented numbered approximately 108. This consisted of 42 Combined Honours students, 52 Behavioural Science students and 14 Human Psychology students. These proportions were reflected in the final sample which comprised of returned questionnaires from 14 Combined Honours students, 11 Behavioural Science students and 4 Human Psychologists.

This response rate of 26.9 percent was extremely low and could not

be improved upon either by reminder letters or by the issue of duplicate questionnaires, both of which were attempted.

Table 1.1

THE POPULATIONS OF THE PILOT QUESTIONNAIRE

POPULATIONS	TOTAL	RESPONSE	% RESPONSE RATE
Behavioural Science (first year)	52	11	21.2
Combined Hon.s(Soc) (first year)	42	14	33.3
Human Psychology	14	4	28.6
	108	29	26.9%

I followed the first questionnaire with a diary exercise, which is reported more fully in Chapter Four of the thesis. This, as the group interviews, was conducted solely with the Combined Honours students and again within the context of their "Sociology Laboratory" course. The diary exercise produced essentially quantitative data on students' study sessions, their social interactions with members of staff and the occasions when they might talk about their academic course with their fellow students. Again, and I make this point again in Chapter Four, an open-ended essentially qualitative diary as used by Willmott (1966) might, in retrospect, have been more useful in throwing light upon the emerging concerns of the research consequent to its reformulation along the lines followed by Becker et al (1961, 1968).

It was at this stage of the research, however, that I approached the universities of Birmingham and Bradford in order to broaden the scope of my research and to provide a comparative element to my research design. The idea here was to allow comparison of both another ex-C.A.T.

(i.e. Bradford) and a more conventional civic university (Birmingham).

At this stage I also made enquiries of Advanced level Examinations Boards in the hope of obtaining a list of centres which taught 'A' level sociology including both schools and colleges of further education. My idea was to include here, too, these institutions to provide further comparative material from my research design. It quickly became apparent that the scope of this research design was not the most appropriate for my own research, and, as I explain in what follows, before I had time to pursue it much further it became clear I should radically change my research design to suit developing priorities and concerns. In the event it was not possible to include Bradford in the study either, but the University of Birmingham were happy to co-operate and the second questionnaire survey included both first and final year sociology students from Birmingham.

The populations and final response rates of this second questionnaire survey are shown in the table overleaf. These populations include, in addition to the Birmingham University students, first and final year students of Behavioural Science and Combined Honours students studying sociology from Aston and first and final year students at Aston studying subjects other than sociology. I drew students from the Combined Honours computing option course for these latter populations.

It was, really, during the execution and administration of this questionnaire survey that I finally resolved not to continue with the kind of comparative study this survey was a part of. It began to seem to me that a smaller more specific and in-depth study of just one institution would be able to achieve more than such a study in terms of real purchase upon my research problem. This was partially in response

Table 1.2

SECOND QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY: POPULATIONS TESTED AND RESPONSE RATES

POPULATION		POPULATION SIZE	RESPONSE RATE ABS.	RESPONSE RATE %
Aston Combined Honours (Sociology)	Year 1	50	27	54.0
Aston Behavioural Science	Year 1	50	24	48.0
Birmingham University Sociology	Year 1	60	11	18.0
Aston Combined Honours (Sociology)	Year 3	20	7	35.0
Aston Behavioural Science (Sociology)	Year 4	15	3	20.0
Birmingham University Sociology	Year 3	16	11	69.0
Aston Combined Honours(Computing)	Year 1	150	36	24.0
Aston Combined Honours(Computing)	Year 3	42	6	14.0
TOTAL		403	125	31.0%

to the developing reformulation of that problem, along the lines I have indicated earlier, and partially in response to the very low and disappointing response rate the survey was attracting. As is evident in my report on student and staff perspectives, therefore, in Section Three (Chapters Four and Five) I eventually utilised only data pertaining to first year sociology courses at Aston, and in particular the qualitative data gathered from those populations. This meant, too, that I was only utilising data from those student populations which had produced reasonably respectable response rates, although, given my intended use of the data, and my particular utilisation of the open-ended response material, this was no longer a criteria of continuing relevance. A good deal of quantitative data from these questionnaires, therefore, remains unreported here, primarily because it began to lose a ready engagement with my developing theoretical perspectives and emerging priorities.

Once it had become clear I was to delimit my research objectives to an in-depth study of first year sociology courses in one technological university I began to explore in more detail the institutional context of those courses. This meant following enquiries of both the University Statistical Record (U.S.R.) and the Universities Central Council on Admissions (U.C.C.A.) with reference to student demands and admissions for sociology and social science courses in ex-C.A.T.'s and the development and current status of those courses themselves. I also, for this purpose, obtained archive copies of past U.C.C.A. admissions handbooks and university prospectuses and syllabuses. Section Two (Chapter Three) of the thesis reports upon this element of the research as it came to engage with the research problem.

One of the factors in my tardiness to recognise the diminishing

utility of my questionnaire approaches to data collection was a lack of "sub-cultural support" for that recognition. This is a factor mentioned by Atkinson (1977) in his suggestion that a move from one "paradigm" to another is a very difficult process, in referring to his own study of suicide. This is not to say I lacked support within the Sociology Group of Aston where I was based. What I lacked was explicit support for my choice to leave the collection of "hard data" and pursue more whole-heartedly the qualitative data I had begun to recognise as so crucially important to my particular research problem. Atkinson (1977) comments that the range of different research strategies currently available in sociology is such as to ensure that the researcher is guaranteed that whatever strategy he chooses he will be attacked from all the alternative positions set aside. Perhaps until this stage of my research was reached I was too aware of factors such as these. A further difficulty was the theoretical upheaval in the sociology of education during the 1970's which formed the context of my research. I was faced with the choice of either continuing with my research as originally formulated or making an attempt to reformulate my research problems in order to engage more effectively with these emerging ideas. In the event I chose the latter course and the structure of my thesis clearly reflects this. A further problem here, of course, was the failure of the 'new' sociology of education, as I comment in Chapter Six, to provide any very clear outlines as to the shape research within its parameters would or should take. This is even the case with studies which purport to criticise the 'new' sociology of education - Sharp and Green's (1976) study, for example, gives very little idea as to how their data were actually collected.

The foregoing, then, should explain something of the structuring

of my thesis, which clearly reflects the changing priorities of my work, and, to a great extent, the changing concerns of the sociology of education. All of this is related throughout to the problems of teaching sociology. The change of my concerns from a study of the "academic role" of the student to a more deliberate study of staff and student perspectives, and the pedagogic and curricular concerns associated with sociology teaching, led me to a need to articulate with more clarity than had previously been necessary my own perspectives on the aims and objectives of sociology teaching.

It became inevitable that I should make some assumptions during the discussions of my thesis about the aims and objectives of sociology teaching. Indeed it became clear that it was around such assumptions that my thesis had come to revolve. These assumptions bear upon what had, by now, become the central problematic of my research, that is, the failure of sociology to engage meaningfully and critically with the students' own experience of their world. It had become an important argument in my thesis, that it was the hidden curriculum which went a long way towards contributing to that failure. In what follows, therefore, I attempt to elaborate upon some of the assumptions I make about the aims and objectives of sociology teaching, indeed some of the aims and objectives spoken of by others also in their discussions of sociology teaching.

An essential, and obvious, starting point for this discussion would be C. Wright Mills' (1959) notion of the sociological imagination. Mills claimed the task and the promise of the sociological imagination to be the ability "to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society". Or put another way, to enable a person to relate "their personal troubles of milieu" with "the public issues

of social structure", the relation of private matters relating to an individual with public issues relating to society as a whole. Gleeson and Whitty (1980) note that this conception of the sociological imagination with reference to sociology teaching would relate to the possible connection between a student's experience of sociology as a subject and their understandings of the social world in which they live. It relates therefore to the claims often made of sociology that it should be "different ", "critical ", potentially "liberating" or "radical ", say Gleeson and Whitty (1980). Rex (1978(b)) suggests that sociology, for these reasons, is at once the most important, the most "troublesome" and the most "dangerous" subject in the university curriculum. In a survey of first year sociology courses in universities and polytechnics, Clarke (1975) found that most respondents aimed to put across the "sociological perspective" to their students, which seemed to involve an emphasis on reorientation and on a particular way of looking at the world. Others stressed the need to "think critically" about society and to recognise the givens in society as problematic. Vulliamy (1973) in his suggestion that teachers and taught should "do sociology together" argues at the same time that a student should be able to place commonly held assumptions in a sociological context and thereby see the possibility of alternative structures and assumptions. The object of sociology teachers, therefore, becomes the enabling of students to think critically about their everyday assumptions and to thereby become aware of the possibility of "actually shaping their world as opposed to being shaped by it " (Vulliamy, 1973, p 529). Gleeson and Whitty (1980) argue, too, that one of the objectives of sociology teaching is to raise such a "critical consciousness" within which the sociological imagination can be used as a "critical tool ". It is the two inter-related attributes of sociology - that it should be both meaningful and

critical - which Gleeson and Whitty (1976) elsewhere suggest makes sociology or social studies potentially "radical ". By "meaningful" they mean it must embrace the students' interests and experiences as a relevant starting point for learning, and by "critical" they mean it should seek to encourage students to critically question, rather than passively accept, their relations in the social world. Rowe (1976) in discussing proposals for a Mode III Advanced Level Sociology Syllabus suggests, similarly, that one of the objectives of the course would be that students should come to see that sociology offers a method of understanding the world around them which is directly relevant to their own experiences.

These ideas, on the one hand, also relate of course, on the other hand, to the kinds of criticisms and suspicions sociology so often attracts. Again Gleeson and Whitty (1980) refer to the Gould (1977) pamphlet on Marxist and radical penetration of higher education and a "Spectator" article by Benthall (1977), both attacking sociology and warning of the dangers of permitting sociology to grow in both higher education and schools respectively. Sociology is often thought to be "subversive" (as I show later in my thesis with reference to the hidden curriculum of sociology teaching). While Gleeson and Whitty (1980) argue that sociology has developed, for a variety of reasons, into a highly conventional school subject, and while I attempt to demonstrate it can be no less conventional in higher education, most critics, go on Gleeson and Whitty (1980) still stress its differences and its supposed dangers.

Gleeson and Whitty (1980) in developing their argument about the frustrated aims of sociology teaching, suggest a need to consider the extent to which it is the very nature and function of schooling in our

society which militates against the exercise of the sociological imagination. Attempts by sociology teachers to offer a subject which is "different" often seem to be outweighed by the impact of a more powerful hidden curriculum. This is, of course, the very question I, myself, have been asking of sociology teaching in higher education. Gleeson and Whitty (1980) go on to ask whether it is realistic to continue to strive for the realisation of a more meaningful and critical approach to the study of sociology at the introductory level at which it is taught in schools and colleges. While such questions are rarely asked of sociology teaching in higher education, failure to achieve meaningful and critical teaching in higher education still remains a problem. And while Gleeson and Whitty (1980) confirm that the form of external examinations still has a significant impact on the nature of these introductory courses, no less than they have reported earlier (Gleeson and Whitty 1976), it remains true for higher education that the same constraint of external examinations does not apply in the same way. For Gleeson and Whitty (1980), then, it is insufficient merely to point to the hidden curriculum of schooling and suggest that it alone effectively neutralises the more meaningful and critical elements within sociology teaching. However, neither can the failure of sociology teaching to achieve such "meaningful critical awareness" be attributed simply to the classroom approach which may have been taken. This view would optimistically suggest that a change in classroom approach would then allow the critical impact of sociology teaching to obtain. Gleeson and Whitty (1980) would be unhappy with both these stances and indeed suggest a need to locate the analysis of sociology teaching in the context of a wider understanding of the relationship between the form, content and social relations of schooling

and the wider society. A rationalisation of failure in the sociology classroom in terms of an ever-present and all-pervasive hidden curriculum would, say Gleeson and Whitty (1980) be inappropriate and could, in turn, lead to a failure to attempt to resist those hidden messages and constraints. I discuss the notion of optimistic and pessimistic stances towards the possibilities of, or limits to, achieving such "meaningful critical awareness" within what follows (Chapter Six, see also Fielding, (1980)), and this forms an important element of the argument I develop in the latter half of my thesis.

My developing theoretical framework on sociology teaching in higher education, the central problematic of this thesis, suggests neither a simple optimism nor a fatalistic pessimism with regard to our teaching. Rather it suggests a need to locate the practice of our teaching within a wider understanding of both structural constraints and classroom interaction. Clearly my thesis does not exhaust this project and I conclude with some indications of the way forward for further research if it is wished to advance this understanding.

Briefly, then, the thesis outlines the early approach to the problem using the concepts of student culture and perspective, and early empirical work is reported. This empirical work consists of an examination of the nature of, and student demand for, sociology courses in the ex-C.A.T.s compared to other types of university, and the particular situation of Aston itself where the bulk of the primary data was collected. This early empirical work also includes the collection of such primary data at Aston in order to investigate both student and staff perspectives on both their university and the sociology courses run within the university. Both the early theoretical approaches and these early empirical studies are criticised in

the light of the new directions taken by the sociology of education which are discussed and given particular reference to the problems of sociology teaching. The interactionist orientation of the "new" sociology of education is in turn criticised with reference to the concept of "hidden curriculum" and an attempt is made to articulate both structuralist and interactionist approaches in a theoretical framework upon teaching and learning. At this stage an empirical study of the hidden curriculum of school sociology is reported which demonstrates the utility of the developing framework at least for secondary schooling and sociology teaching. The final chapters relate the foregoing to the sociology of higher education and the particular problems of teaching sociology in higher education.

The thesis hopes to contribute to the sociological study of higher education in three ways therefore:

1. the development of a sociologically informed theoretical framework for the study of higher education, with particular reference to the processes of teaching and learning,
2. the increased understanding of the problems of teaching sociology in higher education in terms of both curriculum content and pedagogy, with particular reference to student perspectives on sociology courses,
3. the suggestion of a research programme for the future development of a sociology of higher education.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONCEPTS OF "STUDENT CULTURE"

AND "PERSPECTIVE"

This chapter explores the utility of the concepts of "student culture" and "perspective" for addressing the problems of the teaching of sociology empirically. The ideas of Clark and Trow (1966) and their typology of "student culture" is first explored and criticised. This exploration and criticism then led me to review differences between the "culture" concept and the concept of "role" and role orientation. Using the Clark and Trow conceptualisation empirically seemed to offer little over the use of the concept of role orientation and did not seem to fully engage with the implications of the "culture" concept as I wished to fully understand it. These implications, which I spell out within the chapter, were more fully met in the work of Cohen (1955) and Becker (1961; 1968), both of whose work I inspect. My inspection of Becker's ideas, particularly, revealed the underlying importance to his concept of "culture" of the concept of "perspective". This concept is of independent use and I conclude this chapter with a review of the use of this concept in empirical research in educational settings. It was this concept which was finally to be my "central organising concept" and which was to play such an important role in the organisation and analysis of my data in the third section to the thesis, which reports on my early empirical studies.

The approach of Clark and Trow (1966) focuses on the heterogeneity of the student population. The defining elements of the Clark and Trow sub-cultures are the differing orientations students may adopt towards their college or university education.

Clark and Trow suggested that different sub-cultures emerged from the combination of two dimensions, or variables - the degree to which students are involved with ideas and the extent to which students identify with their college. Clark and Trow dichotomised these variables to produce a four-fold typology of student sub-cultures as shown below:

Fig. 2.1

	MUCH +	<u>INVOLVED WITH IDEAS</u>	_ LITTLE
MUCH + <u>IDENTIFY</u> <u>WITH</u> <u>COLLEGE</u>		Academic	Collegiate
LITTLE _		Non-conformist	Vocational

Typology of student sub-cultures (Clark and Trow, 1966, p24)

Clark and Trow describe or operationally define these four sub-cultures in the following ways:

1. The 'academic sub-culture' is a sub-culture of serious academic effort, students here will identify with the intellectual concerns of faculty members. The students work hard and talk about coursework outside of class. The emotional tie to the college is through the faculty which is seen as the institution supporting intellectual values and opportunities for learning.
2. The 'non-conformist sub-culture' contains an involvement with ideas to a great degree but does not embody the official college culture as a point of reference. In fact, there is a critical detachment from the college they attend and from its faculty, and a general hostility to the college administration.
3. The 'collegiate sub-culture' is the most widely held stereotype of college life; a world of sport, clubs, dates and dancing. The orientation of this sub-culture embodies an indifference to serious demands from the faculty for involvement with ideas over and above that needed for examinations.
4. The 'vocational sub-culture' attracts students who have little attachment to the college, which is seen largely as off-the-job training for getting a better job. Students in this sub-culture will also resist intellectual demands over and above what is needed for examinations.

The defining elements of the Clark and Trow (1966) student sub-

cultures, therefore, are the orientations students adopt towards their college or university education. This is accepting the fact that the students in a college or university, unlike the students in Becker's Medical School study referred to later, will not typically all share the same orientations. However Clark and Trow do suggest that these sub-cultures are "fluid systems of norms and values which overlap and flow into one another" in ways which challenge the effort to distinguish between them in any one college or university as a whole. Although, say Clark and Trow (1966), in most cases one of the sub-cultures will be likely to embody any one individual's dominant orientation. However, with reference to this, Abbott (1971) suggested that we might expect to find a preponderance of students in any one institution belonging to only one or two of these sub-cultures depending upon its social class composition, its residential organisation, its physical layout, its history and traditions, etc.

Given this brief outline of the ideas of Clark and Trow (1966) I shall now, again briefly, outline some of the concerns I had with their ideas both on a theoretical level and with reference to the possibility of its empirical use. These criticisms served to raise other important issues for my research.

Bolton and Kammeyer (1967), for example, argue that there are several dimensions and components to the concept of "sub-culture" found either implicitly or explicitly in the literature. In brief, they suggest that the concept of "sub-culture" should have reference to ...

1. "a normative value system held by some group of persons
2. ... who are in persisting interaction, and
3. ... who transmit the norms and values to newcomers by some communicational process, and
4. ... who exercise some sort of social control to ensure conformity to the norms.

5. Furthermore, the normative value system of such a group must differ from the normative value system of the larger, the parent or the dominant society."

(Bolton and Kammeyer, 1967, p 124/5)

Bolton and Kammeyer (1967) suggest that the concept of "sub-culture" has been used without sufficient regard for the implications it carries, and they suggest that unless evidence for the existence of "true" student sub-cultures can be brought to bear in an analysis, the term "role-orientation" may prove to be a better central organising concept. Certainly Clark and Trow's typology of student sub-cultures fails to meet a number of Bolton and Kammeyer's requirements for the use of the concept of "sub-culture ". Their lack of attention, in their definition of their dimensions and sub-cultures, to the need for evidence of "persisting interaction" appears particularly significant. Indeed of their four types of sub-cultures, one, the "vocational" sub-culture, is explicitly not an interacting group. It is defined as having "little social unity" and being supported only by an "atomised aggregation" of students.

Typically, researchers using the Clark and Trow typology have simply presented to their subjects four brief statements describing the major characteristics of each orientation and asking the subjects to classify themselves (see Gottlieb and Hodgkins (1963) for an example of this approach). This technique, then, would seem more accurately to render a classification of role-orientations than student sub-cultures.

Keith Percy made a survey of student opinion in one British university and found the results suggested a sub-division of the Clark and Trow typology into other meaningful and distinctive student orientations. Firstly, the academic (syllabus free), secondly the academic (syllabus bound), the vocational (professional) and the instrumental (degree, but not career, achievement), the collegiate (normal) and the

collegiate ("finishing school"/aesthetic), seventhly the non-conformist (radical/political) and lastly the non-conformist (radical/"alternative society"/environmentalist).

Although this particular research is unpublished, in other articles on student culture Percy (1973) does show himself to be aware of the problems with the Clark and Trow typology and its derivation from the summation of the characteristics of individual students rather than from observations of stable patterns of interaction amongst students. Indeed, Percy suggests it is often only the research methodology which puts students into one or another category, and that such categories, therefore, should only be regarded, at best, as ideal-type orientations. He also repeats, as I pointed out earlier, that many individual students will have interests in all of the areas typified by Clark and Trow - the varieties of opportunities on offer in college life - an enjoyable social life ("collegiate"), the possibility of "doing one's own thing" ("non-conformist"), the possibility of a desirable job at the end ("vocational") and the intrinsic satisfaction of intellectual activity ("academic") will appeal to all students in varying degrees.

The role-orientation concept was used by Cohen and Toomey (1973) with success, and they derived a series of role-orientation types - the social intellectual, the social fun, the vocational, the academic and the reformer role-orientations. Their role-orientations referred to "the undergraduates' attitudes towards university life and work". As above, they did not accept that the sharing of attitudes among students was evidence for the existence of a student sub-culture, despite precedents in the research literature for this strategy of identification. They did, however, suggest that relationships between role-orientations and the extent to which students report themselves to be in continuing

interaction with fellow-students may provide a basis for speculation concerning the existence of student sub-cultures. Cohen and Toomey (1973) described their role-orientation types in the following manner:

The 'social-intellectual' role orientation is characterised by the student who takes part in university life outside the classroom, whose social life is largely within the university, who enjoys the intellectual life of the university and who spends a lot of time outside lectures in social contact with fellow students. The 'social-fun' role orientation refers to the student who comes to the university primarily to have a good time, spending much of his out-of-class time in social contacts with fellow students. He describes himself as popular with the opposite sex and a good mixer, and he is not given to spending a lot of time in solitary study. The 'vocational' role orientation belongs to the student who comes to the university primarily to obtain a qualification in preparation for a successful career. He cares more for getting his degree than for fundamental values. The 'academic' role orientation is characterised by the student who has the capacity to tackle both work and examinations successfully, expressing a great interest in his chosen work. The 'reformer' role orientation refers to the student who spends a considerable amount of time thinking about and discussing social and political reform. He believes that working on his own is more valuable than attending lectures.

In summary, role-orientations, Bolton and Kammeyer (1967) suggest, may be described in terms of the relative weights given to a small number of possible values which came from playing the role. In the case of student role they suggest we may stress three factors basic to a role-orientation - the value placed upon academic orientation, intellectual-academic progress, and participation in campus social life. Students taking different

orientations to the student role will tend to perform the role differently and thus the concept of role orientation may be used to explain variations in student behaviour.

Cohen and Toomey (1973) in turn discuss the relationship between the "more neutral" term of role-orientation and sub-culture suggesting that some role-orientations may be considered as sub-cultures if the persisting interaction (and opportunity for interaction) associated with a role orientation can also be shown to be associated with an increased subscription to that role-orientation. For example, they point out, role orientations associated with spending a lot of time with fellow-students may provide opportunities for social learning and social control and thus become more sub-cultural in nature than those role-orientations associated with private study and isolation from the "persistent interaction" spoken of by Bolton and Kammeyer (1967).

Returning, however, to the concept of "culture" and my exploration of the particular utility of that concept for addressing my research problem. Clark and Trow's is clearly not the only conceptualisation of "sub-culture", or even of "student sub-culture", available.

Cohen's (1955) study of delinquent boys' gangs, in which he used the concept of "sub-culture", and in which he attempted to outline a "general theory" of sub-cultures, also goes some way to clarifying the concept of sub-culture and the implications of its usage.

Cohen suggests sub-cultures will emerge when people are both a) in effective interaction with one another and b) when those people have similar problems of adjustment in a particular situation. The existence of "effective interaction" as a condition of a sub-culture, missing in Clark and Trow's typology, is crucial to Cohen's general theory. Cohen suggests that the evidence of problems of adjustment alone among a plurality of actors is insufficient to ensure the emergence of a sub-cultural solution. This is a theme to be found again later in my discussions of Becker's (1961, 1968) work.

Any hindrance to communication between members of a group may lead to the absence of sub-cultural solutions and the development of private,

personal or even neurotic ways of coping.

Cohen's theory of sub-cultural development begins to engage with that of Beckers to which this chapter will next turn, and for that reason holds particular interest. Basically Cohen's ideas about sub-cultural development involve two factors, a person's "frame of reference" and that person's situation. A person's situation would include the physical setting in which they operate, the time and energy they have to accomplish their ends, their habits, expectations and demands, and the social organisation of the people around them. The "frame of reference" consists of the interests, preoccupations, and values a person might bring to any situation. Solutions to problems of adjustment involve changes in one or both of the situation and the "frame of reference". The development of such solutions will occur through the exploratory gestures of actors to each other.

Innovations will be broached in such a manner as to elicit from others reactions suggesting their receptivity or otherwise. The innovation then will occur by increments which are small, tentative and ambiguous, in such a manner that the actors may retreat if the signs from other actors are unfavourable. By a casual semi-serious non-committed or tangential remark an actor may "stick his neck out" just a little way, but quickly withdraw it unless it is followed by a sign of affirmation. If such probing gestures are motivated by tensions common to other participants then they are likely to initiate a process of mutual exploration and joint elaboration of a new solution.

The final product of such a process is likely to be a compromise formed by all participants to the process and may be seen, says Cohen, as "sub-cultural". It is "cultural" because each actor's participation in this system of norms is influenced by his perception of the same norms in other actors. It is "sub-cultural" because the norms are shared only

among those actors who stand somehow to profit from them, and who find in one another a sympathetic moral climate within which these norms may come to fruition and persist.

Cloward and Ohlin (1961) also studied delinquent gangs and utilised the notion of "sub-culture ". They suggested that the culture of a group provides its members with appropriate beliefs, values and norms to enable them to carry out required activities. This, they go on to say, is equally true of "sub-cultures" which are distinguished by the prefix "sub" only to focus attention on its connection with a larger "enviroming" culture from which it has become partially differentiated. It is while he is being inducted into the sub-culture that the new member encounters and learns ways of describing the world about him which equip him to engage in these prescribed activities, enabling him to "understand, discriminate, predict and interpret" the actions of others in relation to himself as a member of the same sub-culture. It is just these characteristic descriptions which acquire the force of beliefs and which are passed on as part of the sub-cultural tradition. The new member, Cloward and Ohlin (1961) suggest, is also encouraged to adopt a set of evaluations which guide his "judgements, comparisons and preferential choices ". These are integrated with the beliefs he has acquired and are in turn mobilised to support the behavioural prescriptions of the group. The most crucial elements of the delinquent sub-cultures, studied by Cloward and Ohlin (1961) were the prescriptions, norms and rules of conduct that defined the activities of a fully fledged member. While every delinquent sub-culture is based on a set of dominant roles, which involve the performance of delinquent acts, it is the shared knowledge of what is required for that competent performance of those roles which gives a sub-culture its distinctiveness.

Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967), however, point out that value-sharing does not necessarily require social interaction. Consequently a sub-culture may exist, widely distributed spatially and without interpersonal contact, among individuals or whole groups of individuals. Individual (i.e. "non-group") behaviour, claim Wolfgang and Ferracuti, can be "sub-cultural" so long as it reflects the values of an existing sub-culture. This is clearly a departure from the common understanding of the term sub-culture and the implications I have previously outlined of that term.

However, to further this discussion of the culture concept and to relate it more specifically to higher education and the idea of "student culture" I now wish to turn to Wheeler's (1966) analysis of interpersonal settings and the ideas of Becker and his colleagues.

Universities and colleges may be seen as socialising institutions or "people-processing" organisations. Wheeler (1966) noted four main types of interpersonal settings presented to the 'recruits' of such organisations, with universities or colleges characterised as "collective-serial socialisation settings".

Wheeler's typology was constructed by dichotomising two aspects of the interpersonal settings of organisations. Firstly, whether the 'recruit' was facing the setting alone or in the company of others. The 'recruit' may thus have either a collective or individual status. Secondly, the 'recruit' may or may not be preceded by others who have been through the same process and who can teach him about the setting. This might be referred to as a 'serial' pattern of socialisation, to distinguish it from 'disjunctive' patterns where the 'recruits' are not following in the footsteps of predecessors.

The definitions of these two aspects are to some extent arbitrary

as variations from the simple dichotomies may occur, but none-the-less the combining of these two characteristics results in a fourfold typology arranging socialisation settings by the extent to which others can help the 'recruit' arrive at a workable definition of his situation.

The typology refers, however, only to the possibility rather than the actuality of interpersonal contact. Those entering the collective-serial pattern of a university or college may spend most of their time with persons who entered with them, or with persons who were there before them. They may, however, remain effectively alone in any setting if they fail to establish social ties to other members.

Fig. 2.2 A TYPOLOGY OF INTERPERSONAL SETTINGS

	SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF OTHER MEMBERS		SOCIAL CONTEXT OF ENTERING MEMBERS	
			INDIVIDUAL	COLLECTIVE
			type 1	type 2
DISJUNCTIVE	eg oldest child in family 1st occupant of newly created job			eg summer training conference
			type 3	type 4
SERIAL	eg new occupant of job previously occupied by another person			eg schools, universities, colleges

(Wheeler, 1966, p61)

The potential importance to the 'recruits' definition of his situation of the collective and serial nature of the interpersonal setting at college is best exemplified by the work of Becker and his colleagues on student culture.

Classically culture is concerned as arising in response to some problem faced by a group. The problem is a shared one, common to all members of the group and the solution leads to, or implies, more general

views and assumptions. It is the organized whole of such problem solutions which comprises the culture of the group. Following this, Becker viewed "student culture" as the collective response of students to chronic and pressing problems faced by the students as students. Student culture is a response to student life. The term "student culture" for Becker indicates that the perspectives held by the student body are related very much to the fact that these people occupy the position of student in college or university, and that the opportunities and disabilities of the student role are decisive in shaping the perspectives held. The term "student culture" also implies for Becker that the decisive influences on the students' perspectives derive from their role as student rather than from the content of their courses. Finally, for Becker, the use of the term "student culture" indicates that students do not simply apply those perspectives which they bring with them from their previous experience in other institutional positions.

Becker suggests that the perspectives developed in the college situation are much more likely to reflect the pressures of the immediate college situation than of ideas associated with prior roles and experience.

Becker suggested "student culture" served at least two functions:

- a) the provision of a means of accommodation for students' difficulties and problems,
- b) the provision of a basis for the re-direction of students' efforts possibly in conflict with faculty standards and ideals.

Becker's analysis follows that of Cohen in focusing on the group responses to situational problems and the need for changes in their frames of reference or perspectives. His analysis differs radically,

therefore, from Clark and Trow's more structured approach where hypotheses and standardised questions were available. Becker's methodology specifically allowed the discovery of phenomena related to the idea of student culture rather than the establishing of relationships between previously identified variables.

Whilst this chapter explores Becker's use of the sub-culture concept it is important to recognise that Becker's medical school was by no means a typical institution of higher education. It represents an extreme case in the development and operation of student culture in at least two ways:

- a) there are a number of common, pressing and chronic problems,
- b) there is intensive interaction in a group isolated from outside influences.

While these conditions are essential to the development of any sub-culture they were particularly pertinent features of life at the medical school. The medical school is an ideal example of the development of a student culture and one would not necessarily expect it to play such an important role in other types of educational institutions. A university, for example, is a much more complex organisation than the medical school and therefore several student cultures might be expected in place of Becker's one homogeneous culture.

Hatch (1971) notes that the term student culture does not necessarily suggest that students have a way of life totally distinct and separate from the rest of society nor that there is a common student culture. In many ways, Hatch suggests, students as a whole are conspicuously lacking in the common norms or perspectives that one would think might be components of a common culture, for example, matters relating to religion, politics, and personal morality etc. However, Hatch goes on, while

students may lack consensus over issues not specifically related to higher education, they may show consensus within the more limited and immediate context of higher education. Hatch (1971) looked at the orientation of students towards three areas of higher education:- their views of the purposes of higher education, their perception of some aspects of the role of the student, and their attitude to student protest. He found no unanimity to his results and concluded that students usually associate together in identifiable groups in such a way as to contradict the notion that there is uniformity or agreement among students. Entering students are presented with a variety of "role models" with which they may identify and associate.

However, Becker suggests that whether one sees one student culture or many in an educational setting such as the medical school or a university is partly a matter of researcher's choice. A study may concentrate on those things in which students are alike or on those in which they differ. Indeed the concept of culture has been used as a conceptual tool in a variety of ways by people studying higher education. Yinger (1960) lists four such differing uses. The concept may indicate :

a) The total culture of a particular college, with culture being either the dependent variable produced by demographic and historical factors, or with culture being the independent variable affecting the attitudes and behaviours of the students.

b) The existence of two differing cultures in one educational institutions, for example the "student culture" and the "faculty culture" with potential conflict between these two cultures as they attempt to socialise the new student.

c) The variability of student culture within one institution leading to the notion of student sub-cultures rather than simply one student culture. This approach focuses on the dissimilarities of groups of college students and would include the approach taken by Clark and Trow.

d) The commonality of student culture within one institution, focusing on the collective response of students to common basic problems and the continuity of student culture across older and newer students because of communication between the students. This approach is that followed by Becker with a focus less on variations among students and more on what is common to all students.

Becker, then began with the premise that student culture was a response to student life, to the problems which arose for the students as their "long-range perspectives" were confronted by the social environment of the campus. The long range perspectives are the perspectives which tell the student what kind of place their university is, what they want to get out of life, and how they will get it. Becker's long term perspectives are similar to Cohen's "frames of reference ". The confrontation of long range perspectives with the students' college situation results in the development of solutions and adjustments, or "situational perspectives ". These situational perspectives are collective in nature and constitute the "student culture ". Becker continues by suggesting that if the students do not, in fact, face similar problems there will be no occasion for them to develop common solutions, and each student will solve his own problems in his own way. If students, even with similar problems, do not have opportunity for extensive and intensive interaction, they will not have the opportunity to discuss and arrive at a common solution, and, again, each student will solve his own problems in his own way. The most important factor in the development of student culture in the students' first year, says Becker, is the formation of a group in which all or nearly all members have opportunities for interaction with each other.

Becker's use of the term "student culture ", therefore may be summarised as below:

a) That there is a substantial element of coherence and consistency among the perspectives which make up

the student culture which derives from the common premises upon which students base those perspectives.

b) That the perspectives held by the student body are related very much to the fact that these people occupy the position of student in an institution of higher education.

c) That the decisive influences on the students' perspectives derive from their role as student rather than from the content of their course, and

d) that the perspectives developed are much more likely to reflect the pressures of the immediate college situation than of ideas associated with prior roles and experiences.

Becker, therefore, sees student culture as being very specifically related to the student role and the understandings, actions and perspectives which grow up around the student's role as student. In addition to the functions noted earlier, Becker suggests students developed specific perspectives related to three areas of their college life:

- a) academic work
- b) making friends, and
- c) "general activities".

The perspectives in these three areas specified the goals to be attained and the actions to be taken in pursuit of those goals, with the understandings of the culture, constraining the student's thinking almost without his being aware of it.

In the area of "academic work" the goal to be attained is specified within the perspective as "good grades" which will enable graduation, membership of campus fraternities and sororities, and so on. Most students, Becker found, believed that anyone could get B's or C's if they would buckle down and do the work. It was necessary to get good or at least acceptable grades, therefore, to demonstrate one's worth as a student. The activities which went with this perspective took the

form of an attempt to give the teacher what he wanted in order to get the desired "good grades" even if there was a disparity between what the student might want to learn and what they were required to learn to get good grades.

In the area of sociable interaction, or "making friends" the perspectives defined such things as criteria of success and the means by which such success is to be achieved in relation with the opposite sex, for example, in dating. Finally, a student would do well in "general activities" by getting and holding offices in campus organisations and performing the tasks associated with those offices successfully, and in doing so learning to handle and manipulate successfully other people and organisations. Becker reports that a very large proportion of students have at least one membership in some organisation outside the living group they belong to, and many hold more than one such membership. Success and achievement in activities through office-holding is something that a great many students are interested in and strive for.

In summary Becker's analysis of "student culture" is dominated by three concepts; those of "group perspective", "culture" and "organisation".

"Group perspectives" are perspectives held collectively, by a group of people. Taken from Mead (1938) they may be defined as :

"co-ordinated views and plans of action people follow in problematic situations."

Such "group perspectives" are developed when a group of people face the same problematic situation. They become ways of thinking and acting which appear to group members as the natural and legitimate one to use in such situations.

"Culture" refers to that collection of "group perspectives" shared by a particular group. The concept of "organisation" is used to take

account of the fact that students' actions occur in an institutional or organisational setting. The students occupy a defined position in the college or university and interact in ways that are specified by institutional rules, and particular problems may arise from such institutionally defined interaction.

The concept of "perspective" then is both basic, and crucial, to the concept of "culture" as understood by Becker (1961; 1968). At this point in my exploration of the different possible "central organising concepts" I might use for my research I began to look specifically at the concept of perspective to see if it could make a contribution to my research problem apart from its use in conjunction with the concept of culture.

Becker defines the concept of "perspective" in a way similar to that of Mead:

"(A perspective is) a co-ordinated set of ideas and actions a person may use in dealing with a problematic situation."

(Becker, 1961, p34).

A "problematic situation" would be a situation in which the individual is called upon to act, but in which the options or choices for action are not constrained or guided. In other words when an individual faces a situation calling for action which is not given by their own prior beliefs nor by any situational imperatives, that individual will develop a solution or "perspective" to guide their action.

Becker goes further by suggesting that given the aims and goals of an individual, the situational problems encountered by that individual, and the individual's own limited knowledge of the situation, the perspectives developed may be said to be rational, i.e. consciously developed and deliberately evolved as a solution to the problem faced.

Further to this, says Becker, if a particular kind of situation recurs frequently the perspective will probably become an established part of that person's "ordinary" way of thinking and feeling about and acting in that problematic situation.

The way in which a "perspective" might be a taken-for-granted aspect of a problematic situation is part of Shibutani's definition:

A perspective is:

"an ordered view of one's world - what is taken for granted, about the attributes of various objects, events and human nature. It is an order of things remembered and expected as well as things actually perceived, an organised conception of what is plausible and what is possible; it constitutes the matrix through which one perceives one's environment" (Shibutani, 1955 p 564)

Becker (1968) suggested that perspectives may be divided up analytically into three components:

- a) a "definition of the situation". This is a set of ideas describing the character of the situation in which the action is to be taken.
- b) "activities", which are specified as the ones properly and sensibly to be engaged in, and
- c) "criteria of judgement", or standards of value against which people may be judged.

These several aspects of a perspective will form a coherent whole in the everyday commonsense world of the individual. Sharp and Green (1976), in a study to which this chapter will return later, similarly suggested perspectives would include elements of both thought and deed. For Sharp and Green a perspective contains a number of elements:

- a) "some concept of the environment and the problems it creates..."
- b) ideas about social objects within the environment and the various inanimate features of their resources to hand...
- c) a definition of the goals and projects, and what can be expected from the environment...

- d) a rationalisation for being and acting therein...
- e) a specification of the kinds of activities one may or may not involve oneself in...
- f) a set of criteria to evaluate one's own and other's actions... , and finally
- g) a set of congruent activities and actions which are employed to deal with the situation."

(Sharp and Green, 1976, p70)

Perspectives, then, are essentially social and not psychological phenomena. The perspectives developed by a person in response to a particular situation would not be any more stable, suggests Becker (1964) than the situation itself or the individual's participation in it. If a person wished to continue their participation in a situation or do well in it, for one reason or another, then the sociological problem would address itself to the nature of the social situation and what it was within that situation which required the individual to think or act in a particular way.

The concept of "perspective" has been used in a number of different educational settings. Not only Becker's studies of medical school and undergraduates, but also in a study of a college of education (Gibson, 1973, 1976), a progressive primary school (Sharp and Green, 1976), and of an undergraduate Education course in a British university (Lewis and Vulliamy, 1978).

The chapter has already looked at the studies of Becker in some detail. Of the other studies only Sharp and Green's (1976) study is not located within the context of higher education. Sharp and Green studied the teachers within a progressive "child centred" school and utilised the idea of "perspective" to distinguish ideas of the teachers which exist at a high level of generality, which they called "teaching

ideologies" and those beliefs and practices, "perspectives" which emerged when the teachers in the school confronted the specific problems of their situation. They described specific aspects of the teachers' perspectives:

- a) Their characterisation of the pupils and their background,
- b) their orientation to the school and its ethos,
- c) their perspective on working in the classroom.

Sharp and Green's study was attempting to relate these "perspectives" to the substantive issues of :

- a) the social structuring of pupils' identities
- b) staff relationships,
- c) parent/teacher involvement.

This study indicated, no less than Becker's, the analytical utility of the concept of "perspective" for the study of social behaviour in a situation which is potentially a problematic situation for those actors participating in it.

Gibson's (1976) study of student-teachers in a college of education demonstrated the development of "perspectives" relating to the problematic experience of "school practice" which the students were required to undertake, and to which the students attached great importance. Gibson presented a model suggesting the overlapping development of three different perspectives on school practice:

- a) the "service" perspective was the initial perspective and was characterised by idealism and an attempt to put into practice the 'college view' of teaching.
- b) the "safety-first" perspective resulted from the redefinition of student perspectives after the impact of the first school practice. This perspective was essentially concerned with surviving the practice, rather than treating it as a progressive step to acquiring professional competence.

c) The "independent" perspective was developed by some but not all, students and arose from the students' greater knowledge of children and a growing repertoire of teaching techniques. This perspective was seen by the students as a more realistic redefinition of the earlier 'service' perspective.

Thielens (1977) suggested that the perspectives of both staff and students inform the way staff feel teaching in their subject should best proceed, and the way staff feel students should best approach and study their subject. Such perspectives, therefore, suggests Thielens (1977) act as the "gate-keepers" between teaching and learning. Other researchers have identified mis-matches or disjunctions between staff and student perspectives in the teaching and learning situation. In an attempt to reconstruct student and staff perceptions of the teaching/learning situation in higher education, using a variety of data from a previous research project, Percy and Salter (1976) found important differences between staff and students in their perceptions of that teaching and learning situation. They found that while the concept of "excellence" was an important ideal for staff in their perception of the aims of higher education, for students the idea was both less prominent and less important and subordinate to a vague desire for intellectual stimulus and excitement. Percy and Salter (1976) also found that staff primarily perceived higher education as a learning situation; that the important thing lies in the student being able to fend for himself, while students perceived higher education primarily as a teaching situation; that if the teaching is bad or indifferent then little can be done to improve the situation. In another study Parlett and Simons (1976) noted five potential areas of mis-match between staff and student perspectives. They investigated how students thought about their subjects and how teaching staff considered they

ought to be teaching and they report that it rapidly emerged that the customary patterns of teaching were not always designed around the needs of the taught. They go on to present five disjunctions between staff and student perspectives. The first is the underestimation of student confusion by staff which allows the teacher to think students are following more than they are. The second disjunction was the assumption of staff that learning followed the linearity of their teaching, while the students in fact reported that their learning was "jerky", with later information helping students to grasp something not formerly understood. The third disjunction noted by Parlett and Simons (1976) was in the teachers taking for granted a good deal of familiarity with their subject without providing any framework for students to place new information within. Fourthly teachers, say Parlett and Simons (1976) tend to assume that all students learn by more or less the same means when in fact different students approach their studies in different ways. Finally, to illustrate mis-matches in staff and student perspectives on the teaching and learning situation, Parlett and Simons (1976) note that students put a high premium on the personal impact of their lecturers - their presence, way of projecting themselves, way in which they spoke of their subject, the intellectual pleasure they experienced and displayed. For many staff such discussions about what induces boredom or excites interest in students are threatening and embarrassing and definitely discouraged.

Lewis and Vulliamy's (1978) study of the Education course at the University of York employed the notion of "perspective" in its analysis of this unit - based modular course. A major aim of their research was to investigate the ways in which the students themselves interpreted the department's unit course system. They took a lead from other sociological research (Becker, (1968) and Miller and Parlett

(1974)) both discussed previously in this thesis, which suggested that students would develop a variety of strategies to cope with a system that, on the one hand, was of primary importance to them in that it constituted part of their final degree assessment, and, on the other hand, that presented clear problems of unit choice, as in the case of the course at York. Lewis and Vulliamy (1978) were aware of the "new directions" within the sociology of education (see Chapter Six of this thesis) and they comment upon the way these approaches redirected much empirical work towards studies of social processes which occur within educational institutions. Lewis and Vulliamy were also aware that these approaches, due to their phenomenological critiques of positivistic methodology, relied less on survey methodologies and more on less structured research methods. Their own research then, given this theoretical context, was largely based on data derived from semi-structured interviews. They further suggest that while studies of schools abound there is a real dearth of studies focussing on universities and other institutions of higher education. They express particular surprise that, given sociologists' supposed critical capacities to demystify institutions and to question taken-for-granted assumptions, sociologists have shown remarkable reluctance to turn attention to their own institutions and practices.

Lewis and Vulliamy note that the most recent large-scale study of university students (Entwistle and Wilson, 1977) was based largely on traditional large-scale survey methods and that there has been no major British study to complement the study of student culture reported by Becker (1968). Miller and Parlett (1974) argue a need for such interactionist studies of higher education and Entwistle and Wilson (1977) conclude their research with a plea for a shift from the present "psycho-

metric approach" to educational research to methods which allow a greater understanding of the complex processes involved in student success and failure. This suggestion was supported by the inconclusive results of the author's (Podmore, Fielding and Yeomans, 1979) research into educational performance using a strictly positivistic methodology. This "methodological lag" in research into higher education, then, has resulted in only few studies of student perspectives. Apart from the isolated examples of Miller and Parlett (1974), Percy and Salter (1976) and Ward (1977), Lewis and Vulliamy (1978) claim there have been, apart from their own, no other significant British studies of university student perspectives :

"... on the meaning they give to their courses,
of the strategies they use to cope with
problems and of the divergence between staff
and student perspectives in the institution"

(Lewis and Vulliamy, 1978, p 66)

It was to this end, in part, therefore, that I made use of the concept of "perspective" in my analysis of sociology teaching. It seemed, at this stage, to offer an excellent purchase on the problems of students in higher education and held considerable promise for a more specific exploration of the problems of studying sociology. In Section Three (Chapters Four and Five) of this thesis I explore, therefore, the student and staff perspectives evident within the Sociology Group of the technological University of Aston with particular reference to the first year courses taught there. The following section outlines features of the research setting therefore, by describing both the development of sociology and social science courses in the ex-colleges of advanced technology and in Aston University in particular.

SECTION TWO : THE RESEARCH SETTING

CHAPTER 3

3.1 THE EX-COLLEGES OF ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR SOCIOLOGY
AND SOCIAL SCIENCE COURSES

3.2 ASTON UNIVERSITY AND SOCIOLOGY

This chapter begins to look at the particular case of sociology and social science teaching in the ex-C.A.T.s generally before looking at the specific case of Aston University and the historical development and current position of sociology teaching there. The chapter makes use of secondary statistical sources from the University Statistical Record (U.S.R.) as well as documentary evidence from the Universities Central Council on Admissions (U.C.C.A.) and the universities themselves in their published handbooks and syllabuses. The empirical studies reported in the next two chapters relate to the teaching and learning of sociology within Aston as an ex-college of advanced technology and this chapter serves as a context within which those studies can be more broadly viewed.

Along with the "new" universities the "ex-C.A.T.s" represent the latest additions to the British system of higher education. Unlike the "new" universities however the ex-C.A.T.s were not the result of a "virgin birth" as Perkins (1969) described it. They were not faced with a "tabula rasa" but had the legacy of their past to contend with. In this, Buchanan (1969) suggests that the technological universities are different from the standard pattern of all other English universities, both ancient and modern. They 'just grew', suggests Buchanan, out of institutions of technical education by the characteristic British process of accretion. The legacy of today's "ex-C.A.T." universities is very much one of a technological emphasis. It was the White paper of 1956 ("Technical Education") which suggested that the then technical colleges should be stratified into a four-tier system with what were to be called colleges of advanced technology at the apex, followed by regional colleges then area and also local colleges. By 1960 the actual system looked like the proposals of this

1956 White Paper. It was, however, the later Robbin's Committee's recommendation, accepted in 1963, that these C.A.T.s should be granted university status.

"Academic Advisory Committees" were appointed in 1963/64 and in general it was felt that "the technological bias in these institutions should be maintained and improved". Indeed the Academic Advisory Committees

"accepted in general the need to limit the development of new independent degree courses in subjects not closely related with, or relevant to, their primary role as technological institutions".

(para. 183 Cmnd 3820)

And so it was that when C.A.T.s became ex-C.A.T. universities they brought with them a vocation ethos, a heavily technical curriculum and courses arranged on the sandwich principle. Burgess and Pratt (1970) further note the contrast between the traditional universities and the legacy of the technical colleges. While traditionally, universities pursue knowledge "for its own sake", are slow to respond to social or industrial demands, and emphasise the importance of research alongside teaching, and while such universities tend toward conservatism and exclusivity, always being highly selective, the technical college tradition is in direct contrast. They are not 'autonomous' institutions, and this is reflected in their responsiveness to social and industrial demands. They are not interested in knowledge for its own sake but in vocational relevance and the main emphasis, in consequence, has been upon teaching. In further contrast to the exclusivity and selection of the university tradition is the inclusive or comprehensive ideal of the technical colleges. It is from this

latter tradition that the ex-C.A.T.s have emerged. The emergence however was gradual, "started and sustained by aspiration ". Along with the aspirations of the C.A.T.s to become universities was the suspicion that the universities seemed to hold of technology. Their conventional curriculum was classics, language and literature (Burgess and Pratt, 1970, p 7). Pure, let alone applied, science had to fight hard for recognition in some universities and the fear was that it might compromise academic independence further while the university's full-time courses catered mainly for the middle-classes, the greater diversity of courses offered by the technical colleges catered mainly for the working classes. There were trade classes for plumbers and book-keepers, etc., as well as more academic subjects.

Couper (1965) reported that a large body of students much preferred to enter a college of advanced technology rather than a university, because of its closeness to "the experience of people from working class homes and ... with the norms of the skilled working class ". (Couper, 1965, p 12).

However, for the future technological universities the process of aspiration had to entail a concentration on a narrower range of both students and subjects. Once established, however, some of the technological universities retained the sandwich courses and the longer academic terms of their days as technical colleges.

Venables (1978), also, noted that:

".. in the period prior to the publication of The Robbin's Report, the comment was frequently made that the range of studies in the colleges of advanced technology was too narrowly restricted to technology and ancillary subjects. In short, they were not characterised by that universality of knowledge assumed to be inherent in universities as traditionally understood"

(Venables, 1978, p 67)

Venables, however, defended this situation with the suggestion that no single institution could comprehend every subject from "philosophy to technology" either in its teaching or its researches. And in such a situation, the spectrum of knowledge which an institution specialises in will stem from its history and the personal intellectual interests of the staff, and such specialisation will in no way be to the detriment of that institution. Indeed, as Venables argues:

"The new universities, from Sussex onwards, were based mainly on the arts and sciences, and the technological universities on science and technology. Both are part of the same spectrum of knowledge: there is no fundamental difference between them, only a difference of orientation and specialisation."

(Venables, 1978, p 67)

(Venables, whom I do draw upon throughout this chapter, was, in fact, the first Vice-Chancellor of Aston University which is, of course, the particular research site of this study). Their history of aspiration thus led to the technological universities concentrating more upon proving themselves to be the equal of existing universities rather than exploiting opportunities for reform and innovation. However, given this, their bid for equal status did include the broadening of their range of subjects to include social science and sociology and in some cases even an Arts Faculty. Surrey, for example, introduced a department of linguistics and regional studies, a department of Hotel and Catering Management and an Institute of Educational Technology. Bath, Aston, Bradford, Brunel and Chelsea all created Chairs in Education and Bradford began a postgraduate School of Educational Research and Chelsea an Education Science Centre. Courses and departments in the social sciences were introduced at Bradford, Brunel,

Loughborough and Salford and departments of Psychology were created at Aston and Brunel. Aston also retained its General Studies department. Now, each of the eight colleges of advanced technology which eventually became independent university institutions present opportunities for the undergraduate study of social science or sociology and not all these eight have retained the technological orientation which was the legacy of their history. Indeed, only one, Loughborough, has retained the word "technology" in its title. Nor did all accept the need to limit the development of new independent degree courses in subjects "not closely associated with, or relevant to, their primary role as technological universities".

Venables (1978) comments that:

"The establishment of new departments (modern languages, linguistics, history ...) was irresistible ... this general development has been heavily criticized as a prime example of passive acquiescence with the conforming influences on joining 'The University Club'."

(Venables, 1978, p 87)

However, even in spite of this, Buchanan (1968) reported that there was an apprehension amongst the senior staff of the technological universities that the traditional humanities might "take-over". This suspicion of the humanities was part of the legacy of the technical college tradition.

In what follows I shall indicate the extent of course provision in the social sciences and sociology of the ex-C.A.T. universities. The data I presented is that drawn from the U.C.C.A. Handbook Guide to Applicants for Entry in 1978, and although I attempted to clarify details by reference to the universities undergraduate prospectuses of the same year neither of these sources, clearly, would present a wholly

accurate picture. A full clarification of the picture would require another kind of approach, perhaps something similar to that taken by Clarke (1975) in his study of first year sociology courses, referred to later in this thesis. What follows, however, does serve to indicate the way in which sociology and social science course provision has developed in the ex-C.A.T. Universities and the way in which such courses have become firmly established in these institutions. Neither Chelsea College, London, nor University of Wales Institute of Science and Technology are included here as both these colleges of advanced technology became part of already established universities and not independent universities in their own right. In the table the category of 'Social Science' courses is given a wide definition to include any degree courses which offer a general study of a wide range of social science subjects in the first year even if specialisation is allowed thereafter.

The Combined Honours degree classification is distinct from the Joint Honours degree classification in that the former allows a choice of subject options ranging across all faculties of a university, while the latter is usually restricted to combinations of subjects given in the prospectus. It is, thus, distinct in this respect also from the Social Science Honours degrees classification of the table.

The exact direction, however, of the development of these ex-C.A.T.s lay with the Academic Planning Boards which chose not only the first

Table 3.1

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE EX-C.A.T.s (for entry 1978)

UNIVERSITY	SINGLE HONOURS SOCIOLOGY DEGREE	SOCIAL SCIENCE HONOURS DEGREE	JOINT HONOURS DEGREE (inc. SOCIOLOGY)	COMBINED HONOURS DEGREE (inc. SOCIOLOGY)	APPLIED SOCIAL STUDIES HONOURS DEGREE	TOTAL
ASTON	0	✓(i)	0	✓	0	2
BATH	✓	✓	0	0	✓✓(i)	4
BRADFORD	0	✓	0	0	✓(i)(iii)	2
BRUNEL	✓(i)	✓✓(i)	0	0	0	3
CITY	✓(ii)	✓(ii)	✓✓✓(ii)	0	0	5
LOUGHBOROUGH	✓	0	0	0	0	1
SALFORD	✓	✓	(iii) ✓	0	0	3
SURREY	0	✓✓	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	5	9	4	1	3	22

- KEY:
- (i) Four year degrees
 - (ii) Available as three or four year degrees
 - (iii) Degree awarded a B.A. not a B.Sc.

Vice Chancellor, but also drew up original outline plans of the structure, organisation, range of subjects and general academic aims of the new universities. The introduction of social sciences was thought desirable in order to improve the education of technologists. The development of subjects without close associations with their primary role as technological institutions was to be limited. While this was undoubtedly welcomed by many, others were unsure - the staff at Loughborough wanted the term "technology" removed from their title, although in the event Loughborough is the only university to retain that term in its title. It was the generally low status of technology, then, and the history of the C.A.T.s which coupled to cause problems of status and prestige for these universities. Heywood (1966) found, for example, that school-teachers' views of ex-C.A.T.s was as "second-class citizens" in the university set-up, and the U.C.C.A. data between 1965 and 1968 revealed a low demand for places at ex-C.A.T.s compared to other universities. However, more recent figures from the University Statistical Record indicate that a growing number of students are turning to the ex-C.A.T.s for sociology and social science degrees.

The following table provides the actual new student entrants numbers at each of these universities on sociology or social science courses of one type or another for the years 1971 to 1977. The table indicates the rank order of these universities in terms of student numbers on these types of course (Bradford for example has over twice the student numbers on their courses than at Salford while Aston, with only 55 students constitutes one of the universities with the smallest number of new entrants to these courses in 1977). The table also indicates the growing proportion of sociology and social science teaching undertaken by the ex-C.A.T.s in comparison to the rest of the university sector in England.

Table 3.2

NEW ENTRANTS TO ALL SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE COURSES
AT EX-C.A.T. UNIVERSITIES FOR THE YEARS 1971 to 1977

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
BATH	54	61	77	80	95	76	75
CITY	18	49	61	63	60	48	57
LOUGHBOROUGH	16	40	27	51	77	66	71
SALFORD	67	90	102	134	113	111	94
SURREY	34	29	44	36	56	63	61
BRADFORD	26	39	46	134	186	178	195
BRUNEL	78	100	40	69	62	52	53
ASTON	47	56	58	51	56	54	55
TOTAL	340	464	455	618	705	648	661
ENGLAND	2038	2140	2206	2247	2284	2119	2120
TOTAL	2378	2604	2661	2865	2989	2767	2781
ENGLAND % of TOTAL	85.7%	82.18%	82.9%	78.42%	76.41%	76.58%	76.23%
EX-C.A.T. % of TOTAL	14.29%	17.81%	17.09%	21.57%	23.58%	23.41%	23.76%

(Source : Universities Statistical Record).

The proportion of sociology and social science students studying at ex-C.A.T.s has increased from approximately 14 percent in 1971 to nearly a quarter of all such students in 1977. During this period social science clearly expanded to a greater degree in ex-C.A.T.s than elsewhere.

The table below breaks these figures down a little further and indicates the number of new entrants to sociology courses in each of the different groups of English universities specified, with the

percentage of the total for the year 1976.

Table 3.3

NEW ENTRANTS TO SOCIOLOGY COURSES IN 1976 BY UNIVERSITY TYPE

UNIVERSITY GROUP	ABSOLUTE FIG.s	PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL
Ex-C.A.T. Universities	648	23.00%
New Universities	809	29.00%
Young Civic Universities	308	11.00%
Old Civic Universities	982	36.00%
Oxbridge	20	1.00%
TOTAL ALL UNIVERSITIES	2767	100.00%

(Source: Universities Statistical Record).

Venables (1978) presents the following figures which indicate the tremendously increased recruitment of social scientists into technological universities after 1962:

Table 3.4

Academic staff in subject groups by period of appointment for the eight Technological Universities*

Subject Group	Period 0		Period I		Period II		Period III		TOTALS	
	Appointed before 1st Aug.1956		Appointed Aug.1956-July 1962		Appointed Aug.1962-July 1966		Appointed since 1st Aug.1966		N	%
Technology	13	38	32	45	23	35	42	34	110	37
Natural Sciences	17	50	33	45	25	38.5	25	28	110	37
Social Sciences	2	6	5	7	16	25	33	26	56	19
Others	2	6	2	3	1	1.5	15	12	20	7
TOTALS	34	100	72	100	65	100	125	100	296	100
Row Percentages	11.5		24.3		22.0		42.2		100.0	

Note: *Chelsea and UWIST (N = 73) not included.

(Source: Venables, 1978, p 162).

Table 3.5

Proportions of subject groups: recommended and actual percentages 1962 and 1974

Subject group	As recommended to the Robbins Committee by the Committee of Principals of the CATs	8 Technological Universities 1974	All UK Universities 1974
Technology	65 80	43.0 67.6	15.8 39.6
Science	15	24.6	23.8
Social Science	10	19.6	24.4
Others	10	12.8	36.0

(Source: Venables, 1978)

Venables (1978) also presents the above table showing the relative proportions of subject groups within the technological universities as compared with all other U.K. universities. The Principals' Committee recommendation of 1962 was that the proportion of science and technology in the technological universities should be decreased by the inclusion of relevant social sciences. This was clearly the case by 1974 when nearly a third of their work was made up of social, administrative, business and management studies, as shown in the table. However, Venables also notes that his research showed no marked inclination towards the traditional in the matter of an Arts faculty. Indeed, he suggests:

"it would be surprising if Senates with strongly entrenched Faculties of Science and Technology were to vote considerable resources for these purposes in a period of economic stringency."

(Venables, 1978, p 296)

The following table (also from Venables, 1978) indicates the increased proportion of social science students in the technological

universities between 1971 and 1974.

Table 3.6

Student enrolments 1971 and 1974 by subject group in the
Eight Technological Universities: Percentages

Subject Group	8 Technological Universities: Student enrolments	
	1971	1974
Engineering and other applied sciences Technology	49.3	43.0
Science	26.2	24.6
Social, administration and business studies + other vocational subjects	14.5	19.6
Others	10.0	12.8
TOTAL N	22,261	25,078*

(Source: Venables, 1978, p 161)

The table also shows (*) an increased enrolment in 1974 over 1971 of 11 percent partially made up with the increased social scientists.

Sociology in the ex-C.A.T.s as a whole, therefore, was growing during the period from their initial acquisition of university status to the figures shown above relating to 1974. The next section of this chapter traces the particular development of Aston university and its sociology and social science courses, and the strong emphasis Aston has retained upon its technological character and vocational orientation. It is, in part, the nature of the impact of this technological character and vocational orientation upon the perspectives of staff and students at the university which is explored in the following two chapters.

ASTON UNIVERSITY AND SOCIOLOGY

Aston was an independent college of advanced technology for the four years between 1962 and 1966. The University Charter was granted on the 22nd April 1966 and the first Chancellor of the university was installed in May 1966. The Academic Board of the college was at this point replaced by the Senate of the university and three faculties were established, those of Science, Engineering and the Social Sciences. At this point in time, the First Annual Report (1966-1967) of the Vice-Chancellor reports that:

"as befits a technological university about 78 percent of all academic staff have had significant experience in industry."

(First Annual Report, 1966-1967, p 13).

Although the criterion by which inclusion in this category is decided will differ, the table below from Venables (1978) serves to confirm the high proportion of staff in the Ex-C.A.T.s generally who had "ever been in industry ":

Table 3.7

Staff 'ever in industry' by rank and period of appointment: percentages

Rank	Period 0	Period I	Period II	Period III	N/TOTAL N	% Overall
	Appointed before 1st Aug.1956	Appointed Aug.1956- July 1962	Appointed Aug.1962- July 1966	Appointed since 1st Aug.1966		
Professors	60	53	68	61	59/93	63.0
Readers	60	50	100	50	10/16	62.5
Senior lecturers	55	76	38	42	37/69	53.6
Lecturers	50	60	63	35	88/176	50.0
Research staff	-	-	100	36	6/15	40.0
TOTAL	60	62	63	44	200/369	54.0

Two new departments were set up at Aston during this first year, those of Applied Psychology and Education. However, as the following extract from the Vice Chancellor's report makes clear, these departments were to be very much integrated into the technological university of Aston:

"The Education Department will not follow the traditional pattern. Like the university as a whole it will seek links with industry and with technical and vocational education."

(First Annual Report, 1966-1967, p 13)

The Vice-Chancellor's Report makes it clear that even with all the internal problems of establishing a new university, it has still to be very concerned to "maintain and improve the external relationships vital to a technological university" (First Annual Report, 1966-1967, p 15). The Vice-Chancellor reported that there was close co-operation with industry throughout all fifteen departments of the university and even the accounts of the Faculty of Social Sciences "serves to underline the enhanced importance of the social sciences in dealing with present industrial and economic problems" (First Annual Report, 1966-1967, p 16).

During October 1972 the Department of Industrial Administration and the Graduate Centre for Management amalgamated to form the new Management Centre of the University of Aston. The Management Centre became a Faculty in its own right separate from the Faculty of Social Sciences, and in view of this Senate established a Steering Committee to consider the future development of the Faculty of Social Sciences. The Steering Committee was chaired by the Vice-Chancellor of the university at that time and reported to Senate in March 1973. Essentially the Committee felt there was a clear case for the development of the social sciences in the university if it was to meet its ultimate target of 8,500 full-time equivalent students with a balanced development in

all subjects. However, as the Vice-Chancellor reports:

"The Committee felt ... that Social Sciences should, within the context of the existing Faculties of Science and Engineering and an emerging Management Centre, attempt to reflect the general concepts of social sciences in some new and challenging ways. In so doing, it should be able to focus attention on new ways in which co-operation can take place with the physical scientist, the engineer and the manager as they shape their professional skills and attitudes."

(Seventh Annual Report, 1972-73, p 10)

The development of the Faculty of Social Sciences, therefore, was to be "directly related to advances in technology and science". The Steering Committee (1973) made the point that there was "no intention" that an expanded Faculty of Social Sciences should develop as a traditional Arts Faculty, and this was accepted and endorsed by Senate.

The new Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, based on the existing departments of Applied Psychology, Education and Modern Languages, was established in October 1974. Long term plans envisaged the expansion and consolidation of these existing departments and the setting up of new groups within the Faculty based on Sociology, Economics, Politics and other subjects. The first step towards this was the establishment of the Sociology Group which was attached to the Department of Applied Psychology as from October 1974. The Behavioural Science Course was to be transferred from the Management Centre to the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities at the same time.

In the Eighth Annual Report, for the year 1973-1974, the Vice-Chancellor reported that the Management Centre courses had been "embarrassingly successful" and that many worthy candidates had been refused admission. One reason for this, he argued, was that the aims and objectives of the university were "clear, precise and simple to

understand " :

"We are a technological university and intend to remain one. We have faith in technology and we have faith in science. We have faith in industry and we have faith in commerce

.... Our purpose is further emphasised by the fact that 45 percent of our students are sandwich students and 50 percent of our graduates enter in industry or commerce immediately after graduation

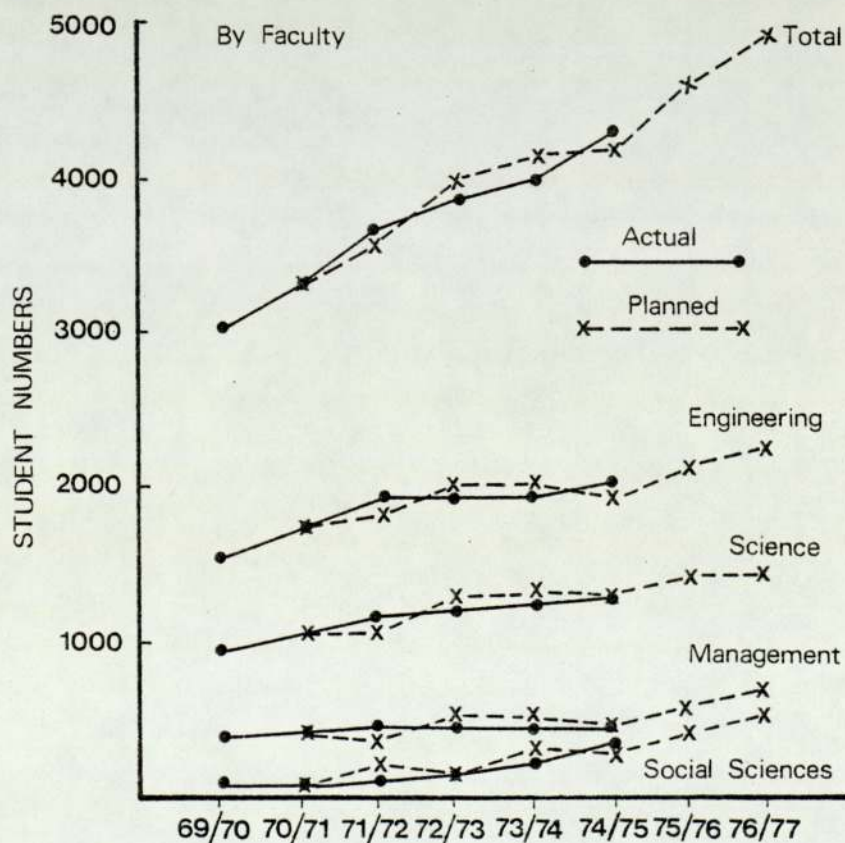
.... Another great advantage the university has is that it is in the centre of Birmingham. This advantage is doubly true for a technological university"

(Eighth Annual Report, 1973-4, p 6)

This report revealed that the student numbers in the Faculty of Social Sciences were smaller than in the other faculties including the newly emergent Management Centre, as the following table shows:

Table 3.8

GROWTH OF STUDENT NUMBERS IN ASTON UNIVERSITY 1969-1974



(Source: Eighth Annual Report, 1973-4, p 6)

In October 1974 the sociology option was offered for the first time in the Combined Honours degree scheme with a planned intake of 30 students for the academic year of 1975-1976, and an actual intake of 54 students.

In the Tenth Annual Report for the year 1975-76 the Vice-Chancellor gives further indication of the student numbers studying in different subject groups at the university. The diagrams overleaf compare Aston to all other U.K. universities.

The shaded areas indicate student numbers studying subjects related to the "wealth-producing sector of the community". The Vice-Chancellor suggests in relation to this, that:

"The University of Aston, as one of the largest technological universities in this country, believes its rightful and proper duty is to work with, and co-operate with, the wealth-creating sectors of the society. This we have done over the ten years of our existence as a university and, year by year, the links have grown stronger and I believe the university's contributions greater."

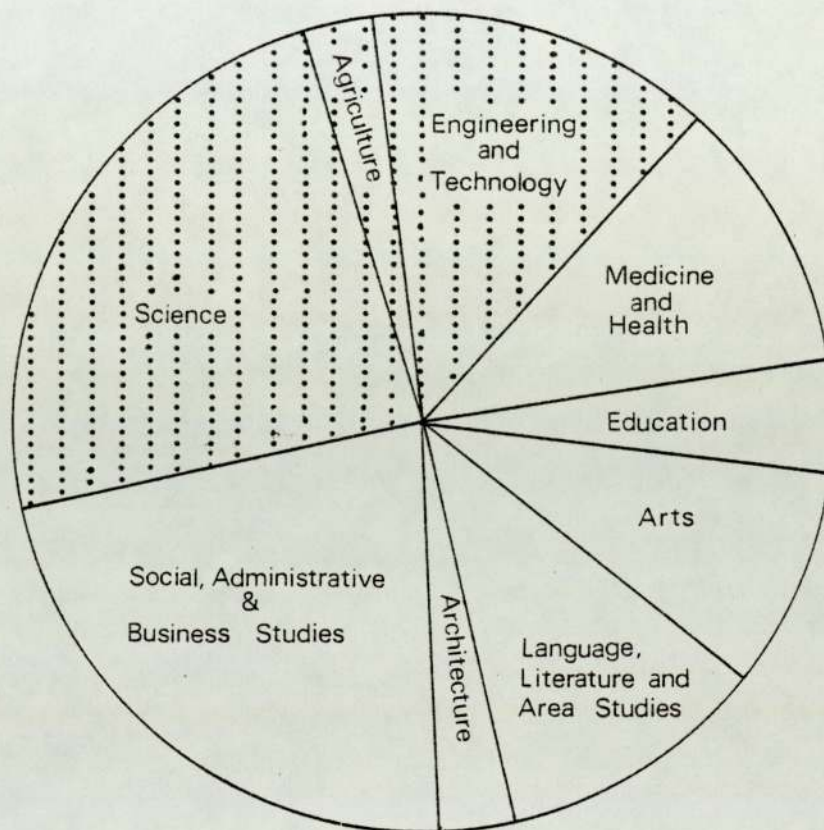
(Tenth Annual Report, 1975-75, p 6).

The Vice-Chancellor went on to say he believed that the technological universities were different from other universities both in the structure and content of their courses and their methods of organisation, and their relationships with the community. He also suggested that they were very different from the polytechnics which "in spite of their stated aims, have a much greater number of arts students than technologists" (Tenth Annual Report, 1975-76, p 5).

The two courses offered at Aston of particular concern here, then, are the two in which there is a considerable sociology component or option to specialise. These courses are:

- a) Behavioural Science, and
- b) Combined Honours

Table 3.9

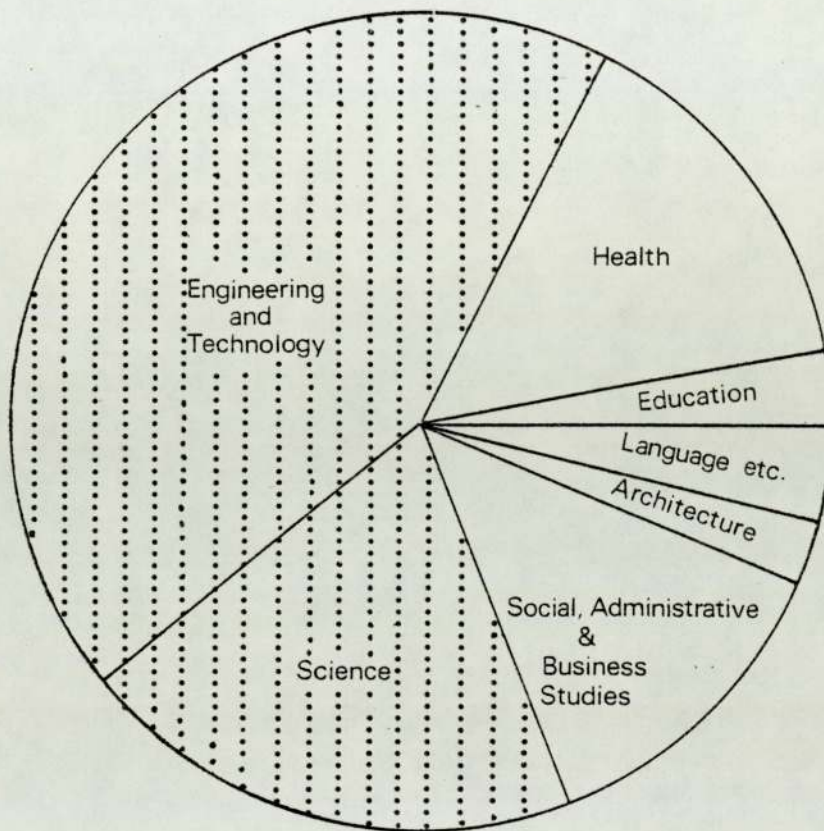


U.K. UNIVERSITY STUDENTS 1974/75

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FULLTIME STUDENTS BY SUBJECT GROUP

(Source: Tenth Annual Report, 1975-76, p 7).

Table 3.10



THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON 1975/76

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FULL TIME STUDENTS BY SUBJECT GROUP

(Source : Tenth Annual Report, 1975-76, p 7).

The courses are described in the undergraduate prospectus 1978/79 as follows :

A) Behavioural Science:

"This four-year sandwich course is designed to give students an understanding of a range of social and technological phenomena and problems. It is decisively oriented towards a range of organizational roles, not necessarily in industrial organizations, but undoubtedly within an industrial society. It is our aim - in a Faculty where much interdisciplinary work takes place - to satisfy a need other than that met by the traditional specialist courses in economics, psychology or sociology. At the same time, we have found it provides equally a basis for postgraduate work within the various specialisms, and with this in view the discipline of these specialisms is intellectual rather than vocational.

Underlying the concept of the course is the awareness that it is being provided in a technological University. We are convinced of the value and importance to students of the opportunity to employ in practical situations the concepts acquired during formal training. The specialisms are, further, with the possible exception of economics, of a type which usually begin at university level rather than being an extension of school or professional work. Students, therefore, encounter concepts and data new to them not merely in degree of sophistication, but in kind. The structure of the course is of the 'thick sandwich' type; after the first two years in the University comes a third practical year, followed by the final specialising and integrating year again in the University."

(Source: Undergraduate Prospectus, 1978/79).

Structure of the Course and Subjects of Study:

YEAR I : The subjects are as follows: Introductory Economics, Introductory Psychology, Introductory Sociology, Social and Economic History, Development of Social Thought 1, Research Methods in the Social Sciences and Complementary Studies.

YEAR II : In their second year all students will take: Development of

Social Thought II, Philosophy of Social Science and Complementary Studies II and begin to specialise in economics, psychology or sociology. They will also need a subsidiary course in each of the specialisms which they do not take.

YEAR III : The third year of the course is spent in an industrial, commercial, public or voluntary organisation. Under the supervision of specialist tutors, students undertake an individual project related to their work environment which requires the application of concepts and methods of thought acquired in their first two years of academic study.

YEAR IV : The fourth year is spent in the University on more advanced work and gives students the opportunity to integrate the lessons learned in their work environment with their academic studies.

In this year students will take courses in: power and decision making in society and interdisciplinary problem solving, and honours students will continue with their specialist studies in accordance with their choices in Year II.

B) Combined Honours:

"The course for the Combined Honours degree is designed to give an education in depth in two disciplines to an advanced level. Several national bodies have recommended broad first degree studies; this course sets out to fulfil this objective. There is a wide range of subject options ranging across all the Faculties in the University, providing a wide choice of potential degree courses open to applicants. Flexibility exists as final choice of main subjects can be delayed until after completion of the first year at the University.

The following subjects are taught on the course:

Architectural Studies, Biochemistry, Biology of Man and his Environment, Business Administration, Chemistry, Computer Science, Foundations of Educational Enquiry, Electronic Control and Instrumentation, Ergonomics (Applied Psychology), Geology, Languages (French, German and Russian),



Linguistics, Mathematics, Mechanical Engineering, Metals and Materials Science, Physics, Physiology and Pharmacology, Political Studies, Polymer Science and Technology, Sociology, Structural Design, Transport Planning and Operation, Urban Planning, Water Resources (Engineering).

Sociology The aim in Part I is to equip students with a broad sociological perspective and the basic tools for studying society as well as to provide a general introduction to the structure and processes of society. Students will follow social analysis and research methods in the social sciences. They will also become involved in practical, experimental and laboratory work in a 'sociology workshop.' In Parts II and III students develop their studies in sociology in terms both of broadening their knowledge of the scope of the discipline and by a more intensive study of selected specialist areas. In Part II students will study comparative institutions and major social themes, building from the first year's work in introductory sociology and social analysis. Sociological theory and methods will be introduced in Part II and pursued further in Part III, together with the study of specialist areas such as organizational sociology, occupational sociology etc."

(Source : Undergraduate Prospectus 1978/79).

The particular lecture courses studied in this research are the "Introduction to Sociology" course, sat jointly by both all the Behavioural Science and all the sociology students from the Combined Honours degree. This course represents the total of all their first year apart from a course in research methods not studied in this research. In addition to the "Introduction" and "Methods" courses, all sociology students doing Combined Honours students followed a "Social Analysis" course as well. The students comprising the main focus of the research are those Combined Honours students who thereby studied both the "Introduction" and the "Analysis" courses in the first year of their degree.

The continual references, then, to the distinctive identity of technological universities, seen throughout the Vice-Chancellor's

Reports, and the Steering Committee's Reports to Senate on the future of the Social Sciences Faculty, all indicate elements of Aston University's character which have an important impact upon both staff and student perspectives. It is precisely this issue, among others, which I address in the following section (Chapters IV and V), in looking specifically at the above courses.

SECTION THREE : EARLY EMPIRICAL STUDIES

CHAPTER 4

STUDENT CULTURE AND STUDENT
PERSPECTIVES IN ONE UNIVERSITY -
A STUDY OF ASTON UNIVERSITY
SOCIOLOGY GROUP

The data reported in this chapter, relating to student culture and student perspectives, was gathered from questionnaires, interviews and the author's observation as participant as both student and tutor during the period from October 1971 to October 1978. The data broadly relates to three areas of interest - student perspectives on their university, student perspectives on their role as students, and student perspectives more specifically on their sociology courses. Clearly these perspectives are closely inter-related but the data is reported within these three broad areas for the purposes of clarity. The data also focuses upon first year undergraduates who studied sociology at the University of Aston in Birmingham in the years beginning October 1975 and 1976, within either the Behavioural Science or the Combined Honours degrees. Within even this narrow spectrum it is the Combined Honours students who form the main focus of interest as these students, at least in the first year of their course, actually study more sociology than do the Behavioural Scientists. It was the Combined Honours students, also, with whom the author was able to involve himself as a tutor to a number of undergraduate tutorial groups.

Almost 50 percent of those Combined Honours students to whom the second questionnaire had been given reported achieving grades at Advanced Level which were "lower than expected". A relatively high proportion of students on both courses (33 percent) had eventually arrived at Aston via the U.C.C.A. "Clearing Scheme" as the table below indicates.

Table 4.1

METHODS OF ENTRY TO ASTON'S SOCIOLOGY COURSES

TYPE OF ENTRY	COMBINED HONOURS		BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCE		TOTALS
NORMAL	19	(73%)	15	(60%)	34 (66%)
CLEARING	7	(27%)	10	(40%)	17 (33%)
TOTALS	26		25		51

For many students, therefore, Aston was seen as a second choice or as a last choice, or, at least, as some kind of compromise. This strongly affected student morale, and students responded to the problems presented by this in a number of ways. I observed some students retreating into cynicism about their being at Aston, while others attempted to constructively and retrospectively rationalise being students of Aston University. The status of Aston as being "second best" was adopted and reinforced by the student newspaper and its cartoons, for example, of "Clearing College" which were a clear reference to Aston itself. Students naturally found certain problems with being at Aston, and I discuss these later, but for the cynical students these problems seemed simply to reinforce the low status of Aston, while for the other group of students they were the subject of further constructive rationalisations in a continuing attempt to accommodate problems and "make the best of things". However it was clear to me that for yet other students, for whom Aston had been a prominent U.C.C.A. choice, these problems of adjustment did not apply. On the Combined Honours degree there were other problems, as some of the students, having chosen Aston as their university, and having chosen their two main subjects within the Combined Honours scheme, were given sociology with almost

no choice, as their third option for one year's study in the first year.

Students reported being told to do sociology, and being given no choice in the matter, in the following way:

"I was told to do sociology through the 'clearing system'."

"I had no choice (but to do sociology) - the administrators chose it for me."

While these students did not necessarily identify with the other groups of students, their responses to sociology, and the problems they had with it, were similar in kind.

To an item on the questionnaire, almost 60 percent of the students studying sociology on both the Aston courses reported that the initial decision to enter university was prompted by their wish to pursue an interest in a particular subject. This is shown in the table below:

Table 4.2

THE DECISION TO ENTER HIGHER EDUCATION: FACTORS INFLUENCING ASTON'S STUDENTS

	BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCE			COMBINED HONOURS			OVERALL PERCENTAGES		
	very much	a little	not at all	very much	a little	not at all	very much	a little	not at all
To obtain a vocational qualification	10	7	8	6	12	7	32	38	30
To pursue an interest in a subject	15	8	2	15	9	2	<u>59</u>	33	8
To undergo a general education	6	17	2	12	12	2	35	57	8
To postpone any career decisions	5	9	11	8	5	13	25	27	47
To fulfil parental or school expectations	3	9	13	7	9	10	20	35	45
To obtain a qualification for its own sake	7	16	2	9	12	5	31	55	14

(absolute figures)

The fact that for the majority of students, therefore, a major factor influencing their decision to enter higher education had been an interest in a particular subject, coupled with the compromise many students had to make with the kind of degree course they would ideally have preferred when they accepted Aston as either a second choice, or a "clearing" choice, goes some way to explaining the problems I witnessed students having, in accommodating to their Aston studentship.

Even students who had "chosen" sociology as their third subject, often felt as though they had really had no real choice, as the following comments bear witness.

"I had originally chosen German as my third subject but had soon realised the standard was too high, so I changed to the most easily available option."

"(I chose sociology) because it fitted in nicely with the two subject I first chose - business and politics."

Many other students had chosen sociology without any real idea of what the subject might have entailed:

"It was either ergonomics or sociology for me, and all I knew about ergonomics was bicycle pedals and everybody thinks they know what sociology is."

"When I came here I hadn't decided on a third subject and I had a choice of either ergonomics, computer science or sociology. I didn't know what ergonomics was and I didn't fancy computing, so I thought I'd do sociology. I didn't really know what that was either."

A questionnaire item asked these same students for their idea of an "ideal" university. For most students there was a feeling that the "ideal" university would provide a "good social life" while allowing informal relationships with members of staff and ample opportunities for private study. The "ideal" university would also prepare its students for a career or vocation. Students appeared to place a low

priority on the opportunities for learning "for its own sake" and on being taught by lecturers who had completed research in their particular subject. The following table indicates something of these feelings as they were expressed in response to the questionnaire items:

Table 4.3

STUDENTS' IDEAS ABOUT THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE "IDEAL" UNIVERSITY :

COMBINED HONOURS / BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCE					
ITEM	Absolutely Essential	Important but not Essential	Moderately Important	Not Very Important	Not Important at all
Allows easy informal contact with staff	<u>29</u>	<u>42</u>	25	2	2
Give opportunities for private study	<u>42</u>	<u>35</u>	16	6	2
Has staff known for their research	6	12	27	<u>31</u>	<u>24</u>
Is concerned with learning for its own sake	4	12	25	<u>37</u>	<u>21</u>
Prepare people for a career	<u>16</u>	<u>43</u>	31	6	4

(Percentages)

The questionnaire item highlights another area which provided some considerable dissatisfaction among students - that is, the informal contact with staff which many students found to be lacking. Students indicated to me, both in response to more formal data gathering and informally during tutorials and other conversations, that they were unhappy with the kind of relationships they were able to establish with the lecturers. They were disappointed with these relationships both as they might have related to academic matters and as they might have developed socially.

The following comments from students about staff-student relation-

ships made to me during informal interviews within tutorials were not uncommon and reflected a consensus of opinion amongst the groups of students I spoke to:

"(Contact with staff) is more or less zero."

"Some staff are quite friendly - others know you're a student and they're staff and never the twain shall meet."

"It's very difficult to use people as intellectual touchstones. People just don't have the time, they're too tied up with timetables. I'm talking about the staff now."

"(The staff) don't really come into contact with us apart from lectures and tutorials."

Students had hoped and expected their relationships with their lecturers at university would be very different to those they had endured at school with their teachers. In the event they found these relationships no less remote and unsatisfactory. In conversation about this with one student the following remarks were made:

"You come to university thinking this will be more informal, staff-student relationships, but in fact it seems to be more formal than it was in school. Perhaps it was just the school I came from."

In my own experience both as undergraduate student and tutor and as a school teacher, I can find the students' complaints understandable. I have found myself better able to establish informal relationships with school students within the sixth-form than I was able to with the undergraduates I taught for only one hour per fortnight. Not only is formal "contact" time much greater at school but both student and teacher accessibility is greater. Even on days when I do not teach my sixth-formers I will see them around the school. The undergraduates at Aston are hardly so immediately visible. While contact time and opportunities

to establish relationships may be different for full-time teaching staff, the low visibility and low mutual accessibility in higher education must remain. The amelioration of student complaints about their relationships with staff remains problematic therefore, and I cannot present any immediate solutions. One device I was able to observe was the specification of availability by a lecturer on his office door - available for two hours every Tuesday between 12 and 2 p.m. for example. This, at least, was a useful first approach for the problem, appreciated by the students I spoke to. Even with this, however, students were shy to approach lecturers unless they had a specific problem, which was often not necessarily the case. Students, in the normal course of events, desired closer acquaintance with the lecturers. Some students preferred the geography of other departments within the university which appeared to lead to students simply "bumping into lecturers" in the corridors. Relationships could then develop casually without the need of deliberate initiation by anybody. During conversations and informal interviews, for example, I noted the following comments from two students:

"In the Language Department, you see the same people and you find yourself getting into normal discussion with lecturers, everybody, and so you find it much easier to tell them what's wrong or what you're having difficulty with. In the Sociology Group you literally have to go to someone and knock on their door and say 'can I see you for a bit?' and then go in. Whereas in an easier situation, you might just bump into a person and raise these things just in the course of normal conversation."

"When you find yourself getting into normal discussion with lecturers you find it much easier to tell them what's wrong and what you're having trouble with, than if you have to knock on their door."

I made a further study of informal staff-student relationships amongst the groups of Combined Honours students I taught. This study

took the form of a "diary" students were asked to fill in for one week and which actually formed the basis of an assignment for the Combined Honours "Sociology Laboratory" course. Before I report more fully on these diaries there are one or two further aspects to the students' perspectives on their university that I wish to draw attention to. The previous chapter has drawn attention to the technological background of Aston as an ex-college of advanced technology. Students were very aware of the technological nature of the university, its "newness" and lack of tradition:

"Aston University is typical of a technological university. It is new in buildings, etc., and as such seems to lack 'establishment'."

"... at times there is a lack of 'tradition'. It is too new."

For many students this technological bias to the character of the university explained the vocational sometimes anti-academic nature of the "typical" student:

"It seems to be geared towards occupations rather than academic results."

"It tends to a practical and technological attitude despising the so-called intellectual and idealistic traits."

"The majority of students are here, in my opinion, to get a good job at the end of their course."

"... it's mixture of students coming and going seems to leave something lacking academically."

These perspectives which were revealed clearly to me during conversations and interviews with the students were explored further within the questionnaire, which formed part of my data gathering approaches, but there can be no doubt but that for most students the technological and vocational nature of Aston was an additional "problem"

for these students to which they had to form some response.

The questionnaire item which related to this was the question which asked students to identify with one of the four "student sub-cultures" or orientations described by Clark and Trow. The same question asked students to choose from these four descriptions what they considered to be the most appropriate description of the "typical" Aston student. The four descriptions students were presented with are listed below along with the table indicating the responses students made to this question.

I have criticised the Clark and Trow typology of student "sub-cultures" in Chapter Two, and my use of the ideas here in no way contradicts those criticisms. The status of these orientations as genuine "sub-cultures" is not suggested here but the terminology is used for simplicity and clarity.

CLARK & TROW STUDENT SUB-CULTURAL ORIENTATIONS:

Description A: "I participate in some social and intellectual activities of the University and do all the work that is set, but I do not do more than is necessary. I am primarily interested in education as preparation for my occupational future." (Vocational)

Description B: "I am not really interested in the University social life but enjoy interesting discussions with fellow students, and reading and following up lectures on my own in the library. My intellectual curiosity forces me always to go beyond the mere course requirements." (Non-conformist)

Description C: "I am concerned with books and the pursuit of knowledge and always do extra reading beyond course requirements, but I also consider the social life of the University very important for my general development." (Academic)

Description D: "Although I always attempt to keep up with set work I think the social life of the University is rather more important than the academic, as it provides an excellent opportunity to mix, meet people and develop important social skills." (Collegiate)

Table 4.4

ASTON STUDENTS' SELF-REPORTED SUB-CULTURAL ORIENTATIONS

	Most Appropriate Description of self.			Most Appropriate Description of Aston Students.		
	Bhv.Sci.	Comb.Hon.s	Total %	Bhv.Sci.	Comb.Hon.s	Total %
Vocational	11	15	53	13	14	55
Non-conformist	2	2	8	0	0	0
Academic	8	3	22	3	8	12
Collegiate	3	5	16	8	8	33
	24	25	100	24	25	100

These responses are consistent with my earlier field observations that a good number of Aston students see Aston as a primarily technologically and vocationally oriented university. The identification of the "typical" Aston student as being primarily vocational may in part stem from a "halo effect" of the university's more general vocational character and no doubt partially stems from the "sandwich" nature of many of Aston's degrees. A number of the Combined Honours students spoke to me in tutorials of their profound disappointment with Aston students of other faculties during the "Complementary Studies" programme of seminars. This programme involved all first year students and consisted of one afternoon per week. This afternoon comprised of a lecture to all students followed by a seminar made up of students from a variety of different courses. Sociology students indicated to me their disappointment over the apathy they found within these seminars towards issues of wider social concern:

"This has been one of my biggest disappointments in coming to this university. I find in Complementary Studies where we come up against people from Pharmacy and Optics and other technical subjects - it's just abysmal - the lack of knowledge outside their subject is nil, and what is even more frightening is that they're not even interested in enquiring any further. One doesn't expect them to be exceedingly knowledgeable but it's just complete apathy to anything which takes place outside their subject."

While I taught on this course myself for two years (it seemed primarily staffed by postgraduate students such as myself) and did not, at least within my own groups, find undue apathy it nevertheless became very clear very soon that this programme did not command a great deal of commitment from the students. The unexaminable Complementary Studies programme was seen largely to be irrelevant and unnecessarily time-consuming by most students. As one student commented to me, summing up this attitude it seemed to me:

"I think Complementary Studies is part of the Government's job creation scheme."

Only a small number of students identified themselves as having an "academic" orientation to their student role in response to the questionnaire items asking about this, and a smaller number identified the "typical" Aston student as "academic". During my participation and observation as both student and eventual tutor at Aston I did not come across any strong evidence of an academic orientation to studies. During informal interviews and discussions students would comment that it was uncommon to talk about "work" and that very often students would say they had not done preparatory work or reading, when in fact they had. Other students admitted they did not talk about the work they did because it was not what other students really wanted to hear. Student comments I noted from interviews included the following, which

were not untypical:

"People say they haven't done the work but they have really. They don't like to admit it."

"You talk about the course or the subject when you can't do it ..."

"I think we miss out a lot actually. The academic environment is very very confined just to the lectures. It is very much not the thing to do to talk about work 'outside hours'."

During my own time as an undergraduate student I recall one occasion when our tutor did not turn up and yet we had all - a group of six or seven students - completed our preparatory reading and work. A suggestion that we might just as well carry on without the tutor was found to be unacceptable and the tutorial group dispersed. This was in spite of the fact that we had all convened especially for this tutorial and that there was very little else on for us that day. I sometimes got the idea from my Combined Honours students that tutorials were occasions when students worked because they were seen to be working rather than because of any intrinsic motivation or interest in the subject under discussion. Indeed, some students did comment to me that the important thing was "just to turn up" to get the attendance mark, and only then was there a need to worry about not having done the necessary reading. Others felt it was possible to get by on "woffle" anyway:

"The first thing is to turn up and the second thing is to worry about having done any reading for(the tutorial)."

"You can get by in sociology by 'woffling' anyway, so you might as well do that. And if you get stuck you just say, 'well, I don't really see what sociology is about anyway', and you'll get a lecture on that."

In addition to asking students to identify with one or another of

those four orientations I did make an attempt more generally to explore students' ideas about a "good" university student, at the same time as asking them to identify the features which they would look for in a "good" lecturer. The responses to these questions, and the variety of items presented to students, indicated that the students felt it essentially important that a "good" student be interested in his subjects. For most students I talked to it seemed to be crucially important that the lecturers also be interesting. This was reflected also in their feelings that a good lecturer had an interesting and stimulating lecture technique and knew their stuff. The tables below indicate both the main features of the profiles of the "good" student and the "good" lecturer:

Table 4.5

THE "GOOD" STUDENT PROFILE

	Absolutely Essential	Important but not Essential	Moderately Important	Not very Important	Not Important at all
Keeps up with the work.	<u>65</u>	20	12	2	2
Has an interest in the subject.	<u>69</u>	18	10	2	2
Enjoys the course.	<u>57</u>	27	10	4	2
Balances study and leisure.	<u>59</u>	24	12	2	4

(Percentages)

This table indicates that the majority of students (69 percent) felt that a student should be interested in their course and able to keep up with the work. A further large group of students also felt it "absolutely essential" that a student should both balance study and

leisure and enjoy their course.

Table 4.6

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE "GOOD" LECTURER

	Absolutely Essential	Important but not Essential	Moderately Important	Not very Important	Not Important at all
Has interesting and stimulating lecture technique.	<u>82</u>	12	2	0	4
"Knows their stuff".	<u>61</u>	31	2	2	4
Is engaged in research.	0	16	25	<u>37</u>	<u>22</u>
Has published books or articles.	4	2	18	<u>37</u>	<u>39</u>

(Percentages)

The majority of students, therefore, felt it "absolutely essential" that staff both "knew their stuff" and had an interesting and stimulating lecture technique. For the majority of students it was not important that staff should be engaged in research nor that they should have written and published articles or books.

My observations and conversations in the "field" over a period of time revealed that the "Introduction" lecturer's ability to extemporise and relate humorous stories to illustrate lecture points was identified by the students as an interesting lecture technique while most students found the "Analysis" lecturer's habit of almost reading lecture notes in the fashion of near dictation was very difficult to follow and neither interesting nor stimulating. The following students' comments, made to me during informal interviews about the lecturing on the sociology course, serve to indicate the

feelings many of the students had with reference to this issue:

"In the 'Introduction to Sociology' course when he tells us about something there's a little story to explain it, something we can identify with that we've all experienced and it comes much easier to understand. In the 'Social Analysis' course there aren't any little stories, and there's nothing to bring it to everyday-type thinking that we can understand, and when he explains it he explains it in long words and even more sociological terms that we can't understand so it doesn't make it any clearer. In fact, it makes it seem totally irrelevant really."

"If you read the books that the (Social Analysis) lecturers are quite obviously quoting at great length from, dipping from this book and that book ... I find that quite distracting."

These particular issues are followed up in greater detail in the chapter on staff perspectives, in which I report upon the interviews I held with both the "Introduction" and one of the "Analysis" lecturers but these comments prompt here something of the major problem for students I spoke to, that of their difficulty with the "Social Analysis" part of their Combined Honours degree. However, before looking specifically at students' perspectives on their sociology course I wish to look at one prominently mentioned dissatisfaction of students with their student role, and the "diaries" I have previously mentioned.

One source of student dissatisfaction was perhaps not unsurprisingly the worry of having to sit examinations at the end of the year. However, students were worried or dissatisfied with this for a variety of reasons. While some plainly did not like examinations, other saw them as unnecessarily restrictive and constraining, as the following comments indicate:

"(Dissatisfaction stemmed from) discovering that completing the course successfully still requires

playing the academic game as with 'O' and 'A' levels - the ability to regurgitate information in exam.s."

"I think you've got to realize you've got a certain commitment to the academic side and you've got to fulfil that if you wish to pursue your own purposes. Sometimes, though, you don't have enough time out of your academic studies."

"Everyone has been socialised to defer gratification, intellectual or otherwise, so it's not a sudden thing that's put on you that's totally new."

"I was surprised how exam.-oriented the whole university was, and it's always cropping up - the mention of exam.s."

In addition to these complaints about the need to sit examinations, a number of students also complained about having to follow a rigid syllabus and cover the ground defined by the lecturers. These students felt they had come to university to pursue their own interests and develop their own ideas and did not welcome the constraints of a tightly defined syllabus. Again the following comments illustrate these feelings well:

"I think there's far too much work you have to do and not enough time to do work you'd actually like to do - sort of basic reading, that you'd really like to do. All our time is filled with doing set work rather than the work I came here and wanted to do."

"I don't feel it's necessary to attend every ("Analysis") lecture just to find out the way he thinks, or find out which books to read."

As this latter quote indicates these students found a clash with the approach taken by the "Analysis" lecturer who appeared to discount any attempt by students to plan their own course as of no value. I illustrate this approach more fully in the following chapter but students were not unaware of the "Analysis" lecturer's stance on this and some saw his lectures as occasions for "cue-seeking" for the

examination, others, and clearly shown here in the above comments, rejected this approach. The idea of "cue-seeking", as used by Miller and Parlett (1974), is one to which I return in Chapter Seven of the thesis.

So far, then, my research has indicated, in brief, the following:

- 1) Aston for many students was a second or "clearing" choice and therefore presented those students with a problematic situation requiring resolution.
- 2) Sociology for many students was a third or "clearing" choice and therefore presented those students with a problematic situation requiring resolution.
- 3) Students were generally dissatisfied with the quality of the relationships they were able to enjoy with members of staff.
- 4) Students found Aston to be predominantly technological and vocational in orientation.
- 5) Students primarily wanted to be "interested" in their course and wanted their lecturers therefore to be interesting and knowledgeable, too.
- 6) Students felt unnecessarily constrained by the syllabuses of the lecture courses and by the need to sit and pass examinations at the end of the year.
- 7) Combined Honours students had a prominent worry and concern for the "Social Analysis" component of their sociology option.

Before looking more specifically at the final point above I will report on the "diaries" which the first year Combined Honours students completed as one of their "Sociology Laboratory" assignments. The diaries were an attempt to quantify the amount of time spent by students in each of three activities, activities which had emerged as problematic during the field work. These activities were:

- a) Students' informal social contact with lecturers,
- b) Students' discussions of 'work' with other students; what might be called academic exchanges between students outside of formal tutorials, and

c) The amount of time students spent in private study.

The diary was 'structured' in such a way as to allow students to keep for themselves a systematic record of the above events or incidents during the course of one week. The idea of using diaries in this way was not, of course, new. Thoday (1957) had asked, in a previous study, over 500 students at Birmingham University to account in detail for his or her activities of the previous day. Information was also obtained about main activities during the week-end and a proportion of students were interviewed twice to give some idea of day-to-day variation. Thoday found the mean time spent in work per day was 6.25 hours, 3.5 hours in time-tabled work and the remaining 2.75 hours in "informal work". Among her findings she reported that female science students worked no harder than male or arts students but the latter did more "informal" and less "set" work. Second year students worked least hard except those studying medicine and modern languages (who had important examinations at the time). In general, most students did more work in the first than the final year.

A similar investigation amongst sixth formers, students at a college of education, and a technological university by Child (1970) found no difference in their study habits except that sixth formers worked more at weekends.

Some other recent "diary" studies have been far more detailed. Anderson (1968) asked students to account for their time hourly during the night and every quarter of an hour during the day, and to fill in their schedules using code numbers for different activities during one week. In a medical school he found clinical students worked 40 to 50 hours per week, but preferred to take more leisure through the week and

work during part of the weekend. The first year students averaged 7 hours work per day while the second years averaged six hours per day. Neither is it unique to ask sociology students to keep diaries. This has been done as part of a teaching device by Miller and Miller (1976). It has been used too, in a similar way by students of other subjects (see, for example, Keylock, 1975).

It seems then, that to ask students to keep a structured 'diary' of some sort might be at least one useful way of approaching some measure of the time students actually might engage in social and informal interactions with staff, academic exchanges with other students and preparation for tutorials, lectures and essays.

The technique of asking respondents to keep diaries, however, is not limited to student research. Stewart's study (1967) of how managers spend their time and Willmott's study (1966) of adolescent boys in East London both also used the 'diary' method of data collection, albeit in differing ways. Stewart's diary was a highly structured diary with pre-coded categories for managers to use, Willmott's diary for adolescents was almost completely open-ended. Stewart (1965) suggested that both observation and self-recorded diaries are likely to provide more "reliable" results than self-estimate of time spent at differing activities and notes four advantages:

- it is less time-consuming, less expensive and much less restricted in locality
- it is easier to record the activities for a longer period, as with the observation method the longer period of observation the fewer the number of people that can be studied
- classification of activities is made by a person who knows what he is doing

- all time can be recorded, whereas an observer may be excluded from confidential discussion.

The attempt here to quantify the amount of time students spend on the particular activities noted previously is clearly different from (although complementary to) a study of students' perspectives with regard to those same activities, but given the attempt to quantify time spent it seems a self-recorded diary is one of the only methods of approach which might be used.

The results of the use of these diaries did, in fact, offer some confirmations of the empirical basis for the student perspectives I had discerned during earlier field work.

I hoped introducing the diary as an assignment with the "Laboratory" classes would both increase the "response rate" and provide the students with the sustained motivation that this sort of project requires of its respondents. Students were thus asked to keep a "structured" diary for a period of seven days with reference to three types of "incident". They were asked to record each separate incident as it occurred making a note of when the incident occurred, how long it lasted, where it occurred and to what subject the incident referred. The pre-coded categories relating to each of these questions varied in turn to accommodate differing options for each type of incident.

THE INCIDENTS:

During the week these students kept their diaries they recorded 622 incidents of all three specified types between them. This included 243 "academic exchanges amongst themselves", 49 "informal social exchanges with staff members", and 330 "study events". On the whole the incidents of all types were spread throughout the week, although

most incidents (70 percent) of all types were recorded in the afternoon and evening with a greater number of all events relating to sociology (38 percent). This particular profile however becomes more meaningful when each type of incident is studied separately below. Female students recorded proportionately more incidents of all types than males, as did those students who lived at home or on campus, when compared to those who lived off campus.

"WORK RELATED CONVERSATIONS AMONG STUDENTS"

Most recorded "academic exchanges" between students (80 percent of all those recorded) were under fifteen minutes long, taking place in or near university teaching buildings. The majority of these academic exchanges (68 percent) were between just two students. The students recorded more "academic exchanges" with reference to their study of sociology (37 percent) than with reference to either of their other two subjects (31 percent each). Female students and students living at home, recorded proportionately more "academic exchanges" than other students.

"INFORMAL SOCIAL INTERACTIONS WITH STAFF"

Thirty students between them altogether recorded only forty-nine "informal social interactions" with members of staff. Of these, the smaller proportion (26 percent) was with sociology staff (even given a staff-student cheese and wine evening during the week of the diary exercise), with greater proportions recorded for the staff relating to the students' other two subjects (37 percent each on average). Most of these encounters (70 percent) took place in the afternoon and half of them lasted less than five minutes. Most (57 percent) took place in or very near university teaching buildings. Some (7 percent)

took place in the offices of staff members, and some (35 percent) were initiated by staff, the rest (65 percent) the students themselves reported initiating. Perhaps not surprisingly, students living at home or otherwise off campus reported fewer of these social exchanges with staff, and overall male students reported proportionately more than females.

"STUDY EVENTS"

Most (84 percent) of the "study events" were recorded during the five weekdays with the weekends accounting for only 16 percent of all "study events" recorded. Most studying (71 percent) was reported to be in the afternoon or evening and a good deal (23 percent) was completed in the early hours of the morning. Most "study events" (67 percent) were between one and two hours duration and most (61 percent) took place at the students' place of residence (wherever that might have been). Students reported more occasions studying sociology (38 percent) than either of their other subjects (31 percent mean each), and females reported more "study events" than males. Students living on campus or at home reported more "study events" than those students living in off campus or other non-university accommodation.

While the diaries, therefore, provided at least some evidence for the empirical basis of the three student perspectives it investigated, the use of such structured diaries for studying students' experience of, and perspectives upon, university life remains limited. Not only does it suffer from inevitable and unavoidable errors of recording, omissions and perhaps faulty timing, it also fails, by its structured nature, to record perhaps the most significant features of the students' experience, the more subjective definition of that experience and the

perspectives they form to help them cope. Willmott's almost completely open-ended unstructured diaries allowed him this sort of data of the adolescents he studied in East London, and it might be yet that some similar exercise with students could prove the more useful application of this particular methodology in student research.

To return, now, however, to the problems these students found with their "Social Analysis" course, and the perspectives they more generally had formed with respect to sociology.

I have already indicated that during the time I was teaching undergraduates at Aston I came across very few who had chosen to study sociology specifically. This was partly a reflection of the extent to which students had not chosen Aston specifically either, and partially a reflection of the position sociology seemed to hold within the Combined Honours scheme as a "catch-all" subject which could suit more-or-less everyone and anyone. Clearly the way Sociology was used by the Combined Honours scheme in this way conveyed messages to students about its value and status and this is reflected in student perspectives as I have already demonstrated.

For a great many students this "problem" of having to study sociology demanded a solution. These students needed to develop a "perspective" on their study of sociology which would give them a rationale for studying it. Students rationalised their need to study sociology, quite often it seemed, by referring to its complementarity with their other subjects. Their comments often revealed the derivation of the "inter-disciplinary perspective" they developed.

"I initially did not want to study a course including sociology but having accepted the course my interest grew and I felt it might provide a useful complementary study to psychology." (emphasis added)

"Initially I did not want to study sociology ...
but since I've started the course I have come
to see its relevance to the rest of my course."
(emphasis added)

This "interdisciplinary perspective" which developed as a response to the problematic situation facing these students was, however, ill-defined and loosely formulated:

"Since I am studying people as individuals (psychology) and the individual is subject to the pressures of society, it seemed beneficial to learn about society and people as groups (Sociology)." (parentheses added)

The perspective, however, functioned socially to provide the students with a rationale for continuation with their otherwise 'enforced' study of sociology. It is unlikely that this "interdisciplinary perspective" would last any longer than the situational constraints which prompted its development. It is highly likely, however, that this perspective would have an impact upon the students' evaluations of the course and their difficulties with it.

Students generally saw the course as having one of two quite similar aims - to either serve as an introduction to the subject, or to serve as a basis for the study of society - as the following, respectively, indicate:

"The course is aiming generally to familiarize newcomers with the subject."

"It seems to me that sociology is attempting to teach us about society, social institutions and how people fit in - something which we normally take for granted and do not consider."

For no students did sociology appear to be the "meaningful and critical" subject I described in Chapter One of this thesis. Rather these students perceived what I will describe as the essentially "conservative" aims of either an attempt to familiarise students with

the subject or with their society. Indeed, many students saw sociology as being a means by which society might be "helped".

"(the aims of the course are) to make our society work better after making the problems known to people."

"to provide us with possible explanations and solutions to social problems."

The course itself did not dispel from amongst the students any of their preconceptions about sociology. They had expected sociology to consist of information about society and its problems and ways of coping with those problems and the course did not alter those ideas, at least not very quickly. During my own time at Aston as an undergraduate student I recall no suggestions that sociology was an essentially "critical" discipline with political implications for social change. The message came quite clearly from the Aston course that sociology was essentially a value-free, objective, politically neutral, social-scientific study of society - social criticism was strictly for the sociologist, only when wearing "another hat" other than that of "sociologist". Also, while I was an undergraduate, the predominant theoretical framework was one rooted in consensus theory. In fact, theory was not really addressed as an issue until the final year. I complained at the time, I remember, that perspectives such as phenomenology and ethnomethodology were not mentioned at all within the course and other perspectives such as symbolic interactionism were given only brief treatment. In view of this, and I am sure the situation did not change greatly between my final year as an undergraduate and my research as a postgraduate one year later within the same department, it is not surprising that students continued to hold these views, I have described as "conservative", about the aims and objectives of sociology.

In spite of these ideas about the aims of the course, however, some students did find sociology had some kind of "existential impact".

"You can't help but feel involved. Value-free?
No way. The issues are too real, too close."

"I have found that I question more my actions and thoughts and attitudes towards certain aspects of society."

Not all students felt like this, however, and, for these, sociology was "nothing special".

"Sociology has done nothing to 'reorientate me to social reality' and has done nothing to change my attitudes. There seems so far to have been nothing startlingly new or revealing in the issues discussed."

"Sociology has only really put a name to things I already knew, or took for granted."

Some students developed a perspective upon sociology which challenged its legitimacy as an academic subject. The following comments clearly illustrate this perspective:

"Sociology - seems to be just pointing out what most people know already."

"It's only when you start doing it you realize there's nothing there."

The students' perceptions of the "legitimacy" of sociology was one of the ideas I attempted to probe in the questionnaires. This idea had emerged strongly from both interviews and my own observations among students. The questionnaire listed sixteen statements, gathered from those early interviews and observations, with which students were asked to agree or disagree. These statements related, positively or negatively, with what I have called four "perspectival dimensions" upon sociology. These four dimensions may be listed as follows:

- a) the perceived "legitimacy" of sociology,

- b) the perceived "personal relevance" of sociology,
- c) the students' "commitment" to sociology, and
- d) the "work load" sociology demanded.

These "dimensions" and their constituent items are shown below with an indication as to whether the item relates positively or negatively with the dimension shown in the centre column.

THE "PERSPECTIVAL DIMENSIONS" WITH COMPONENT ITEMS, SHOWING DIRECTION OF RELATION OF ITEMS WITH EACH DIMENSION

Perspective	Direction	Component item
a) Perceived legitimacy	-	"Sociology is really just commonsense"
	-	"Sociology just points out what most people know already"
	-	"Sociology never seems to tell me anything I didn't know already"
b) Perceived personal relevance of sociology	+	"I think sociology has tremendous relevance to my own understanding of the world around me"
	+	"Looking back over incidents which have occurred in the past I am now more able to understand them as a result of having studied sociology"
	+	"I always try to relate sociology to my personal experience"
	-	"Sociology does not seem to have much relevance to 'real life' "
	-	"Sociology won't have any relevance for my eventual job"
c) Commitment to sociology	+	"I would like to do extra background reading in sociology"
	+	"Sociology is a very interesting and important subject"
	-	"I just want to pass the examinations then forget all about sociology"
	+	"I shall continue to read sociology even when I have finished the course here"
d) Work load of sociology	-	"I did not expect there to be a great deal of work to the sociology course"
	-	"In comparison to my other subjects sociology takes up more than its fair share of time"

Perspective	Direction	Component item
d) Work load of sociology (continued)	-	"I thought the sociology course would be a 'soft option' "
	-	"I have not got the time to do any extra background reading in sociology"

In spite of the fact that in conversations with me it was the legitimacy of sociology which was so often challenged, the questionnaire responses suggested that 90 percent of the students found sociology to be a legitimate field of enquiry, as shown by the table below:

Table 4.7

Students' Perceived Legitimacy of Sociology

Perspective	Behavioural Science	Combined Honours	Overall
"Sociology is legitimate"	23	23	46 (90%)
"Sociology is commonsense"	2	3	5
	25	26	51

(Absolute figures)

This is surprising because in conversation students did not tend to complain that sociology was "difficult" or simply "abstract" or even "boring", all of which would be to implicitly accept the "legitimacy" of sociology if to disavow interest in it. It was the very legitimacy of sociology which was challenged. This perspective was played upon by the students, as I have indicated earlier, by students asking, during tutorials, what was sociology supposed to be about anyway. I have reported early the comment by one student who suggested he could get by on 'woffling' in sociology tutorials, and if he got stuck he could ask

what sociology "was supposed to be about anyway" and then expect to use up time by getting a lecture on that. The remaining "dimensions" indicated that the students found sociology to have a personal relevance, that a large number of students were "committed" to sociology in some way and that a little over half actually found sociology to offer a low work load:

Table 4.8 Perceived Personal Relevance of Sociology

Perspective	Behavioural Science	Combined Honours	Overall
"Sociology is personally relevant"	19	22	41 (80%)
"Sociology is not personally relevant"	6	4	10
	25	26	51

Table 4.9 Students' Commitment to Sociology

Perspective	Behavioural Science	Combined Honours	Overall
Committed	22	15	37 (72%)
Not Committed	3	11	14
	25	26	51

Table 4.10 Students' Perceived Work Load of Sociology

Perspective	Behavioural Science	Combined Honours	Overall
High	10	12	22
Low	15	14	29 (57%)
	25	26	51

Before finally returning to the two specific sociology courses the first year Combined Honours students followed, I summarise, briefly, below, in four points, the main features of what has emerged so far in respect of students' perspectives upon sociology:

- 1) Students either came to see sociology as complementary to their other, preferred, subjects in articulating an interdisciplinary perspective on human behaviour, or began to question its legitimacy,
- 2) Students either found a "personal relevance" for sociology and recognized it as having some kind of "existential impact" or else saw it as an essentially conservative discipline and did not recognize its potential for social criticism,
- 3) Students found the 'set work' excessive and in conflict with their expressed desire to do extra reading, and
- 4) Students often referred to their own personal experiences in their attempts to understand sociological theories and concepts.

Along with these ideas about sociology, students also developed strong and consistent perspectives in respect of their "Social Analysis" course, at which the previous analysis has hinted. The following comment made to me by one of the Combined Honours students was not untypical:

"In 'Social Analysis' lectures ... unnecessarily complex and confusing statements are made about relatively simple points." (emphasis added)

Other students made similar comments, for example:

"technical jargon could just as easily be written in everyday language." (emphasis added)

It is the emphasis I have added to these comments which reveals

the perspective students were developing to meet their difficulties with "Analysis". The perspective suggests that the problems do not lie within the students themselves, within their own deficiencies, but within the sociology as it is offered to them.

It was through my teaching of Combined Honours tutorial groups for the "Analysis" course that I first became forcefully aware of the problems these students were experiencing with the "Analysis" course and the lectures given on this course. It was a common concern of all the tutorial groups I saw, and in the course of two years that included the entire cohorts of two intakes to the degree. The "Analysis" lectures, it was said, were both "irrelevant", far too "abstract" and therefore far too difficult to follow. The difficulties students experienced with "Analysis" were highlighted for many students by their happy experience of the "Introduction to Sociology" course, which was an inevitable point of comparison. It was the contrasting approaches taken by the lecturers on both courses which the students primarily picked up. While the "Introduction" lecturer was working to bring the course to a level the students could understand - in short, making the material of the course as accessible to the students as possible by the use of 'stories' and illustrations etc., all of which was much appreciated by the students - the "Analysis" lecturers, in contrast, both appeared to be working to an abstracted standard beyond which they would not fall and to which students must strive if they were to be successful. In conversation and in practice the "Analysis" lecturers indicated that they did not wish to modify their material or approach to suit the needs of the particular students they were confronted with. The "Introduction" lecturer was at pains to make the course relevant and to accommodate the interests and abilities of his students. The

problems engendered by the approach of the "Analysis" lecturers was magnified by the problems I have previously discussed with reference to students' routes to Aston, and the location of the sociology option in the Combined Honours scheme.

My observations at the first "Analysis" lecture will serve to illustrate something of the points I make above. I was in attendance at this lecture primarily because I was going to be introduced myself as one of the tutors to the course for when students were allocated to tutorial groups. The "Analysis" lecturer began his introduction to the course with something of a statement of his approach although it was clearly not designed as such. Students were quite clearly told that sociology was no "easy or soft option", and that they were foolish or misled if they had chosen it with this idea in mind. They were told that sociology and sociological analysis was far more demanding and far more rigorous than a Radio 4 documentary or chat show and if they thought that, then perhaps they ought to leave. I felt sure there were no students in the lecture theatre with these mistaken ideas, although my later research did reveal some students who had anticipated sociology to be a 'skive', but this introduction to the "Analysis" course, which was put with some force, did seem to serve to set the scene for students' later difficulties.

Students, then, primarily found concern over the emphasis placed on "concepts" and the level of abstraction which seemed to be required in utilising these concepts:

"Social Analysis lectures are too abstract with too many concepts and too much sociological jargon."

"Some of the phrases and sentences one lecturer in particular comes out with just blow my head off."

Students, however, as the following comment reveals, were also concerned about the approach taken within the course:

"Frankly I was appalled at the attitude of a lecturer who, when asked to explain some difficult sociological terms, suggested several dictionaries were the answer I have 'A' level English yet still find some sections of the course confusing."

This difficulty with "Analysis" remained, for the students, their biggest single difficulty, one which for them, over-shadowed all other difficulties. As I have indicated before however, their complaints to me were not simply that they could not understand the course inasmuch as they felt it was too difficult for them or that they were not adequate for the course, nor were their complaints simply that they did not like nor find interesting sociology itself. Both of these responses would be understandable in view, again, of the routes students had taken to Aston and the way in which a number had been directed to sociology within the Combined Honours scheme. Instead, there was a consensus in the students' perspectives that it was the approach of the lecturers which was at the root of the problem:

"We do sociology in "Education" (another option within the Combined Honours scheme) and I can only say that it's being done at a lower level so the plebs can understand it."

"Maybe sociology is interesting when you get to talk about it, but if you have to argue about the words and get a dictionary"

SUMMARY

In summary, then, the following points have been made on the basis of the foregoing analysis of sociology at Aston:

- 1) Aston University was, for many students a second choice or an option offered through the U.C.C.A. "clearing" scheme. This presented students with immediate problems of adjustment.
- 2) Sociology as a subject of study within both the Behavioural Science and Combined Honours degrees was often not specifically chosen as a subject to study by students. This, too, presented students with problems of adjustment.
- 3) Students, having arrived at Aston, found it to be predominantly technological and vocational in orientation. For some students, too, this was a source of dissatisfaction.
- 4) In response to problem 2) above, students developed what might be called an "interdisciplinary perspective" upon their studies which served to provide a rationale for an otherwise unchosen sociology option.
- 5) Failure to rationalise their study of sociology led some students to question its legitimacy and suggest it was little more than "commonsense".
- 6) Although for some students sociology had a "personal relevance", for many it remained an essentially conservative discipline.
- 7) Students expressed considerable worry about the "Analysis" component of their course but located the source of their worry to the approach taken within the course, rather than the subject itself or to themselves as students.

8) Students felt unnecessarily constrained by the syllabuses of the lecture courses and by the need to sit and pass examinations at the end of the year.

It seems clear that the structural context of the sociology courses these students took exerted a strong influence upon the formation of their perspectives, and formed a major constraint upon the teaching and learning situation both lecturers and students faced. In the following chapter I explore some of these issues further with particular reference to the perspectives the teaching staff developed within the context of teaching sociology at Aston University.

CHAPTER 5

STAFF PERSPECTIVES AT ASTON

The data reported in this chapter relates to staff perspectives on the teaching of sociology at Aston. The data was gathered from informal semi-structured interviews with two lecturers, one who taught the "Introduction to Sociology" course taken by both the Combined Honours and Behavioural Science students and the other who taught, with one other lecturer, the "Social Analysis" course taken only by Combined Honours students during their first year - indeed both courses mentioned here were first year lecture courses. Data from my own observation as participant during the period October 1971 to October 1978 both as undergraduate and postgraduate student, and undergraduate tutor is also included where appropriate. In this chapter I contrast the differing approaches of these two lecturers and relate these to some of the student perspectives identified in the previous chapter. On many issues, however, both lecturers were able to express similar concerns, and one they both shared with the students was with reference to staff-student relationships. Just as students would relate to me their dissatisfaction with staff-student relationships so did both members of staff comment upon the difficulty of establishing such relationships:

".... structural things are important: the fact that you don't interact with students much because they're taught here, there and everywhere. This building is just an office block really."

This lecturer recognises the constraint placed on staff-student relationships both by the geography of the building - a point referred to also by students - and the context of the course, which takes the students to a variety of buildings around the university. For this lecturer there are not any substantial intrinsic barriers to the kind of relationships with staff students appear to be demanding, as the following comment makes clear:

"... I feel with the students it's possible to have a fairly easy relationship although in the last four or five years I've recognised that this thing of being 'one of them' is no longer the case - the age gap and the norms and values are totally different. I don't really feel I'm one of them anymore but I still feel it's possible to have fairly easy personal relationships and that one can do this without feeling artificial or a fraud or anything like that"

Both lecturers agreed that staff-student relationships were not entirely satisfactory. One of the lecturers I spoke to suggested a university society might provide a forum for this kind of exchange:

"My view is that the best way of (meeting students) is through student clubs, but we haven't got one - a social science club - I would be very happy to engage in that sort of activity otherwise it's very difficult."

However, it was not clear for what kind of reasons students sought relationships with staff. While students told me they simply wanted to know their lecturers better on a social basis one of the lecturers had the following idea:

"... if a student has come to see you informally he's probably come for something ... They're coming to see you as the incumbent of a particular position ... They really want something - information, help, they want to talk about something or air their views..."

The comments below, from students, indicate this lecturer's suspicions might be true, however it is clearly impossible to generalise here and I did, during my time as a tutor to undergraduates at Aston, meet many students who would have appreciated more acquaintance with members of staff on a purely social basis.

".... in an easier situation, you might just bump into a person, and raise these (difficulties) just in the course of normal conversation."

"When you find yourself getting into normal discussion with lecturers you find it much easier to tell them what's wrong"

Just as students, too, were well aware of the technological and vocational nature of the university so were the lecturers I spoke to, and their responses indicate clearly the constraint this context placed upon their teaching:

"One of the main difficulties is that of the intellectual insecurity that we've got. In other universities with large Arts or Social Science Faculties there are not people outside the faculty saying 'what's the use of that airy-fairy subject?' or 'what job does it lead to?' 'what's the point of it?' "

"A hell of a challenge comparatively speaking. There is the problem of acceptance of sociology by colleagues in general throughout the university. (The vice-chancellor) may be taking on sociology as the next best thing to 'arts' and people say it's valuable for management courses and therefore we ought to do it. In other words sociology develops in some technological universities by default almost ... people want you to do a sociological bit of this or that to round out the technology."

This technological orientation was regarded as being the reason for the anti-intellectualism of the university which the students had identified:

"There are so many people doing subjects which are thought to be 'useful' - the people doing them and the people teaching them think are 'useful' and that they will lead to a job and that they're helping to build a better world, and in some ways these people are anti-intellectual in the sense that they are anti-ideas, anti-discussion The main disadvantage, then, is this anti-intellectualism and lack of any kind of sympathy in anything that isn't some kind of applied subject"

This did have an impact upon the approach taken to teaching sociology within the university. There appeared to be some idea around the university that sociology was a "soft option" since, in comparison to other more technological subjects, the amount of contact time was considered to be extremely low. Although in practice these lecturers' responses were considerably different to this problem, in

principle they both had similar feelings:

"Sociology is under attack by outsiders - people say its just commonsense and that there's nothing that the average man on the street doesn't know. And I think one's got to be careful of these sorts of criticisms that are made of sociology to not to undersell it, and one has got to be sure one gets over to the students some understanding of the body of substantive knowledge which is sociology, the sorts of applications there might be and the sorts of theoretical perspectives that have been built up and the sort of distinctive approaches the sociologist takes"

My analysis of student perspectives also revealed a low commitment to tutorials. Students would not infrequently fail to do the reading but none-the-less feel it possible to "get by with 'woffle' ". I asked both lecturers I spoke to, in the semi-structured interviews, about their approach to tutorials. It was in response to this question that differences in their approaches to teaching began to emerge. These differences have been hinted at earlier. The "Introduction" lecturer began by suggesting he liked to encourage wide participation in his tutorials:

"I run my tutorials by saying well everybody will be expected to read something and just start a discussion from that ... you can get a wider participation where everybody does some reading ..."

Within these tutorials it seemed student diversity was encouraged although perhaps not very evident, as the following comments reveals:

"When I was a student there tended to be cliques - the functionalists and the conflict theorists etc. - and because you don't get cliques and that sort of thing you don't get students attacking each other in seminars in any degree ... and that would be something I would like to encourage ... that students would be much more critical of each other."

There was, too, here, an attempt made by the "Introduction" lecturer to distance himself from the role of "tutor" to encourage participation. As he explains:

"The 'role-distance thing' is ... perhaps trying to get away from the idea that I know about sociology and they don't ... you can distance yourself from it and say well look tell me about that, that's an interesting thing, and perhaps say well I haven't read that kind of thing ... to lower the idea of here's me and there's them"

The "Analysis" lecturers, too, encouraged participation in tutorials and commented that participation became more difficult as tutorial groups grew in size. Indeed this was a point made by several students to me, that they preferred smaller tutorial groups of, perhaps, only four or five students:

"Ideally, if the numbers are right you should be able to keep them on their toes ... I despair when you present an ambience that allows people to say things, you don't cut them down ... but you will get students who will not say anything year in year out."

However, there was a distinct contrast between the "Analysis" lecturer's approach to tutorials and the "Introduction" lecturer's attempt to distance himself from his role as tutor. This is most clearly revealed in the "Analysis" lecturer's idea of the tutor as "expert":

"In a tutorial, everybody should be equally informed but not equally expert, the expert obviously is the tutor."

This idea is also reflected in the "Analysis" lecturer's approach to his wider role as lecturer on the "Analysis" course:

"Students cannot go it alone in sociology without the disciplined approach the lecturer must be able to give. It may not be the disciplined approach the students particularly like but it is a disciplined approach none-the-less. I'm obviously reinforcing the university lecturer's role here."

This view of the lecturer's role was coupled with a strong idea of what was, and what was not, to be regarded as "worthwhile knowledge". This lecturer described the "blinkered approach":

"One of the greatest weaknesses is the 'blinkered approach', and it's when students latch on to one

particular aspect of sociology or indeed something off the course and in a sense are implicitly refusing to examine the particular perspective you are putting forward. It's when he goes off on a tack of what he thinks is sociology ... some students ... are blinkered because they've latched onto something which they think they can better understand than the main part, or something which appeals to them more than the official stuff."

This lecturer had planned his course in a very structured or "disciplined" way and preferred students to follow this approach to the subject rather than ignore the "official stuff" and explore other areas in what he thought would be an ill-informed manner. The lecturer was aware that the "official stuff", as he defined it, was a structuralist-consensus view:

"It's well known that you can put over the structuralist view which I put over, and a number of my colleagues perhaps, and a lot of students react against this and go off on their own tack into ethnomethodology."

As well as personal theoretical preferences for structural-functionalism the lecturer here also pointed to timetabling and other organisational constraints on his teaching:

"... it's bound to be that a course takes a particular perspective and so on, and other perspectives are available but we can't put them all in, in some 'cafeteria system'."

Students were aware of the kind of perspective the "Analysis" lecturer took, they were aware that the course was highly structured and closely defined by the lecturers. As I have commented in the previous chapter on student perspectives, the following student comments reveal that while some students recognised and accepted this approach to the course, others recognized and rejected it, and did not wish to use lectures for "cue-seeking":

"I feel it's compulsory to attend lectures otherwise I wouldn't know what to read about."

"I don't feel it's necessary to attend every lecture just to find out which way he thinks, or

find out which books to read."

While the "Introduction to Sociology" course attempted to introduce students to a variety of substantive topics within sociology, the "Social Analysis" course was an attempt to introduce sociological theory to first year students, previously only offered, as such, in the final year. The course was being offered for the first time at the time of these staff interviews and, as previous quotations illustrate, students were, on the whole, experiencing great difficulty with the course. However, the staff teaching this course had expected more problems and made the following comments:

"We were agreeably surprised with the first year. We thought it would frighten a lot of people off, that they would find this continued abstraction rather difficult."

The course had a "conceptual" rather than an empirical or substantive reference.

"It's been my emphasis on all my courses to give students a conceptual framework and understanding ... Hopefully the student will get a better idea of sociological conceptualisation which will enable him to get to grips with more conceptual stuff..."

This contrasted with the "Introduction to Sociology" course as the lecturer on this course commented:

"... There's sociology and sociology. I think with a lot of students they want a general 'positioning approach.' They don't want anything too conceptual. They want something that means something in real terms and that's what I try to give them in the course I teach."

Students, on the whole, appreciated this relevance to the real world as they reveal in comments such as the following, which I also quote in the previous chapter:

"In 'Introduction to Sociology' when he tells us about something, there's a little story to explain it, something we can identify with that we've all experienced and it comes much easier to understand."

In 'Social Analysis' there aren't any little stories, and there's nothing to bring it to everyday-type thinking that we can understand, and when he explains it he explains it in long words and even more sociological terms that we can't understand so it doesn't make it any clearer. In fact, it makes it seem totally irrelevant really."

The approach within the "Introduction" course, therefore, seemed to be responsive to student needs. Students were faced, therefore, with very different approaches in both the "Social Analysis" and "Introduction to Sociology" courses.

Both lecturers from the "Introduction and "Analysis" courses respectively, saw their sociology courses as having similar aims, and both saw these aims as having some personal existential relevance for the student as the following comments reveal:

"The basic question one is hoping to raise with students ... are the questions of the whole sociological perspective and the way of looking at society and seeing ourselves as creatures created by the socialisation process ... My understanding of the sociological imagination would be, in a broad sense, looking at the world and your own place in it and your family ... and interpreting the world in a new light and your position in it ... even stretching it to ... the most mundane everyday activity."

"Clearly it enables the student to 'negotiate' his social life more effectively with better understanding one should be able to lead one's life more effectively. Not only managing one's career but understanding other people. It would give the student greater insights into social life."

Both lecturers, too, were similar in their assessment of the possible future potential utility of sociology to the students.

"In the long term, which is rather difficult to assess, the benefits would probably be quite great. As they grow up and take their place in the world of work and get more involved in the wider society then I would think that their sociological knowledge and perspective that they've got would be invaluable to them."

"I have a feeling that it has a latent value in the sense that when the student eventually leaves his subject something will come back from his sociology which will alert him to something in the social environment that is a problem to him."

As previous analysis of student comment, from both interviews and questionnaires, showed, the existential relevance of sociology, so important to the staff, escaped a good number of students. However others did see a relevance in this respect and made comments such as the following:

"I think it's got tremendous relevance to your own understanding of how the world around you works. It sharpens your powers of observation of what goes on around you."

"I've found that I've been able to look back over incidents that have occurred previously to my being able to explain them, and understand better why things happened, as a result of what I've learned in sociology."

Given the importance of this existential relevance to both staff and students, there is a danger that staff may use the idea of sociology's possible future potential relevance, which both members of staff saw it has having, to rationalise a failure to achieve that relevance with their present students, as one lecturer commented:

"Certainly he will eventually think that it may not have seemed very relevant at the time but more and more it's useful."

This idea suggests that sociological "insights" are "banked" by the students to be "withdrawn" at some unspecified future time to aid the understanding of some unspecified future experience. It may be that this perspective upon sociology teaching serves to legitimate the imposition upon students of a syllabus in which they find no interest, it is certainly a perspective which would allow reinforcement of the tutor's "expert" role, of knowing what is best for the students and not

placing weight on their own evaluations of a course, or their immediate interests.

Both members of staff also expressed a feeling that "mature" students are better at, or more at home with, or easier to teach than, other students who might have come straight from school:

"There is this problem of age when students approach sociology ... mature students have got more to offer ... the slightly older student not the person 25-30 but the student who's a little bit older, seems to have so much more to offer and so much more to draw on in seminar discussions ... I'm not saying students straight from school can't write "good sociology essays" ... I'm not saying that all students straight from school are lacking in this respect, or that all mature students are necessarily possessors of the sociological imagination but I think it's a great problem that the kids straight from school have less to draw on."

"I would argue that sociology is for mature people - not simply mature but people who have a wide range of interests, who are interested in the world around them ... I think students must experience the real world to get any appreciation of the subject. Even if they just bomb round Europe it may be more use than just coming 'cold' from school."

This perspective, which essentially sees the student as a resource for his own learning experience, and sees the student straight from school, therefore, as a deficient resource in that respect, could, again, provide a rationale for locating a student's failure or difficulty with sociology with the student himself rather than with the way in which sociology is offered to him. However, this need not always be the case. It is possible to recognize students as resources for their own learning experience, but resources which draw upon a different, rather than a deficient, set of experiences, as revealed in the following comment:

"I used to feel when I first started teaching that ... I was near to them in terms of age ... I've recognized that ... this is no longer the case - the age gap and the norms and values are totally different ... what brings it home - many of the things one uses to illustrate things in seminars or lectures ... don't mean anything to them ... quite outside their own experience. When I first began teaching I felt I could assume all my presuppositions were the same as the students ... whereas now I recognize that there's an enormous difference."

Generally speaking however the students were rarely used as resources, but were characterised as being on the "receiving end" of the teaching:

"In the first year you are giving out one hell of a lot, not getting a great deal back."

Finally, the context of assessment was recognised as a constraint by both lecturers upon their teaching of sociology:

"It is not easy to teach a subject that is liberating and encouraging students to ask questions and so on, knowing all the while that there are examinations to pass."

"One of the major weaknesses is one of 'regurgitation' - a student just accepts what is pushed at him in lectures and does not read any more widely. That's just 'playing the system' and that's just a weakness."

This analysis of staff perspectives on teaching indicates, therefore, some of the pressures and constraints operating on staff which stem from both the technological context of the university and from the particular course structures of both Behavioural Science and Combined Honours. Many of the perspectives shared by the students are also shared by the staff as reported here, for example:

- 1) Staff-student relationships are unsatisfactory, and
- 2) Aston seems to present a predominantly technological, anti-intellectual bias.

Both members of staff, however, appear to respond to student

cries for "relevance" with the suggestion that sociology will become relevant in the future after the students have left the university, and this is coupled with a response from both lecturers which suggests there is a deficiency in the students who attend university straight from school.

Both these perspectives seem to serve to define the problems as ones belonging primarily to the students rather than as problems belonging to the staff themselves or, indeed, as problems which staff and students may share. For this reason, if this reason alone, these perspectives must be critically regarded and carefully reviewed.

CONCLUSION

Chapter Three and the chapters in this section, reporting on the early empirical studies of this research on the teaching and learning of sociology in higher education referred essentially to the particular case of sociology and social science in the ex-colleges of advanced technology and the perspectives of both staff and students upon the teaching and learning of sociology within Aston technological university.

Chapter Three served primarily to indicate the peculiar nature of the technological universities with an emphasis on technology and vocationalism, and the development of sociology teaching within this context. Although sociology and the social sciences were an immense growth area within these new technological universities, at least within the university of Aston the growth of the social sciences was to take place in a context demanding not traditional courses but a strong relevance to the needs of industrial society. The major areas of sociological teaching, therefore, within the university's sociology group were industrial sociology, occupational sociology and organisational sociology. Apart from in first year introductory courses and tangentially within "methods" courses, areas of traditional interest to sociologists, such as the Family and Education, were not available. It was within the context of this kind of environment that the perspectives described in the previous chapters developed.

Chapter Four, amongst other things, noted the responses of students to this technological and vocational orientation of Aston. It became clear that for many of the students who followed either of the two courses investigated this orientation was not one they had

particularly looked forward to finding, or, indeed, had even chosen. University policy, therefore, to retain a direct relationship between the development of social sciences in the university and advances in technology and science would not seem to reflect student demand. Jary(1969) faced similar problems with reference to sociology courses in polytechnics. He reports that it is thought degree courses in polytechnics ought to be different from those in universities in being more vocational, but he attempts to make a case for general courses using, by way of example, the case for general theoretical sociology courses in polytechnics. At least one of his arguments would apply to the case of sociology teaching in technological universities.

"Much of the growth of further education degree courses is a product of a frustrated student demand for a university education, a frustration which results simply from an absolute shortage of university places when matched against those "qualified". It is not a demand for a specific kind of higher education, and to answer it with specifically vocational courses would be an unjustified denial of students' rights to an education of their choice when as yet no case has been made which demonstrates the necessity for restricting free choice."

(Jary, 1969 p 45)

My data seems to strongly suggest that many of the students at Aston who eventually read sociology on one or another of the courses offered, did not specifically choose to do so. Fewer, but still a reasonably high proportion (33 percent) did not specifically choose Aston university. There was no evidence to suggest students chose sociology at Aston because of a specific reference to industrial society. However, policy decisions such as these are not the particular concern of the thesis, but it remains that a major dissatisfaction of students related to this technological orientation of the university.

Venables (1978) study of the ex-colleges of advanced technology

also found that some students enter technological universities "because they are universities, rather than not enter a university at all".

(Venables, 1978, p 208), and argued that:

"Not surprisingly, such students were apt to be 'agin the government' within the university, arguing vehemently in favour of generalising the university Social Science students took the lead in this, but they had allies among the science students."

(Venables, 1978, p 208)

My data also seems to confirm earlier and similar research completed by Brennan and Percy (1976) who found, from their research on student goals and student satisfaction, that sociology was often chosen for "negative or accidental" reasons. Brennan and Percy (1976) also found that some students criticised sociology for being "too academic ", "too theoretical ", "insufficiently practical ". However, as the following student comment from their research indicates, the students in their study developed a quite different perspective upon this study from that developed by the Aston students.

"The least satisfying aspect proved to be that the course proved to be too theoretical for my purposes. I aim to go into social work and a practical course would have suited me better."

(Source: Brennan and Percy, 1976, p136)

While the Aston students clearly saw the problem as being one of mode of presentation, these students, recounting similar problems, identified their own orientations as being, essentially, at the root of the problem.

Chapter Five through an evaluation of staff perspectives, serves to underline the impact of the technological nature of the university upon both the course structures and the teaching/learning situation itself and to highlight areas of disjunction between staff and student perspectives as they developed within that situation.

This section, then, reporting as it does the early empirical studies, in both this chapter and Chapter Four relies heavily upon the early theoretical framework which gave the concept of "perspective" a central location. The following sections develop this theoretical framework and in so doing serve as a critique of these studies. This critique prompts a reappraisal of the data reported here in the light of new theoretical priorities and this reappraisal is reported in the concluding chapters of the thesis.

SECTION FOUR : LATER THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENTS:

SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSES OF EDUCATION

AND THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY

CHAPTER 6

6.1 INTRODUCTION

6.2 THE 'NEW' SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

6.3 THE 'NEW' SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION AND
THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins to look at the theoretical development of the sociology of education during the 1970's, during the period of the research. It was during this period the sociology of education saw great theoretical upheaval with the development of what became known as the "new" sociology of education. This was followed by a re-emergence of structural-conflict, predominantly Marxist, analyses of education and then attempts to synthesise these approaches. Chapter Eight concludes with one attempt at such a synthesis of "new" direction sociology of education and more structural-conflict perspectives which formed their critique. These ideas are related to the teaching of sociology by particular reference to the concept of hidden curriculum. This concept became central to the concerns of the research, and with its alternative "structuralist" and "interactionist" conceptualisations played a large part in forging the theoretical synthesis attempted in Chapter Eight and the empirical study of Chapter Nine.

In the diagram which follows I present an indication of some of the presently available stances within the sociology of education, given the developments the 1970's have seen in this field, in order to provide a framework for locating the discussions which follow both in this chapter, and the subsequent chapters, of this section. The "traditional" stance in the sociology of education is characterised as "structural-functional" and goes back to the 1950's when, suggests Barton and Walker (1978), it was thought that sociology of education's a priori task was to provide explanations of the relationship between education and other institutions in society, and the nature of this relationship was best explained by reference to the educational system's overall social function.

Bernbaum (1977) also notes that by the 1950's sociologists of education had accepted in some form the theoretical perspective of the increasingly dominant structural-functionalist school. Bernbaum (1977) goes on to suggest that Floud and Halsey, whose approach to sociology of education he believed dominant in the 1960's, were also essentially advocating the functionalist perspective, in spite of their criticisms of it in 1958 (Floud and Halsey, (1958)).

Bernbaum (1977) suggests that the structural-functionalist perspective of the "traditional" sociology of education weakened its ability to engage with issues of social change and Young (1971) similarly argued that the structural-functionalist framework encouraged sociologists to believe that their work was value-free and that it dealt with "objective" data.

Barton and Walker (1978) go on to suggest that while in the 1950's and 1960's many sociologists became involved in the production of government reports and surveys which were designed to create strategies for educational change, many of the changes envisaged were "disappointing". This, they suggest, was largely because of the constrictions imposed upon the sociologist who makes structural-functionalist analyses of education. Barton and Walker (1978) explain that because this perspective is essentially "conservative", being based on a consensus view of society, any analysis framed within it will ultimately leave prevailing definitions and assumptions largely unchallenged. The educational changes prescribed by sociologists or arising out of their work in the mid-'60's therefore, they go on to suggest, tended only to be a form of "cosmetic surgery" while the education body itself remained largely unaltered.

Gleeson (1977) suggests it was not until the late 1960's and early 1970's that sociologists working in education came to question much of the body of assumptions that characterised prevailing analyses. It was the "new" directions in the sociology of education which first sought to challenge the traditions of structural functionalism and reformism and were initially more explicitly concerned with issues of social change, hence their characterisation in the diagram below as "possibilitarian", to use Whitty's (1974) term.

Whitty (1974) characterised the "analytic stance" as one which does not seek to challenge the mundane experience of the everyday world and the "possibilitarian" stance as one which sees in sociology the possibility of transcending just those experienced realities and hence actively contributing towards change. Optimistic and pessimistic stances are contingent upon a prior possibilitarian stance as they would make no sense within a purely analytic framework.

The recent approaches in the sociological study of education explicitly debate the relationship between education and social change and this is a debate to which I return more fully in Chapter Eight, but the diagram below does indicate the concern with change of the structural-conflict, neo-Marxist perspectives which make up these most recent developments in the sociology of education. Barton and Walker (1978) suggest it is these neo-Marxist analyses of education which are likely to produce a more adequate understanding of education and ultimately "a means for change".

Barton and Meighan (1978) assert that future developments in the sociology of education must be taken up with creating and sustaining meaningful links between macro and micro approaches. The first dotted

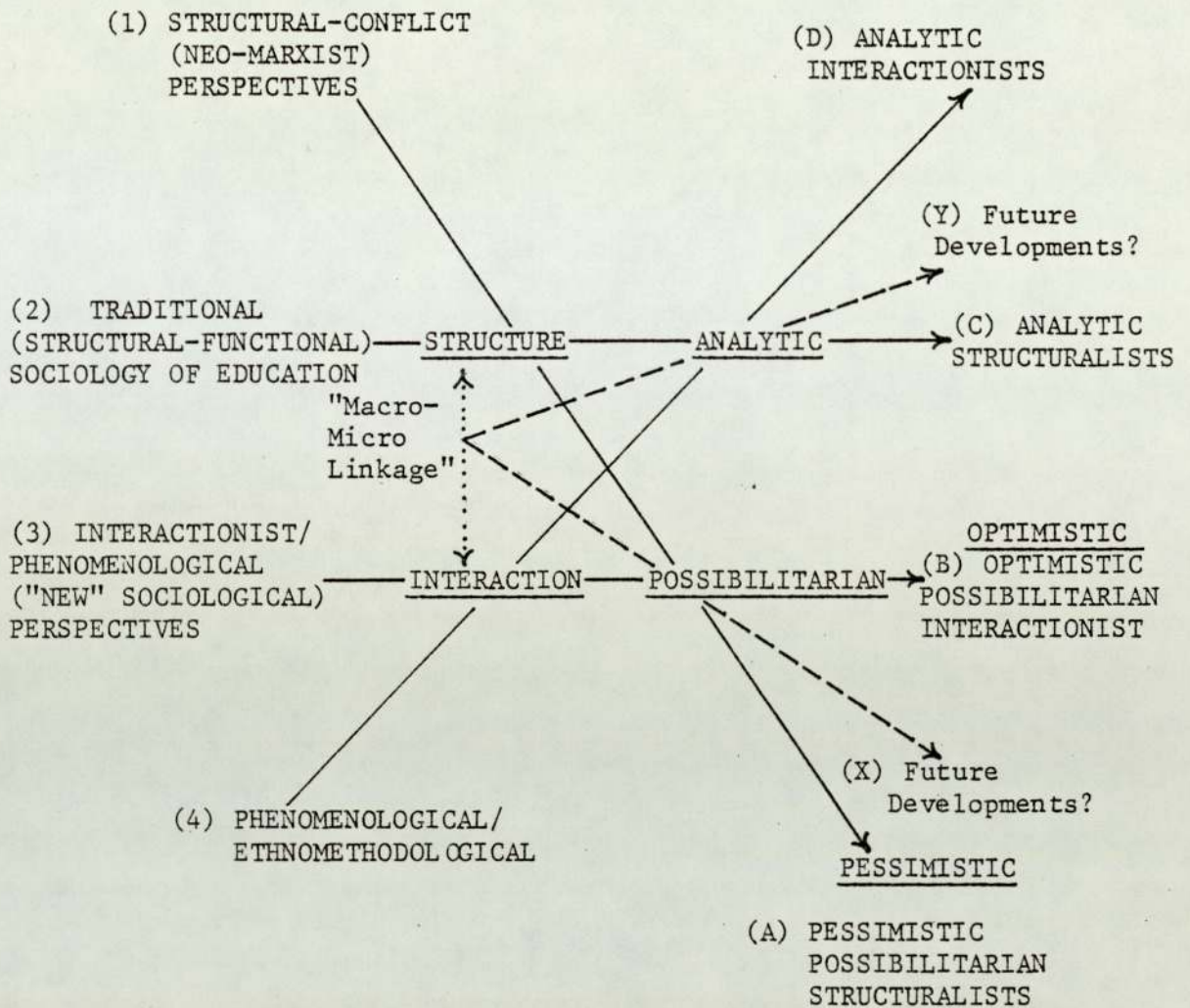


Fig. 6.1 ALTERNATIVE STANCES WITHIN THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION:
A DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION

line (X) on my diagram suggests the need for such linkages and, again, in my discussions of recent developments in the sociological study of education in Chapter Eight I attempt to forge some synthesis both theoretically and in the Empirical study of Chapter Nine.

The second dotted line (Y) which features on this diagrammatic representation of theoretical stances in the sociological analysis of education runs from the "macro-micro" linkage position, as does the one already indicated, but instead, runs to between the (C) and (D)

positions. In other words it would be an "analytic" rather than a "possibilitarian" macro-micro linkage. As Geoff Whitty pointed out to me in a private communication, this direction is very much the one being followed in much of the work done by Woods and Hammersley, which certainly could not be classed as "possibilitarian" in the sense used by Whitty (1977 (a)). (See for example Hammersley (1980)).

In addition to my own attempt to link macro and micro concerns using the concept of hidden curriculum , as I explain in what follows (see also Fielding (1980)), there have been equally recent attempts to use the concept of "strategy" in the same manner (Woods (Ed) (1980) (a)); Woods (Ed) (1980) (b)). The use of the concept of "strategy" to achieve macro-micro linkage is something I discuss in more detail in Chapter Eight with reference to my own alternative attempts to address this problem.

This chapter, then, explores the new directions in the sociological study of education. Chapter Seven inspects the concept of the hidden curriculum and Chapter Eight attempts to synthesise both macro and micro perspectives in a study of the problems of teaching sociology utilising that concept. The "new" sociology of education will be characterised as "optimistic possibilitarian", in the hope that it seems to hold out for educational change from within the classroom. The suggestion of the new directions, in other words, is that "substantial educational and social changes will emanate from changes in teacher consciousness" (Whitty, 1977 (a), p 53). Vulliamy's study of music teaching will be inspected since this attempts to illustrate the way in which a questioning of the "absoluteness" of many educator's assumptions about knowledge will open the way for the possibilities of

alternative definitions and assumptions about knowledge. The importance of knowledge definition is briefly discussed in this chapter. Keddie (1971), too, is seen to make similar optimistic claims for the potential of the "new" sociology of education. Unless the categories teachers use, to organise what they know about pupils and determine what counts as knowledge, undergo a fundamental change, suggests Keddie, then innovations in schools will not be of a very radical kind. Again, the importance of educators' concepts and categories, such as "ability" and "success", will be discussed in what follows. Gorbutt (1972) will also be seen to make similar claims for the "new" sociology of education. It is this "interpretive approach", which questions the assumptions of prevailing educational practice, which can "revitalise schools and colleges and possibly fulfil the promise of education for all" (Gorbutt, 1972, p10). This approach, therefore, lays great stress on the power of teachers to change the social relations of the classroom. This has, in turn, lead to criticisms, and some critics have labelled this approach the "blame the teacher" approach. This label appears to stem from a critical review of the "new direction" sociology of education by Simon (1974) in which she suggested that deficiencies were once attributed to the individual child in terms of I.Q., then to the shortcomings of family, or home. Now, suggests Simon, the "new" sociology points "an accusing finger" at the teacher as the prime instigator of discrimination in the classroom. The "new" sociology's solution, notes Simon, is a dose of the "new" sociological thinking which will radically clean up the internal organisation of the school.

It is about the power of the individual teacher to determine educational change around which both the "optimism" of the "new"

approaches and the criticisms of it have essentially revolved. It is to this problem, the new approaches and their criticisms, that the following chapters now turn.

6.2 THE "NEW" SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

During the 1970's then, as I have indicated in the 'Introduction', the sociology of education saw considerable theoretical upheaval. It was during the 1970's that the "new" sociology of education developed with a promise for the particular study of "classroom practice".

In commenting on an earlier draft of this chapter Roland Meighan suggested that I could more accurately talk about the "new" sociologies of education. Given the problematic nature of sociological theory, how many sociologies there are depends upon who is doing the counting, although for simplicity, and because these seem to be the terms within which the debate has hitherto been held, I continue to refer to the "old" and the "new" sociology of education. However I am grateful to Roland Meighan for this insight, and do not wish to suggest these categories are as homogenous and unitary as the labels may suggest. Indeed, the "new" sociology of education was itself linked with new developments in sociology, coming from the phenomenological, symbolic interactionist and ethnomethodological perspectives from the United States. Although these approaches have important differences, Bernstein (1974) notes important common features shared by all these "new" perspectives:

- a view of man as a creator of meaning
- an opposition to macro-functional sociology
- a focus upon the assumptions underlying social order, together with the treatment of social categories as themselves problematic
- a distrust of forms of quantification and the use of objective categories

- a focus upon the transmission and acquisition of "interpretative procedures" in social interaction

Essentially, these "new" perspectives share a view of man as a creator of meaning , as world producer rather than a social product; in short man is seen as an active rather than a passive agent and society is conceived of as being socially constructed , sustained and changed through the on-going interaction of men.

In the early days of the "new" sociology of education its proponents tended to over-emphasise these differences in theoretical approach and deliberately and strongly delineate the "new" from the "old". Banks (1974) has suggested the strength of this delineation may stem from the legitimation problems inevitably faced by any such new approach to an already well developed field. Karabel and Balsey (1976) suggest that the boldness of the delineation from conventional sociology of education was such as to present a challenge to that sociology which could not be ignored. Karabel and Halsey (1976) also note that the legitimation problems of the "new" approach, stemming in part from its base being outside universities in less prestigious institutions of education, was also partially solved by the attempt to "borrow" status from the new sociologies of ethnomethodology and phenomenology, and the sociology of knowledge, from which its insights had originally derived. In addition to these factors in an explanation of the radical presentation of the "new" sociology of education, Williamson (1974) suggests that, in the absence of any close relationships with political decision-makers, such as there were within the conventional sociology of education, there was no motivation to formulate the field in such a way that political or policy action could flow from it. The "new"

sociology of education, therefore, was able to concern itself with matters of sociological relevance. In short, the sociologists of the "new" directions defined their own problems and did not simply take educators' definitions of problems for granted. For the "old" sociology of education, as Gorbutt (1972) comments, the significant problems of the subject were identical to those which were taken to be the official problems of the day.

Given this background, then, it remains to elaborate the ways in which these "new" directions differed from the traditional approach within the sociology of education. Put simply, the primary concern within the "old" sociology of education was to establish and explain the differential performance of working class children as compared to middle-class children in educational institutions (Gorbutt, 1972). The main research objectives were to attempt to establish and explain the marked variations in the educational attainments of school pupils from such different social class, and ethnic, backgrounds (Flude, 1974). Virtually all British sociologists have been at least implicitly concerned with social class inequalities in schools and, traditionally, British sociology of education reflects a concern for such social class inequalities and the "wastage of talent" accompanying such unequal access to a highly selective educational system. Some, like Halsey, saw the primary source of inequality in school performance as the child's pre-school environment, while others sought solutions within the school and argued for the abolition of streaming, but virtually all were attempting to explain the failure of the working class child at school, i.e. the social determinants of educability.

The "new" sociology, however, focused on the following areas,

which may be usefully summarised under three headings:

a) The curriculum, or educational knowledge

In the context of an analysis of secondary education, this meant an examination of the education the working class child failed at, rather than an examination of the working class child, and that child's home and family background.

b) Educators' concepts

Concepts or categories such as "ability", "success", "failure", what it is to be "educated" and what is meant by "knowledge" were all taken for granted by the "old" sociology of education in its analysis of factors governing success at school.

c) Classroom Interaction

Classroom interaction, or the actual process by which rates of educational "success" or "failure" came to be produced in the classroom was largely ignored by the "old" sociology of education. This process was seen as more important than aspects of the child's home and family background and relates rather, to the relationships between teachers and taught.

In a comment on an earlier draft of this chapter I am grateful to Geoff Whitty for pointing out to me that the concerns of the two traditions were not as different as people sometimes claim. Both "old" and "new" sociologies were concerned with "working class failure" although they chose to focus on different aspects of that same concern despite, as Whitty put it to me, claims of the "new" sociology of education to the contrary. Whitty briefly argues this case in his Open University Units (Whitty 1977 (a)) although it is not his major point there.

These areas of concern or foci within the "new" sociology of

education are all interrelated. A rigid definition of what counts as knowledge in the curriculum would tend to be associated with both rigid criteria for the definition of "success" and "failure", and rigid hierarchial relations between teachers and taught. This relationship between teacher and taught and curriculum definition was explained by Young (1971) as follows:

"If knowledge is highly stratified there will be a clear distinction between what is taken to count as knowledge, and what is not, on the basis of which process of selection and exclusion for curricula will take place. It would follow that this type of curricula organisation presupposes and serves to legitimate a rigid hierarchy between teacher and taught, for if not, some access to control by the pupils would be implied and thus the processes of exclusion and selection would become open for modification and change."

(Young, M.F.D. 1971, pp 36)

It was M. F. D. Young (1971) who initially developed these key ideas which became the "new" sociology of education. Although the "new" sociology of education has been variously traced back to Bernstein's arrival at the London Institute of Education (Karabel and Halsey, 1976), to the emergence of new perspectives in sociology generally (Eggleston, 1974), to a new generation of sociologists responding to new intellectual movements in sociology and their political and personal contexts (Bernstein, 1974) and to the presently loose or non-existent relationships between sociologists and the political decision-makers in contrast to the relationships with such decision-makers enjoyed by early post-war sociologists (Williamson, 1974), it seems generally agreed that the new movement made its first major public appearance with Young's paper at the Annual Conference of the British Sociological Association in April 1970. Further to this, it was the publication of the reader "Knowledge and Control"

(Young, 1971) which heralded the beginning of the movement's rapid diffusion through colleges of education, polytechnics and eventually universities (Banks, 1974). The Open University's incorporation of the ideas into its early education courses is also recognised as making an important contribution to this process of rapid diffusion (Banks, 1974; Hurn, 1976).

In "Knowledge and Control" (Young (Ed), 1971) Young argued that public debates on education have shifted during the last fifteen or twenty years from concern with equality of opportunity, wastage of talent, and the organisation and selection of pupils to a concern for the curriculum. This recent focus on the curriculum has emerged for several reasons:

- 1) government pressure for more and better technologists and scientists in face of a "swing from science" towards the arts
- 2) the raising of the school leaving age giving students an extra year of curricular experience
- 3) comprehensive amalgamations leading to problems over what to teach to an unselected intake for previously grammar or selective schools
- 4) student demands for participation in the planning of their courses and their assessment.

Sociologists, Young argues, have remained silent during this debate over the curriculum for two major reasons. Firstly, the ideological and methodological assumptions generally made by traditional sociologists of education lead them to focus on the characteristics of those who fail, rather than looking at the education they fail at. Secondly the colleges of education and departments of education in which sociologists of education traditionally worked also contained curriculum and philosophy specialists who saw studies of the curriculum as their province. Sociologists therefore neglected the

curriculum in some sort of arbitrary division of labour with these other specialists in order to allow the expansion of a sociology of education unencumbered by "boundary disputes" with other disciplines. However, Young goes on to argue that it is very surprising that a sociology of knowledge, concerned with the influence of social conditions on the development of knowledge, should ignore education and the way in which knowledge is selected and organised in educational institutions. While the main Marxist tradition in the sociology of knowledge concentrated on philosophies, political theories and theologies in its study of knowledge, Young argues that a phenomenological sociology of knowledge, derived from Schutz, takes the sociology of knowledge beyond the Marxist focus. The phenomenological sociology of knowledge looks at the taken-for-granted world of everyday life and makes that the object of sociological enquiry. It would study the way in which the meanings of everyday life are "socially constructed".

"The school curriculum becomes just one of the mechanisms through which knowledge is socially distributed ... the question 'how do children learn mathematics?' presupposes answers to the prior question as to what is the social basis of the 'set of meanings that come to be typified under the term mathematics'?"

(Young, 1971, p 27)

At least one reason why the sociology of knowledge has contributed so little to the sociology of education, so far, has been because while "knowledge" has been studied, the process of knowledge transmission itself has not been studied as a social condition influencing the development of knowledge. Had the process of knowledge transmission been seen as an area of study, then the study of curricula would most certainly have emerged.

Young then proceeds to elaborate his approach to the sociological

study of the curricula. He suggests sociological questions about curricula would essentially ask about the way knowledge is selected and organised in curricula by those in positions of power. He begins with four assumptions relating to those in positions of power by suggesting they would attempt to define:

- a) what is to be taken as knowledge
- b) how accessible to different groups knowledge shall be
- c) what are acceptable relationships between different knowledge areas, and
- d) what are acceptable relationships between those who have access to, and make available, those different knowledge areas .

The way in which these definitions are made in educational institutions will be the focus of the "new" sociology of education. A key idea which helps to make sense of Young's approach is the "stratification of knowledge". It is through the idea of stratified knowledge that the relationship between the organisation of knowledge in curricula and the patterns of dominant values and power in society can be seen.

Basically Young argues that knowledge is differentiated into different areas (for example, subjects) and such knowledge in turn is organised into curricula for teaching or transmission purposes. However the differentiation of knowledge into different areas has led to the differential social evaluation of those different areas, with some groups claiming "their knowledge" to be superior or of a higher value in comparison to other areas of knowledge. The high value thus placed on some knowledge is institutionalised by the creation of formal educational institutions to "transmit" it to specially selected members

of the society. In other words, there is restricted access to certain kinds of knowledge, allowing those who do have access to legitimate their higher status in society. The institutional order of society, and knowledge, are thereby related by their parallel stratification and any moves to "destratify" knowledge (i.e. give equal value to different kinds of knowledge) or any moves to "restratify" knowledge (i.e. to use different criteria for evaluating what is higher status knowledge) will pose a threat to the existing power structure and will therefore be resisted.

High status knowledge is characterised by:

- 1) abstractness (knowledge is structured and compartmentalised independently of the learner)
- 2) individualism (the avoidance of group work or co-operativeness)
- 3) literacy (an emphasis on written as opposed to oral presentation), and
- 4) unrelatedness (the extent to which it is at odds with daily life and common experience).

By contrast low-status knowledge is organised for oral presentation, group activity and assessment, the concreteness of the knowledge involved and its relatedness to non-school knowledge.

"These characteristics can be seen as social definitions of educational value ... they persist .. not because knowledge is ... best made available according to the criteria they represent but because they are ... cultural choices which accord with the values and beliefs of dominant groups at a particular time. It is thus in terms of these choices that educational success and failure are defined."

(Young, 1971, p 38)

Young goes on to indicate that the re-evaluation of what is to count as high or low status knowledge would involve the "massive redistribution of the labels 'educational success' and 'failure' "

and thus to a parallel redistribution of rewards in terms of wealth, prestige and power.

Without changes in the patterns of domination in society, i.e. without changes in society's dominant groups, we would not expect to see changes in the curricular organisation of knowledge in terms of reduction of specialisation, increased integration or the widening of the criteria for the social evaluation of knowledge. Instead, without these changes, we would expect, suggests Young, to see curricular innovations of two sorts :

- 1) Those in which existing academic curricula are modified but in which no change in the existing social evaluation of knowledge occurs. The curricula reform would accept the aims and objectives of traditional curricula but attempt to achieve those same objectives more efficiently.

- 2) Those in which the social evaluations of knowledge might be disregarded, but which at the same time are restricted in their availability to the less able pupils. By such restriction to those who have already "failed" in terms of the academic definitions of knowledge, these courses mask the fact that educational success in terms of these courses would still be defined as "failure" along traditional lines.

Young's approach to the study of the curriculum, then, as socially organised, and stratified, knowledge elaborates the key issues within the "new" sociology of education: of the curriculum, and educators' concepts such as "success" and "failure".

It could be said that the "new" sociology of education sees the "management of knowledge" as its central problem with selection and

socialisation as only marginal concerns. Indeed Young (1971) suggested that the sociology of education was no longer an area of enquiry distinct from the sociology of knowledge.

Both the theoretical approach and substantive foci of the "new" sociology of education led also to methodological departures. While the methodology of the "old" sociology of education was broadly "positivistic", acquiring "objective" scientific knowledge about schooling, the proponents of the "new" sociology of education preferred participant observation as a methodology. The meanings of particular social events could not be taken for granted, and a break from the traditional research model was therefore needed. Indeed some of the sociologists of the "new" school argued that sociological accounts of schooling perhaps should do no more than record participants descriptions of their school experiences and explicate the assumptions that underlie these descriptions (Flude, 1974). Certainly, the "new" sociology of education could not generate the tidy quantitative data of the "old" school.

The "new" sociology of education was said to be especially relevant for practising teachers (Gorbutt, 1972) because of the challenge it makes to prevailing practices and their underlying assumptions. The "new" sociology of education was also very optimistic in its approach to the possibilities of educational change from within the classroom. Gorbutt (1972) argued that this "new" approach would "neutralise schools and colleges and possibly fulfil the promise of education for all".

Vulliamy's studies of school music illustrates the potential the proponents of the "new" sociology of education saw for its analysis of

classroom practice and educational change. In a case study of the music department of a comprehensive school, Vulliamy (1977) takes a sociology of knowledge perspective, derived from Young (1971) to examine what counts as music and musical ability in the school. Vulliamy found that there was an emphasis on musical literacy, the provision of information about music and the teaching of musical theory. All of these were emphasised at both 'A' and 'O' level and to a lesser extent at C.S.E. level. This emphasis made the discipline of music not unlike other academic disciplines with their emphasis on literacy, abstract theory and so on. As Vulliamy notes, therefore, school music was defined in accordance with the criteria normally associated with the definition of other areas of the academic curricula, i.e. literacy, abstractness, individualism and an unrelatedness to daily life and common experience, (Young, 1971). Definitions of music generally were stratified in such a way as to give "serious" or "classical" music a high status, and "pop" music a low status. Vulliamy reports observing a class in which the teacher played the pupils' "pop" records and then followed this with an attempt to treat the records in the same way as if they had been the "classical" records usually played. The ensuing discussion of the records indicated clearly that the "natural aesthetic response of the pupils clashed with the technical musical criteria of the teacher" (Vulliamy, 1977, p 214). The pupils were drawing on musical criteria rooted in the Afro-American tradition of music while the teacher's criteria stemmed from the European "serious" tradition. At this point Vulliamy appeals to Keddie's (1971) analysis of social studies teaching.

Keddie's study is reported in the "Knowledge and Control" reader

(Young (Ed) 1971) and forms part of the early and much influential literature of the "new" sociology of education within which Vulliamy is attempting to work. Keddie suggests that teachers will organise curriculum knowledge in the classroom, i.e. will present in the class differentiated curricula in terms of the selection of content and in pedagogy, in a way which is related to the perceived ability of their pupils. In short Keddie argues that what teachers "know" about their pupils determines what counts as knowledge in their classrooms. This can be illustrated here by two examples Keddie gives from her participant observation studies. She says:

"When A pupils do subjects it can be assumed by teachers that they do what, in terms of the subject, is held to be appropriate, and material is with regard to what is seen as the demands of the subject. In teaching C pupils modifications must be made with regard to the pupil, and it is as though the subject (social studies) is scanned for, or reduced to, residual 'human elements' or a 'series of stories'."

(Keddie, 1971, p 148)

Keddie also relates the following teacher's comments which further reveal the way in which the teacher's knowledge of the pupil affects his definition of what counts as knowledge in the classroom:

"I asked (a) teacher whether any pupil had asked in class ... 'why should we do social science?' and had had the reply:

TEACHER: No, but if I were asked by Cs it would be the same question as 'why do anything? why work?'

OBSERVER: What if you were asked by an A group?

TEACHER: Then I'd probably try to answer."

(Keddie, 1971, p 140)

The pupils' questions and comments are seen to have different meanings depending upon the perceived ability of the pupil. Thus

similar questions asked by 'A' and 'C' stream pupils are categorised in very different ways by the teacher.

Keddie elaborates this point by suggesting that it is the willingness of the 'A' pupils to take over the teachers' definition of the situation which leads the teacher to see the pupils as able pupils. 'A' pupils take over teachers' definitions on trust and therefore will accept, much quicker, social science as a new 'subject' within their course. 'C' pupils, however, continued to refer to the material on socialisation in terms of subjects they already knew, like geography or biology and would question the validity of what they saw as an unjustifiable change of content. Keddie makes the point, however, that 'A' pupils were generally not able to explain the rationale of the socialisation theme as teachers had explained it to them, even though they had accepted that the study could be legitimated and were prepared to operate within the "finite reality" of the subject as the teacher had established it.

Thus those pupils who are willing to rely on teachers' authority, and are able to put aside what they "know" to be the case in an everyday context, are more likely to be defined as of high ability and as being more educable. It appears therefore, that it is the failure of high-ability pupils to question what they are taught in schools that contributes in a large measure, says Keddie, to their educational achievement.

Vulliamy (1977) makes the same point in regard to school music - "for pupils to succeed in class music they must be prepared to take over the teacher categories of 'good' music" (Vulliamy, 1977 p 218). Vulliamy concludes that problems the school music teachers may have, therefore, in teaching music might be better explained in terms of the

teachers' definitions of music rather than of the supposed deficiencies of pupils.

The "new" sociology of education, as exemplified here in the works of Young (1971), Keddie (1971) and Vulliamy (1977), clearly operates with a phenomenological conception of knowledge. This entails a rejection of traditional "positivist" or "objectivist" epistemologies. Esland (1971) described the "objectivistic view of knowledge" as one which assumes that zones of knowledge are objects which can be considered to have meaning other than in the minds of the individuals in which they are constituted. This leads to "bodies of knowledge" being presented to children to learn and reproduce according to specified objective criteria. This view of knowledge, suggests Esland (1971), is how knowledge is generally conceived in everyday experience where the taken-for-granted nature of the world is rarely questioned.

It was Vulliamy's espousal of an alternative relativistic epistemological stance, taken from phenomenology, which lead him to suggest that the teacher and taught should "do sociology together" (Vulliamy, 1973) in his discussions of sociology teaching. Vulliamy suggested that no sociological explanation could claim to be the "objective" account of the social world. Any sociological account remains simply one particular interpretation of the world. Vulliamy suggested, therefore, that instead of presenting sociological "facts" to students, teachers should "co-operate with students in the process of 'doing' sociology" (Vulliamy, 1973, p 528).

However, Vulliamy (1977) in later writing revised his epistemological stance and acknowledged that while the problem of relativity

might obtain for other "science" subjects, for his study of music, the relativising of aesthetic judgements was surely unproblematic inasmuch as it is accepted that there can be no "absolute" values placed on different sorts of music. Indeed Vulliamy (1978) criticises the extreme relativism of Young's (1971) application of the sociology of knowledge perspective to educational knowledge suggesting that sociologists must develop "alternative truth criteria" for alternative knowledge structures or views of knowledge. Until this is done, Vulliamy argued, philosophers could continue to argue that high status knowledge is as it is because it is simply better.

Clearly there are many "epistemological issues" raised by these comments. I expand upon these below in so far as I outline alternative views of the curriculum (Eggleston (1977) and Young (1975)). I deliberately do not address these issues more fully here as I do not consider them to be fully appropriate within the confines of the problem I am attempting to address. As Whitty (1977(a)) has argued, while such questions are by no means unimportant, there are other important questions more conventionally belonging to the sociologist. It is those I am addressing in this thesis.

Eggleston (1977) referred to the ideological significance of the two conceptions of knowledge, in his description of what he terms the "received" and "reflexive" perspectives on the curriculum. For Eggleston, the received perspective was one in which curriculum knowledge was accepted as a received body of knowledge or understanding which is "given" and is predominantly non-negotiable. The "reflexive" perspective, in contrast, sees curriculum knowledge like all other knowledge, as not being of a permanent "out there" nature but rather

as relative and subjective. These ideas are similar to Young's (1975) characterisation of two alternative views of the curriculum, which Young terms "curriculum as fact" and "curriculum as practice". The "curriculum as fact" or "commodity-view of knowledge", as Young (1975) explains it, is external to the knower and there to be mastered. The "curriculum as practice" Young suggests is similar to Greene's (1971) phenomenological view of the curriculum as "a possibility for the learner as an existing person mainly concerned with making sense of his own life-world". It is this latter perspective on curriculum knowledge which lies at the heart of the "new" sociology of education and its approach to curricula knowledge. It is this perspective which makes possible the questioning of "what counts as knowledge in the school curriculum?". It also appears to make possible a pedagogy of the kind advocated by Freire (1972) and allows for much optimism in terms of the potential for radical educational change from within the classroom.

6.3 THE 'NEW' SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION AND THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY

The implications of the "new" sociology of education for the teaching of sociology and social studies have been referred to in the context of the previous discussions but it may be appropriate here to briefly review those implications. It has been Vulliamy's (1973) suggestion that "teachers and taught should 'do sociology' together", which has served as the exemplar of "new" approaches to teaching sociology.

It is, says Vulliamy (1973), the phenomenological critique of conventional sociology which suggests alternative ways of teaching sociology. While many teachers of social studies may use the results of sociological investigations to teach students some of the sociological

"facts" about the society in which they live, the relativisation of the status of such sociological investigations by phenomenology (Circourel, (1964); Douglas (1967);) suggests an alternative. It allows a teacher to engage in "doing" sociology with his students, to make an attempt to interpret the sociological assumptions which both teachers and taught are continually making during everyday discussion and interaction. Vulliamy (1973) argues that one of the aims of sociology teaching ought to be to encourage the students to examine sociologically some of the taken-for-granted categories they may take for granted. This is to elaborate further points I first raised in Chapter One and my initial discussions of the aims and objects of sociology teaching. The eventual aim of sociology teaching, for Vulliamy, is to make students think critically about their everyday assumptions and, at the same time, about the assumptions their teachers are also continually making. Vulliamy's approach to "doing sociology", therefore, is a self-critical phenomenological exercise, optimistic of its power to allow students to transcend the experienced realities of their own particular situations. It is only when teachers have developed such a questioning attitude in their students that the students will become aware of the possibilities of actually shaping their world, argues Vulliamy, as opposed to being shaped by it. When students, in this way, can place their commonly held assumptions into a sociological context, alternatives to the status quo become possible.

Vulliamy compares the traditional approach of teaching sociological "facts" to Freire's (1972) idea of the "banking" conception of education and his "new" approach to Freire's "education as a practice of freedom".

Some of the issues raised here were also addressed by the Joint Matriculation Board and University of Birmingham Project for Advanced

Level Syllabuses and Examinations (J.P.A.L.S.E.), in particular by the Study Group associated with this Project preparing a scheme for an "Integrated Social Science" Advanced Level course. The proposals of this Study Group went some way towards operationalising the imperative that students and teachers should "do sociology" together and contrast with the present advanced level schemes in sociology available from most examination boards.

The course design as described by Meighan (1976) advocated three linked features, as follows:

- 1) a student-centred approach
- 2) the use of practical experiences
- 3) a network approach to content.

Meighan (1976) contrasts these with the present practice in social science teaching at "A" level, which he identified as consisting of the following characteristics:

- 1) teacher centred
- 2) based on third or fourth hand experience
(often codified in text books)
- 3) a linear, hierarchical or concentric approach to content.

A student-centred approach, Meighan (1976) suggests, would involve students' participation in the planning, execution and assessment of the learning experience, a co-operative or syndicate teaching method, where students learn from each other and from materials structured by the teacher, with teachers as guides and consultants during the learning process, and a "participative teaching method" based on direct observations, direct "involvement experiences" and simulations (see, for example, Fielding and Anderson (1979)).

The use of practical experiences, or "learning by doing", involved the structured use of three kinds of educational experience:

"(a) First-hand experience

Here the student is conceived as 'doing' social science. Whenever possible he will be involved in the analysis of social groups as a participant member

(b) Second-hand experience

The criterion for second-hand experience is that the students study data gathered by and concepts formulated by others

(c) Third-hand experience

The criterion for third-hand experience is that students study the analysis of data or the representation of problems made by commentators (books, films, seminars, tutorials, formal lectures, articles)."

(Meighan, 1976, p 128)

Meighan (1976) suggests the "network approach to content" stems from a need for a less rigid, "absolutist" view of knowledge, such as is represented in existing syllabuses. While such an absolutist view of knowledge effectively ensures a teacher-centred or "instructional" approach to teaching and learning, the more relativist "networked" theory of knowledge allows more decision making by students and allows an approach to teaching and learning which utilises first-hand experience. There was an attempt made by the study group to clarify the main characteristics of a "network approach to content" as follows:

" (a) the content is seen essentially as a network of interacting, overlapping features, and, thus, is not a linear, concentric, cyclical or hierarchical syllabus.

(b) It follows that a course should start anywhere in a network.

(c) Each item raises questions about some of the others and any of these may be the next item for investigation.

(d) Items may also be reinvestigated after a study of related topics.

(e) Members of a course could individualise their way through this network, or be group taught, or a combination of both."

(Meighan, 1975, p 129)

Meighan (1976) concludes a report on the ideas of the study group commenting that the course became known to the members of the group as a "do-it-yourself" enterprise, and this reflects, he comments, some of the ideas of Postman and Weingartner (1969) of the need for students to become "meaning makers".

The Sociology Workshop experiments at the University of Keele, begun in 1973, are one example in higher education of an attempt to introduce radically different forms of teaching and learning. The workshop idea emerged from criticisms of a new curriculum introduced at Keele in 1969. This comprised of a compulsory "theory and methods" element and a choice of "options". The focus of these criticisms was with the lecture/tutorial system of the compulsory element and the way in which this seemed to contradict the aims of the course which concentrated more on the ideas and techniques, demonstrated by an analysis of various empirical works, rather than on their empirical content. The workshop system which emerged as a result of these criticisms involved two major changes:

"(1) The opening up of the curriculum to student choice to such an extent that it is virtually possible for the student to tailor his career in the department to match his pre-existing or developing interests,

(2) The substitution for "being taught" for working out in groups the solutions to sociological problems the students play some part in defining."

(Bellaby, 1975, p 8)

These changes, in short, gave more autonomy to students in deciding which aspects of sociology they wanted to study in depth. The only constraint on choice was that students were required to take a balance of theory-focused workshops, such as Marxism or functionalism, and data-focused workshops like deviance (Simons, 1975). These changes in the organisation of teaching and learning at Keele, although apparently with no overt reference to the insights of the "new" sociology of education, none-the-less addressed some of the problematic issues raised by those insights, such as the differing conceptions of knowledge and the relations between teacher and taught. Simons (1975) for example, claimed that shifting the emphasis for learning on to the group challenged some widely held assumptions about teaching and learning. It questioned not only the authority of "knowledge" but also the procedural authority customarily attributed to the tutor. Simons records that several students spoke of deep-seated and widely-shared assumptions about authority in the teaching-learning process and that these assumptions invariably gave authority to the teacher.

Vulliamy (1973), Meighan (1976) and Bellaby (1975), and Simons (1975) all indicate something of the directions in which the "new" sociology might move approaches to sociology teaching. The next chapter explores the concept of hidden curriculum and the critiques made of the "new" sociology of education and the implications these have, in turn, for the teaching of sociology.

CHAPTER 7

THE IDEA OF A HIDDEN CURRICULUM

This chapter will begin to look at the notion of a hidden curriculum and all that idea has come to mean in the sociological study of education. It is a vague and imprecise concept, described by Meighan (1977) as one of de Bono's (1972) "porridge words", whose versatility in analysis stems from this vague imprecision in definition. The chapter indicates the alternative conceptualisations of the concept and the place these have found in recent sociological analyses of education. The chapter will initially outline what I refer to as the more "conservative" notion of the hidden curriculum's relation to examinations and assessments. I then expand upon the idea of hidden curriculum with reference to the broader messages conveyed to pupils by their schooling, paying particular attention to the differential strengths of the messages conveyed by the content and the structure of schooling and conclude with reference to Hargreaves (1978 (a)) notions of a "third curriculum" which is the hidden curriculum of the official curriculum. The notion of hidden curriculum becomes important within this research in the possibilities it offers of macro-micro theoretical linkages in the analyses of student perspectives.. - the problem I address more specifically in the chapter which follows.

Meighan (1973) suggests that at its simplest the idea of a hidden curriculum refers to the variety of unintended consequences of the ways in which teachers organize learning for their students. Hargreaves (1978 (a)) suggested that the idea of a hidden curriculum refers to the notion that teachers teach, and pupils learn, far more than what appears on the official curriculum. Traditionally, suggests Hargreaves (1978 (a)) the hidden curriculum has been defined contrastively - as everything that is taught in schools which is not part of the official curriculum. Henry (1963) argues that it is

through the hidden curriculum that the most basic and powerful cultural lessons of Western Society are taught. The hidden curriculum, therefore, for Henry (1963), produces "good" citizens who can fit into the society having learnt all their cultural lessons effectively. Henry (1963) likens the hidden curriculum to a communications system, such as a telephone or radio, with the hidden curriculum being the unnoticed "noise" that comes along with the spoken message, the formal curriculum. Silberman (1971) suggests the hidden curriculum consists of a set of rules, routines and procedures designed to mould individual behaviour to the requirements of insitutional living. Apple (1979) also suggests there is a tacit teaching to students of norms, values and dispositions that goes on simply by their living in and having to cope with the institutional expectations and routines of school, "day in and day out", for a number of years. Although the demands of the hidden curriculum may contradict each other, students have, in fact, little choice but to find ways of conforming to institutional expectations. These expectations, suggests Silberman (1971) further, are generally presented as "moral imperatives" rather than simply as functional procedures which may be disregarded when of no further use. Jackson (1971) describes the school environment in which "delay, denial and interruption" are inevitable consequences of the problems of institutional living in schools and the need to manage the "social traffic" of the classroom. Essentially Jackson makes the point that much of a student's time is spent waiting, either for dinner, for the teacher, for the slower students or for the end of the lesson. Similarly, Jackson suggests that part of learning how to live in schools involves learning how to give up desire as well as waiting for its

fulfilment. Not everyone who wants to speak can be heard and not all students' questions can be answered satisfactorily, nor, suggests Jackson (1971), can all students' requests be granted. "Interruption" is a more obvious feature of classroom life and students' attention during lessons is constantly interrupted, by the teacher or by other students. Jackson goes on to ask about the strategies students develop to adapt to these features of school life and the way these strategies may complement or contradict the process of learning. Jackson (1971) summarises these issues by suggesting there are two curricula in every school and every classroom. There is the official curriculum which might have at its core the three R's, writing, reading and arithmetic, and there is the "unofficial or perhaps even hidden" curriculum. Jackson represents this latter curriculum by three R's also, but the three R's this time, of rules, regulations and routines. Jackson continues with the observation that the reward system of the school is actually tied to both curricula, if not more closely related, in fact, to mastery of the hidden curriculum - conformity to institutional expectations can lead to praise while lack of it can lead to trouble. Students are expected to be intellectually curious and aggressive yet at the same time passive and conforming.

Pollard (1980) makes the point that teachers usually attempt to set up routines, procedures and standards which are then offered as "the way to do things". This attempt to impose routines stems from the threats to the teacher's interests from so large a number of children and it is the "hidden curriculum of routine" which the teacher uses as a primary means of defence against this pressure of numbers. Denscombe (1980) similarly suggests that the hidden curriculum of the

classroom stems from the isolation and autonomy of the teacher in the "closed classroom".

Mardle and Walker (1980) note that the idea that within educational settings there is some form of hidden message or curriculum, by which one learns what is acceptable behaviour and what is not, what leads to rewards and what to sanctions, is not new. They suggest that this idea is well documented from primary schools (Nash, 1973; Barnes et al., 1969) to secondary school (Werthman, 1971; Willis, 1977) to university lecture room (Hughes, Becker and Geer, 1958; Miller and Parlett, 1976). The connecting thread between all these works is the notion that what is really learned in institutional education is the necessity for individual or collective identification of 'what is wanted' and how to supply it, or not, suggest Mardle and Walker (1980). However, this is the simplest notion of the hidden curriculum, the notion which is essentially related to the messages associated with the means students find they must use in order to gain high grades and other academic awards. Snyder (1971) developed this notion of the hidden curriculum. He suggested that the formal, or 'visible', curriculum is 'translated' by the students into discrete and manageable tasks to be mastered. The syllabus of the hidden curriculum therefore becomes the tasks which students needed to complete in order to get the highest possible grades with the least possible effort. Snyder notes students initially get to grips in practical terms with the formal curriculum - their option schemes, the rules with regard to essay writing and "handing-in" dates, and so on. The next stage is to narrow down their focus onto the actual tasks which will form the basis of assessment - the essays to be written, the examinations to be

sat, the "coverage" of the syllabus which might be needed, the books, or chapters to be read for class, and so on. It is at this stage that the students will initially experience the dissonance between the "formal" curriculum and the hidden curriculum, with its "latent, covert tasks inferred as the basis for reward in that particular setting", (Snyder, 1971). Students will "translate" the understanding of physics, English or sociology into mastery of a set of tasks which may have "very little to do with learning or even with real knowledge". The central task of the hidden curriculum has become the learning of which patterns of behaviour are "tribally or institutionally" sanctioned. The "tribal" sanctioning here refers to the potentially significant role of student culture in the articulation, development and maintenance of certain aspects of the hidden curriculum. In summary, for Snyder, the "hidden curriculum" was unassessable aspects of the formal curriculum.

Becker (1968) implicitly employed something of this notion of hidden curriculum (although he did not articulate it as such) in his study of medical students. His main focus was on the role of student culture as a mode of accommodation to what students found was expected of them at medical school. While it was student culture which provided the social rapport that allowed or facilitated a re-assessment of faculty statement or demands, it was some notion of Snyder's hidden curriculum which provided the rationale behind the restrictions of level and direction of effort (albeit in the case of Becker's medical students the constraint of examinations was coupled with the perceived requirements of medical practice).

A notion of hidden curriculum similar to that of Snyder's was

used by Miller and Parlett, (1974), in their study of the examination system. A question prompted by both Snyder's and Becker's study - differential learner recognition of the hidden curriculum - was the issue addressed by Miller and Parlett. Students were found to be differentially "deaf" or conscious of examination "cues" given by their teachers. "Cue-conscious" students, or their more active colleagues the "cue-seekers", explicitly "played the exam. game" or "worked the system". Such notions, as these latter ones, recognise the existence of a hidden curriculum and suggests that some students are aware of it, while others may not be - some "work the system", others just work hard. Miller and Parlett (1974) suggested that different types of students, while sharing the same visible or formal curriculum, could have varying hidden curricula. Moreover, they go on to suggest, these different hidden curricula can be associated with disparate amounts of success in examination terms. With reference to differential learner recognition of the hidden curriculum Hargreaves (1978 (a)) suggests that many pupils do not protest overtly and explicitly against the hidden curriculum, and that it is precisely because of this that the messages of the hidden curriculum are successfully communicated as long as it remains hidden. The hidden curriculum, suggests Hargreaves, (1978 (a)) will only be suggestfully communicated as long as it remains hidden.

This notion of the hidden curriculum , then, essentially reinforces the idea of a relationship between assessment procedures and examinations and the pupils' strategies for coping with these constraints.

Sheldrake and Berry (1975) used the concept of hidden curriculum in two case studies of "broadening" courses into otherwise vocational subjects, i.e. a behavioural sciences course into medicine and other general "background" courses into engineering. For Sheldrake and Berry

(1975) the concept of hidden curriculum expresses the idea that there is not just a formal curriculum but also one which is not shaped by time-tabling but by the practical necessities of completing the demanded work, or successfully passing examinations and of making life in colleges tolerable. Sheldrake and Berry (1975) develop Snyder's (1969) notion of the hidden curriculum and focus on its relationship to the immediate problems the students face. They go beyond these problems of grades and examinations, however, to look at the expectations, ideals and longer term perspectives of the students, and the students' relationship with the wider university environment and the academic staff. Thus, for Sheldrake and Berry (1975) the concept of hidden curriculum, as implicitly used by Becker (1961, 1968) and developed by Snyder (1969), was too delimited in focus and seemed to preclude analysis of staff-student interaction and related factors which included the wider university environment, the students' family and the wider community.

Hargreaves (1978 (a)) recognises Holt (1964) as being among the first to detect the pervasive power of the hidden curriculum. Holt argued that the hidden curriculum rested on fear - fear of failure, embarrassment, loss of status, disapproval and punishment. For Holt, the hidden curriculum was "anti-educational", essentially destructive of the official curriculum and productive of "bad" pupils. The hidden curriculum was anti-educational in this way inasmuch as it undermined the objectives of the official curriculum by leading pupils to concentrate on acquiring survival skills relating to pleasing the teacher and satisfying his demands. In this sense, Holt's (1964) hidden curriculum, too, is similar to that of Snyder's (1969) and Becker's (1968). The hidden curriculum of Holt is a hidden

curriculum of fear of failure inasmuch as the pupils' motivations for pleasing teacher were based on fear. Pupils, reports Holt (1964) were "afraid of failing, afraid of being kept back, afraid of being called stupid, afraid of feeling themselves stupid". Holt saw these fears as almost wholly bad, and destructive of pupils' intelligence and capacity.

Hargreaves (1978 (a)) refers to the "grievous error" he made in his earlier work on the social relations of a secondary school (Hargreaves, 1967). In naming the rebellious pupils as the "delinquent sub-culture" he now believes he encouraged the idea that such pupils represented a distinct and deviant minority for whom special causal explanations and special curative measures should be sought. In the light of the work on the idea of a hidden curriculum Hargreaves (1978 (a)) revised his ideas and came to interpret the "delinquent sub-culture" rather as a protest against the hidden curriculum on behalf of a much wider population of working class people. The protest, therefore, of the "delinquent sub-culture" was only incidentally against the formal curriculum, and mainly against the hidden curriculum. For Hargreaves (1978 (a)), Willis's (1977) study of working class boys represents a similar illustration of the protests against the hidden curriculum. These boys reacted to the hidden curriculum of their schooling by inverting the mental-manual distinction of schools, by which they were found wanting, and affirming themselves through masculinity and manual labour. One unintended consequence of schooling illustrated there, therefore, was the strengthening of the boys' sexist attitudes.

The idea of a hidden curriculum , therefore, has much more power

in analysis than simply highlighting the messages as to what is, and what is not, examinable. It clearly can, and does, carry many other messages too, with a great deal more potency for a radical analysis of education than this more conservative notion would suggest. Indeed the criticisms of "schooling" and the ideas of the "de-schoolers" at root hinge on an idea of the hidden curriculum of contemporary schools. While the official curriculum is "education" the wider consequences of the hidden curriculum are "schooling" and all that terms has come to convey.

Some of the broader messages of the hidden curriculum are listed by Lister (1972) as follows:

- "1) Schooling and education are the same thing,
- 2) Education ends when schooling ends,
- 3) Learning is the result of teaching,
- 4) Learning is the mastery of the curriculum.
The curriculum is a commodity,
- 5) Knowledge is divided into packages (subjects/
topics),
- 6) Learning is linear - knowledge comes in sequential
curricula and graded exercises,
- 7) Specialist knowledge is the kind which is
most highly esteemed,
- 8) Economically esteemed knowledge is the
result of professional teaching ..."

(Lister, 1972, p 93)

Postman and Weingartner (1969) similarly present a list of messages communicated by the structure of the classroom itself - messages not listed among the official aims of teachers:

- 1) Passive acceptance is a more desirable response to ideas than active criticism,

- 2) Discovering knowledge is beyond the power of students and is, in any case, none of their business,
- 3) Recall is the highest form of intellectual achievement, and the collection of unrelated 'facts' is the goal of education,
- 4) The voice of authority is to be trusted and valued more than independent judgement,
- 5) One's own ideas and those of one's classmates are inconsequential,
- 6) Feelings are irrelevant in education,
- 7) There is always a single, unambiguous Right Answer to a question ... "

(Postman and Weingartner, 1969)

Postman and Weingartner go on to posit, albeit light-heartedly termed, a "vaccination theory of education" which they suggest is similarly communicated by the structure of schooling. This theory suggests that a subject is something you take, and when you have taken it, you have had it, and if you have had it, you are immune and need not take it again.

Eggleston (1977) drawing on Jackson (1968) also lists seven items he considers to be central to the notion of a hidden curriculum as follows:

- " 1) Learning to 'live in crowds', involving the postponement of even the denial of personal desires ...
- 2) Learning to use or lose time, tolerating boredom and passivity as an inevitable component of being in the classroom ...
- 3) Learning to accept assessment by others, not only by teachers but also by fellow pupils, ...
- 4) Learning how to compete to please both teachers and fellow students in order to obtain their praise, reward and esteem by appropriate behaviour...

- 5) Learning how to live in a hierarchical society and to be differentiated in the process, ... developing a capacity to live with and to tolerate social differentiation is a widely evident consequence of the hidden curriculum...
- 6) Learning ways, with one's fellow students, to control the speed and progress of what teacher presents in the official curriculum, ... and ...
- 7) The learning of shared meanings with the aid of an established shorthand or restricted code of language ... allowing teachers and students to affirm to each other that they know and understand the procedures in which they are both involved .."

(Eggleston, 1977, pp 111-112)

Illich (1971) suggested that we must focus on the hidden curriculum of schooling if we are to understand what it means to "de-school" society. By doing this we can call attention to the fact that the ceremonial or ritual of schooling itself constitutes such a hidden curriculum.

At least one aspect of Illich's hidden curriculum is similar to Snyder's more conservative conception and that relates to Illich's "myth of measurement of values". Illich suggests that schools initiate young people into a world where everything can be measured. People who have been thus "schooled down to size", Illich suggests, will let "unmeasured experience slip out of their hands". Illich's suggestion here that this particular aspect of the hidden curriculum will in fact serve to inform the pupils' world-view - a world where everything can be measured - is clearly an advance on Snyder and furnishes a much more radical insight. In summary, for Illich the hidden curriculum refers essentially to "the structure of schooling as opposed to what happens in school". Woods and Hammersley (1977) make the same point; that the hidden curriculum must refer to what is learned

by pupils from the structure rather than by the content of interaction.

The notion that the hidden curriculum is somehow communicated through the "structure" of schooling or the classroom perhaps needs more attention: Postman and Weingartner suggest that the message is communicated through:

"the role of the teacher, the role of the student, the rules of their verbal game, the rights that are assigned, the arrangements made for communication, the 'doings' that are praised or censured ..."

Bowles and Gintis (1976) suggest that the structure of social relations in education not only accustom students to the discipline of the work place, but also develops the types of personal demeanor, modes of self-presentation and self-image, and social class identifications which they say are crucial ingredients of job adequacy. In short and more specifically, say Bowles and Gintis (1976), the social relationships of education replicate the hierarchical division of labour. Alienated labour for example, suggest Bowles and Gintis (1976), is reflected in the student's lack of control over his or her education. Bowles and Gintis (1976), go further than this in suggesting that the different levels of education feed people into different levels within the occupational structure and, correspondingly, exhibit internal organisation similar to the different levels in the hierarchical division of labour. For example, say Bowles and Gintis (1976) lower levels in education limit and channel the activities of their students while lower levels in the production hierarchy emphasise rule-following. Higher levels in education, too, emphasize social relationships conformable with the higher levels of the production hierarchy, such as the capacity to work without supervision, and the desirability of internalising the norms of the enterprise. Even within a single school,

suggest Bowles and Gintis (1976), the social relationships of different "tracks" tend to conform to different behavioural norms. Students, then, either master one type of behavioural regulation and are channelled into the corresponding level in the hierarchy of production, or are allowed to progress to the next and higher level. Bowles and Gintis (1976) call this the "Correspondence Principle", and suggest that higher education, no less than schooling, has taken its place in the process by which the class structure of advanced capitalism is reproduced. The notion of hidden curriculum, therefore, has several referents. In addition to the principle of "selective negligence", there is also a much broader list of messages conveyed by the structure, and the social relations, of schooling. Some of these messages were common to all pupils, others, as illustrated by Bowles and Gintis, had a differential impact dependent upon social class. Other aspects of the hidden curriculum, not discussed here, may have differential impact dependent upon gender or other characteristics (for example, Davies, 1973; Meighan and Doherty, 1975; Davies and Meighan, 1975). The previous discussion also highlighted how certain aspects of the hidden curriculum may be differentially recognized by students, for example the differences between the "cue-deaf" and the "cue-seekers" in the studies of higher education, (Miller and Parlett, 1976). Hargreaves (1978 (a)) has contributed to the identification of yet another aspect of the hidden curriculum. He refers to the "first curriculum", or the formal and official curriculum, the "second curriculum" which we might call the hidden curriculum, however that notion is understood, and yet a "third curriculum" which he describes as the hidden curriculum of the official curriculum. In making such a distinction Hargreaves draws attention to the two alternative conceptualisations of the notion of hidden curriculum

available. The hidden curriculum of the structure of schooling, i.e. the messages and unintended consequences of the social relations of schooling, and the hidden curriculum of the official curriculum or the "content" of schooling. Apple (1979) also claims that not only do the forms of interaction in school life serve as mechanisms for communicating "normative and dispositional meanings to students" (Apple, 1979, p 58), as Bowles and Gintis (1976) seem to claim, but that also the body of school knowledge itself - what is included and what is excluded, what is regarded as important and what is regarded as unimportant - also serves an ideological purpose. Apple therefore indicates the way in which both "socialisation" and, what he calls, the "formal corpus of school knowledge", are two forms of reproduction which link the relations of schools to the unequal economic structure. I indicate later the way in which Apple examines social studies as one particular aspect of the "formal corpus of school knowledge" in order to investigate the way in which what goes on within the "blackbox" of schooling can create the outcomes economic reproduction theorists, such as Bowles and Gintis, have described.

Apple's (1979) ideas in this respect seem to be returning us to, or better, providing of linkages with, the foci the "new" sociology of education. However, although he claims that differential distribution of classroom knowledge may function in this way, as described by Keddie (1971), he suggests this is less important than what he calls the "deep structure" of school experience. By "deep structure" Apple (1979) means the negotiation and transmission of underlying meanings which are "behind the actual formal 'stuff' of curriculum content" (Apple, 1979, p 50). Apple refers to this as the

"curriculum in use". He believes it is the "deep structure" of schooling which continually sustains and mediates social norms, institutions and ideological rules by the day-to-day interaction of actors as they go about their normal business:

"The deep structure of school life, the basic and organizing framework of commonsense rules that is negotiated, internalised and ultimately seems to give meaning to our experience in educational institutions seems closely linked to the normative, and communicative structures of industrial life. How could it be otherwise?"

(Apple, 1979, p 58)

For Apple (1979) then the concept of hidden curriculum can refer both to the "deep structures" of schooling or to the hidden messages of the overt curriculum. Hargreaves (1978 (a)) refers to the potential range of the concept as stretching from an application to the minutiae of classroom events taken in relative isolation to the fundamental nature and structure of Western Society as a whole.

Hargreaves (1978 (a)) suggests that the rhetoric of widening opportunities, as a result of the proliferation of public examinations for 16 year olds in the last decade, has masked four crucial aspects of the hidden curriculum of the formal curriculum. Firstly, the grammar school curriculum continued to hold its central, dominant position in curriculum matters within comprehensive schooling. This meant that affective-emotional, aesthetic-artistic, physical-manual, and personal-social knowledge and skills were assigned residual positions as optional low-status subjects. The hidden curriculum message of this was clearly that intellectual-cognitive knowledge and skills were the ones which really counted. Secondly, the growth of formal public examinations resulted in only those subjects, or aspects of subjects, which were

readily assessable being included in examined curricula. The hidden curriculum message being that only that which is readily measured, especially in a written form, is to be treated as valuable. Thirdly, vocational education became ignored and fourthly, suggests Hargreaves (1978), the everyday experience of young people was systematically excluded from the curriculum. Further to this, comprehensive schools took great public pride in the working class pupils who passed through the sixth form and by doing so purvey the important hidden curriculum message that there is something wrong with being, and certainly with ending up as being, working class. For Hargreaves (1978) the teachers' daily exhortations to work hard for the benefit it will bring further reinforces this message. The discussions, in the following chapter, of the ideological potential of school sociology (Reeves, 1975) within the context of a wider discussion of the implications for sociology teaching of the concept of hidden curriculum, further illustrates this idea of a "hidden curriculum of the formal curriculum".

This chapter, then, has indicated something of the nature of the idea of a hidden curriculum and the alternative conceptualisations of that idea which have been used in sociological analyses of education. The chapter initially outlined the more "conservative" notion of the hidden curriculum's relation to examinations and assessment, then expounded the broader understanding of the notion of hidden curriculum by listing some of the messages schooling may convey to pupils. The differential focus upon the messages conveyed by either the content or the structure of schooling was discussed and it is these ideas which the next chapter takes up in looking for linkages between macro and micro analyses of education and the possibilities or limits of educational change being initiated from within the classroom.

CHAPTER 8

8.1 INTRODUCTION

8.2 MACRO-MICRO LINKAGES AND
EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

8.3 SOCIOLOGY TEACHING AND THE
HIDDEN CURRICULUM

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter inspects some of the criticisms of the "new" sociology of education, and the opportunities the concept of hidden curriculum offers for establishing linkages between macro and micro approaches to the study of education. As I indicated in Chapter Six, other attempts to forge such a linkage have been made, most recently and most notably those using the concept of "strategy" as a linking device ((Woods (Ed) (1980 (a)); (Woods (Ed) 1980 (b)); Hargreaves (A., 1978)). Woods (1980 (c)) claims that both recent school-based interactionist work and "structural", neo-Marxist, work have both come to consider school "strategies". Hargreaves (A., 1979) defined "strategies" in this sense to be:

"constructed responses to institutionally mediated constraints (within) a framework predicated on the tacitly accepted understanding of the teacher's dominance".

(in Woods, (1980 (c)), p 11)

The concept of strategy, therefore, is seen to link "structural" and "interactionist" concerns inasmuch as they are seen to be "answers to problems generated by constraints which are inextricably bound up with wider society" (Woods, (1980 (d))p 9). Elsewhere again, Woods (1980 (e)) considers in more detail aspects of the concept of "strategy" illustrating its essential origin within interactionist theory. It seems to me that the attempts at macro-micro linkage utilising the concept of "strategy" might be more accurately categorised as "analytic" rather than "possibilitarian", as I have previously defined those terms. These attempts would therefore feature predominantly along the second "analytic" macro-micro linkage line (Y) which appeared in Figure 6.1 "Alternative Stances within the Sociology of Education : A Diagrammatic Representation" as presented in Chapter Six. It seems

to me, and Hargreaves (1980) makes a similar claim, that Hammersley's (1980) call for an explicit division of labour amongst sociologists, which will only serve to encourage the "analytic" nature of the consequent research projects, is a good example of this approach. My own attempts, outlined below in what follows, rather utilise the concept of hidden curriculum. While the concept of "strategy" may well allow an approach to macro-micro linkage, I would like to suggest that an approach based upon the concept of hidden curriculum allows more purchase upon the associated "possibilitarian" concerns of classroom teaching and educational change.

More generally addressing the problem of articulating macro and micro concerns in sociological analyses of schooling Hargreaves (A., 1980) has identified three models each of which contains a conception of the school - society relationship. These models he calls the "direct reproduction", the "relative autonomy" and the "split-level" models.

The first, or "direct reproduction", model is exemplified both by functionalists, who argue that schools select and socialise pupils for the adult roles in society (Parsons, 1959) and by Marxists who argue that schooling reproduces capitalist society based upon hierarchical class relations (Althusser, (1972); Bowles and Gintis (1976)). I have discussed the ideas of Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) earlier in the thesis. It is the ideas of Bernstein (1977 (a)) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) which Hargreaves (A., 1980) identifies as examples of theorists who utilise a "relative autonomy" model of the relationship between schooling and society. In opposition to the "correspondence principle" of Bowles and Gintis, the idea of "relative autonomy" suggests that the

correspondence between schooling and production is indirect, uneven, complex and only approximate. It is a tendency which is rarely fully actualised. As I have indicated earlier in my discussions of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) they consider it is the apparent autonomy, signalled by this relative autonomy, which makes the reproduction of relations of productions by schooling more effective. The third and radically different formulation is the "split-level" model as Hargreaves (A., 1980) has described it. Hargreaves cites Woods' (1977; 1978) works as an example of this approach which sees the determination of teacher-pupil interaction and curriculum construction and so on as completely autonomous from their wider social structural context. These factors, for Woods, arise out of the teacher's need to accommodate to the immediate constraints of the situation in which he finds himself. Hargreaves (A., 1980) claims the core of Woods' argument revolves around the idea of two kinds of control in schools: social control and situational control. The former is an integral feature of the process of schooling as one of class reproduction, while the latter is, for Woods, a quite separate, completely autonomous, form of control.

With my own espousal of the "relative autonomy" model I can, with both Whitty and Young (1976) and Hargreaves (A., 1980), see room for the possibility of effective educational change from within the classroom. In what follows, therefore, I reconsider the stance of the "new" sociology of education, the "structuralist" conceptions of the hidden curriculum and possibilities of macro-micro linkages utilising that concept.

8.2 MACRO-MICRO LINKAGES AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

There were some who heralded the "new" sociology of education as

an emergent "paradigm". Others were unhappy to use the model of "scientific revolution" in this context. In the early days of the "new" sociology of education it did appear as though there was not simply a restructuring of the knowledge of a previous paradigm, but the dismissal of that previous paradigm. There perhaps was not, however, as much discontinuity between the "old" and the "new" sociologies of education as some proponents of the "new" would make believe. Perhaps the "new" was more an extension of the "old" than a major departure from it. Eggleston (1973) suggested the relationship between the two "paradigms" may be more incremental than destructive. The major question "what counts as knowledge in the curriculum?", which is one of the major areas of study in the "new" sociology of education, has not been totally ignored by the previous sociological approaches to education. Eggleston (1973) points to both Hargreaves and Lacey as sociologists who worked with a "conflict" frame of reference and pointed to alternatives to a consensus model of knowledge. Karabel and Halsey (1976) also point to Bernstein, Bourdieu and Becker as examples of sociologists whose work suggests that the discontinuities between the "old" and the "new" sociologies of education might not be so dramatic.

The "new" sociology of education was not, then, without its critics and by the late 1980's the pendulum had swung from the "interactionism" of the "new" sociology of education to see a re-emergence of "structuralist", particularly neo-Marxist, perspectives in the study of education. This development in the sociology of education, coupled with the nature of the idea of hidden curriculum with its alternative "structuralist" and "interactionist" conceptualisations, prompted the need to explore the possible linkages between

such macro and micro approaches to education.

In contrast to the optimism of the new analyses of education, neo-Marxist analyses were pessimistic about the possibilities of educational change from within the classroom. The studies of the "new" sociology of education laid emphasis on the ability of the participants to actively construct, and hence change, their realities. The thrust of the structural-conflict perspectives is that simply changing what happens within educational institutions (for example by introducing "radical" syllabii) will be ineffective unless it is accompanied by a questioning of the whole educational system and structure. Whitty and Young (1976) suggested that the "struggles of the classroom teacher cannot remain separate from the wider politics of capitalist society itself".

Elsewhere, Whitty (1978) suggests that sociological understandings of the extent of teacher autonomy have changed in recent years from a celebration of teachers' power to redefine reality to an emphasis on the constraints within which teachers operate. Bowles and Gintis (1976), in their study of schooling in capitalist America also suggested that it is not the content of education which is important but its form or structure. Dale (1977) in a consideration of the hidden curriculum and teaching, used a conception of the hidden curriculum which saw it as the central means by which the social relations of schooling reproduce the social relations of production, as illustrated in the study by Bowles and Gintis (1976). Illich's references to the hidden curriculum also suggest that it is the structure not the content of education which exerts the greater influence. Illich suggests the impact of the hidden curriculum is effective in spite of all efforts to the contrary which may be undertaken

by teachers, and no matter what ideology prevails. Illich argues, therefore, that schools are all fundamentally alike in all countries whether they be "fascist, democratic or socialist, big or small, rich or poor". Postman and Weingartner (1969) also suggest that the message is communicated through the role of the teacher, the role of the student, the rules of their "verbal games" and the "doings" that are praised or censured. Jackson (1971) described the "unofficial three R's" - Rules, Routines and Regulations - that pupils must learn to survive comfortably and effectively in schools. Meighan (1977) noted a number of other features of the school environment other educators had identified:

"... the messages learnt from school buildings (Kohl, 1970) (Postman and Weingartner, 1969); the influence of teachers' expectations (Rosenthal, 1968); the knowledge structures implied by teaching techniques (Holt, 1964); the effects of different usages of language, (Barnes et al, 1969).." (Meighan, 1977, p 132)

In simple terms, the debate about the relative strengths of the messages conveyed both by the "structure of schooling" and "what happens in school" is asking "who can shout the loudest?" - the teacher or the school? Illich's answer would be that the school, through its hidden curriculum, can drown anything the teacher can verbalise in the classroom. This is, then, a pessimistic message for the individual teacher in the classroom.

Hargreaves (1978) claims that "current wisdom" suggests that society cannot be changed through the educational system, but that change must be made in political and economic terms. He argues that we have not yet tried fundamental reforms in the educational system and that if we did, we might find that in changing schools we are transforming society.

I have said earlier that it is about the power of the individual teacher to determine educational change around which both the optimism of the "new" approaches and the criticisms of it have essentially revolved. While there have been a number of criticisms of the phenomenological stance of these approaches it is Whitty's considerations which are primarily considered below. In terms of the diagrammatic representation of alternative stances with the sociology of education (see Chapter Six) Whitty would fall within the "pessimistic possibilitarian" category for reasons which will become apparent in my discussion of his ideas.

Whitty (1974), from whom the ideas of "analytic" and "possibilitarian" stances were initially drawn, suggests there is a need to consider two things:

- a) what constitutes 'the appropriate arena of change', and
- b) what comprise the parameters within which alternative notions of knowledge are possible?"

(Whitty, 1974, p 114)

The "appropriate arena of change" should not be seen to be the classroom alone but the "complex of social relations within which objectified knowledge becomes reified or experienced as oppressive and constraining" (Whitty, 1974, p 120). Whitty thus argues a need to reformulate the problem of educational change with consideration of neo-Marxist theories which may be relevant to the issues raised by the "new" sociology of education. He goes on to suggest that the over-emphasis on the notion that reality is socially constructed seems to have led to a neglect of any consideration as to how and why "reality" comes to be constructed in particular ways, and how and why particular

constructions of reality seem to have the power to resist subversion.

Elsewhere, and I have noted this earlier, Whitty (1976 (a)) has said that the "struggles of the classroom teachers cannot remain separate from the wider politics of capitalist society itself". By this he means that isolated efforts to promote educational change from within the classroom should not be "at the expense of more conventional forms of political confrontation, whether institutional, national or international" (Whitty, 1974, p 132). In short, Whitty proposes a consideration of structuralist as well as interactionist perspectives on the problems of teaching and learning.

Whitty also draws attention to the attempt of the "new directions" to relativise knowledge and suggests the following distinctions between categories of knowledge according to their openness or otherwise to redefinition:

" (a) Those features of knowledge which may not be subject to relativisation in any conceivable circumstances,

(b) Those features which conceivably might be different in substantially different historical circumstances, and

(c) Those features which might be altered by the legitimating activities of (an) epistemic community or interest group. "

(Whitty, 1974, p 123)

While an extreme relativist position would assert that there are no features of knowledge which may be assigned to category (a), Whitty denies that all knowledge can be assigned to category (c) which seems to be the position of many "new direction" sociologists. It is in the distinction between (b) and (c) that the parameters within which redefinitions of education are possible will be shown up.

Whitty (1977 (b)) developed these criticisms of the "new direction"

sociology of education in a study of social studies teaching which, in its contrast to Vulliamy's (1973) approach to "doing sociology", highlights the points Whitty makes and their relevance to teaching, and social studies and sociology teaching in particular.

Whitty noted that the epistemological basis of prevailing approaches to social studies teaching in the 1960's was broadly positivistic. Knowledge could be value-free and objective, and this sustained a primarily "transmission mode" of teaching and learning in which knowledge may be treated as a "commodity". It was in the 1960's that the "New Social Studies" movement was gaining momentum. This movement itself is described elsewhere (Lawton, D., and Dufour, B., 1973) but Whitty suggests it did not question prevailing assumptions about school knowledge. It did not challenge, in other words, the commodity view of knowledge, it simply attempted "to market a new commodity" (Whitty, 1977 (b), p 238).

Whitty (1977 (b)) suggested the "New Social Studies" could be summarised with reference to four main features. Firstly, it was largely based on the academic social sciences, particularly sociology, in an attempt to gain equal status to the existing high status subjects. Secondly, it was based on a "realist epistemology" in which the academic disciplines were seen to yield "the truth" about the world. Thirdly, it regarded the view of the world yielded by the methods of the social sciences as a "corrective" to the half-truths and errors inherent in the layman's way of looking at the world. In other words, it viewed social science knowledge as correct and factual. Lastly, the prevalent classroom activity was "transmission", of social science knowledge from teacher to pupil with a hierarchy between teacher and taught which gave authority to the teacher.

As such, then, the "New Social Studies" was not dissimilar to the citizenship and civics courses it was designed to replace. The courses, in fact, seemed to do no more than impose upon the pupil "a view of the world based on the gospel according to sociology" (Whitty, 1977 (b), p 240). It was in the mid-1970's with phenomenology and critiques of "schooling" that the epistemological basis of social scientific knowledge was questioned and Vulliamy (1973) was able to write about the need for teachers and taught to "do sociology together".

I have previously described Vulliamy's epistemological basis as a basically relativistic one. Vulliamy attempted to demystify all ways of seeing the world, including those of social scientists, suggests Whitty, so that the existential possibilities for structuring the world differently would be revealed.

Whitty, however, remains sceptical of the extent to which these attempts at innovation in the classroom have been truly "oppositional" to the prevailing culture of the school and society. While phenomenological perspectives might be simply added as incremental additions to existing content in social science courses, and thereby in no way constitute any part of an "oppositional" curriculum, even when teachers attempt to implement Vulliamy's approach to "doing sociology" these attempts can still fail.

Whitty (1977(b)) defines an "oppositional" curriculum with reference to Williams (1973) distinction between "alternative" and "oppositional" forms of culture. An "alternative" curriculum would be one which could be accommodated and tolerated within a particular and dominant culture, by contrast, an "oppositional" curriculum would be one which challenged the legitimacy of such a culture. An

"oppositional" curriculum, then, would serve to challenge the "social relations of school knowledge" in a way Vulliamy's (1973) proposals do not.

Whitty recognises the capacity of pupils to reinterpret apparently "radical" reorientations to pedagogy in terms of their conceptions of "normal" schooling and their refusal to accept that the teacher's pedagogy might be anything but "a new, and probably incompetent, way of telling it like it is" (Whitty, 1977 (b), p 241). The study of school sociology teaching reported in the next chapter seems to confirm this. It indicates that sociology or social studies in schools is certainly not inherently "radical" or "oppositional" in its curricular outcomes. Sociology, for all its apparently subversive and disturbing nature, is shown to be just more "normal school" to the majority of school pupils, (see also Fielding (1980)). In this way Whitty argues that attempts to challenge and change dominant conceptions of knowledge and pedagogy, what he calls "theoretical dereification" or the "consciousness-raising process of demystification", will be contained and neutralised unless linked to "experiential dereification" or the actual political challenge to "the social relations upon which the prevailing form of life is predicated". In short, Whitty argues for a theory of the social relations of knowledge production and reproduction which adequately accounts for alienation in school knowledge. Thus Whitty suggests it is important to study a whole range of other contexts in which a variety of practices serve to sustain conceptions of school knowledge and neutralise or co-opt seemingly radical alternatives. For Whitty these contexts and practices comprise of, for example, both curriculum development

agencies and school examination boards. Studies of these, Whitty suggests, would provide insights into the ways in which, in practice, prevailing conceptions of knowledge are sustained. Such studies would examine the kinds of innovations accepted by examining boards, at Mode 3 in schools for example, and the kinds of innovation and research supported by various sponsorships and other sources of financial support.

The conservative influence of the boards, for example, suggests Whitty, is not purely a product of tradition, or administrative or economic considerations. There are pressures on examination boards from outside either the schools or the boards themselves which have a significant influence on the activities of examiners. It is, thus, vital to consider the ways in which they are related to other parts of the social structure. In his contribution to a collection of papers (Whitty and Young, 1976) which attempted to explore the possibilities and problems of transforming the nature of educational activity, Whitty (1976 (b)) discusses the nature of examination boards and the constraints these pose on any attempts to change the nature of teaching and learning. Whitty (1976 (b)) quotes Eggleston (1975) who suggested that:

"Curriculum in schools, though infinitely more varied than before, is still largely conceived within the existing social system. Moreover the constraints that kept it that way may seem to come not so much from curriculum development agencies and examining boards but rather from the teachers' own consciousness."

(from Whitty, 1976 (b), p 213)

This engages with the previous debates of the thesis in suggesting that educational change from within the classroom is only limited by

teachers' own conceptions of knowledge and pedagogy and not by any wider structural constraints or by any outside agencies, such as examination boards. Whitty (1976 (b)) goes on to illustrate the ways in which the activities of examination boards can facilitate or hinder the development of alternative conceptions of knowledge, pedagogy and evaluation within schools. He goes further in suggesting that it is pressures from outside both schools and examining boards which have significant influence on the activities of examiners. Two particular sources of pressures Whitty (1976 (b)) notes are the universities and the professions for whom a "divine right to be the ultimate arbiters (of 'standards')" is often assumed. Whitty notes that:

"The hysteria which (teacher controlled curricula) seems to be causing amongst employers, the professions and senior university academics may be seen to provide some evidence that a decentralised system of assessment poses a real threat to the entrenched interests of the status quo in society."

(Whitty, 1976 (b) p 220)

Whitty's study of the processes of examining, engages with the central problematic of this thesis, the extent to which the hidden curriculum might undermine the nature of sociology teaching, and suggests it is not only teacher consciousness which sustains existing patterns of curriculum. Elsewhere, Whitty (1978) concludes that we are still a long way from having developed an adequate theory of the relationship between education the State and the economy and thus from understanding the nature of the constraints within which teachers operate. The development of this understanding is still a current theme in the sociology of education (see, for example, Woods (1980); Gleeson and Whitty, (1980); and Fielding (1980))and it is, at least in

part, to this development my thesis will contribute, with particular reference to the problems of higher education.

Sharp and Green (1975) in their study of the "child centred" approach in primary education take a stance toward the "new" sociology which is not unlike Whitty's in its reference to the possibilities of educational change. Sharp and Green do not assume that it is sufficient "merely to spread the word to schoolteachers and change their minds" (Sharp and Green, 1975, p x) in order to bring about educational change. While this may be a necessary condition, they argue, it is not sufficient; there is also a need to develop theories which can inform wider political action. Sharp and Green are critical of the "new" sociology of education, which they feel might be developing as a new orthodoxy within the sociology of education.

They go on to claim that a good deal of the literature on classroom interaction has three main characteristics. Firstly, an explicit or implicit problem of policy orientation. In other words, as Seeley (1966) suggests there is a tendency to "take" rather than "make" problems. Secondly, for Sharp and Green, the literature on classroom interaction is too frequently set within a structural-functional model, and, thirdly, the epistemological stance, in both the American and the growing British work, is predominantly that of positivism and empiricism.

Sharp and Green go on to review some of the major works on classroom interaction (Getzels and Thelen (1960); Withall (1960); Jahoda, (1958); Lewin, Lippert and White (1939); Kounin (1958, 1961 (a), 1961 (b), 1970)) and illustrate the essentially structural-functional, positivistic orientation which seems to be their major characteristic. They go on to consider the work of Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1971)

whose case studies of intra-school processes broke with traditional approaches and whose main theoretical premise was symbolic interactionism. Sharp and Green, however, do criticise Hargreaves for operating purely at the level of the interaction process. Such an orientation is too narrow, they go on, to generate sociological accounts of the social structure of the classroom because it assumes or ignores the power of "reality definers", and, further, because it seems to assume that interaction occurs on a basis of "democratic negotiation between interested parties who are political equals" (Sharp and Green, 1975, p 12). Keddie (1971), too, may be criticised in a similar way. She seemed to set up her problem as one of inconsistencies between different levels of conscious perspective, and, having done this, as Sharp and Green suggest, her analysis can offer "little more ... than an appeal to consciousness reform within the circumscribing structure of limited material possibilities for action" (Sharp and Green, 1975, p 13). Sharp and Green would prefer an approach which allows a systematic attempt to socially situate the classroom and intra-classroom processes within the wider structure of social relationships. By their criticisms of both Hargreaves and Keddie, Sharp and Green indicate assumptions similar to Whitty's (1977), that the social processes which occur in the classroom are not autonomous from wider social processes. It seems that there is a need to take account of the relationships between conscious activity and objective reality. In the words of Sharp and Green there is a need "to develop some conceptualisations of the situations that individuals find themselves in, in terms of the structure of opportunities the situations make available to them and the kinds of constraints they impose" (Sharp and Green, 1975, p 22).

While the actors may be conscious of these constraints, they may alternatively take them, sub-consciously, for granted. Whichever is the case, say Sharp and Green, the situation will present them with contingencies which could affect what they do, irrespective of how they define it.

Sharp and Green attempt to forge a link between "idealist" and "materialist" perspectives by advocating a perspective which attempts to situate teachers' world views and practices within the context of social and physical resources and constraints. This context may or may not be perceived by teachers, but it would none-the-less still structure their situation and set limits to their freedom of action through the opportunities and facilities made available to them and the constraints and limitations imposed upon them. Having said this, Sharp and Green do not suggest that what a teacher does in each and every instance will be wholly determined by these objective relationships. In their criticisms of the "new" sociology of education then, both Whitty (1977) and Sharp and Green (1975) argue a need to articulate the concerns of phenomenology with more structuralist perspectives.

Hargreaves (1978), however, has, in turn, criticised Sharp and Green (1975) for their presentation of an inadequate version of symbolic interactionism and phenomenology in their study, which thus served to undermine the validity of their attempt at synthesis. Hargreaves (1978) effectively demonstrates that Sharp and Green's portrayal of symbolic interactionism is distorted in a number of important ways. He also demonstrates the inadequacy of their methodology, suggesting that the problem of articulation for Sharp and Green between the micro and the macro is reduced to the provision

of descriptive data by the phenomenologist and the sociological explanation of such data by the Marxist. Even given these criticisms, however, I suggest Sharp and Green's (1975) study remains one of the few early, and important, studies which approached a theoretical linkage between macro and micro analyses, in an attempt to go beyond the optimistic analyses of the "new" sociology of education.

Dale (1975) also criticised the "new" sociology of education, from a similar stance, and argued for a concern with the form or structure of schooling. At the nub of Dale's criticisms is a criticism of what seems to him to be a basic assumption of both traditional and the "new" sociology of education, that is, that education is intrinsically a "good thing", that it is both "progressive" and "emancipatory". Dale suggests that not only was education seen as good in itself, but also as the key to social mobility as the major mechanism for the distribution of life chances throughout the community. Dale notes three ways in which, he claims, the "emancipatory domain assumption" of the sociology of education has been challenged. It was challenged, firstly, by the failure of the compensatory education movement to achieve its goals. It is challenged, too, by a questioning of the almost taken-for-granted economic value of education and by the work of the "de-schoolers" in which schooling is seen as "anti-educational", not always emancipating those who experience it, but often actually repressing them.

Dale goes on to suggest that it is in the "rediscovery" of the notion of the hidden curriculum, with its emphasis on the social control aspects of schooling, that the emancipatory assumption is crucially denied validity. In taking a conceptualisation of the hidden curriculum which sees it as the "central means by which the social relations of schooling reproduce the social relations of production"

(Bowles and Gintis, 1975), Dale is thus advocating a shift of concern from the content or distribution of education (the primary focus of the "new" sociology of education) to an emphasis on the form of education, and is thereby making a plea similar in kind to that made by Whitty (1977) and Sharp and Green (1975). However Whitty in a comment on an earlier draft of this chapter, put it to me that he would not go as far as Dale in arguing for a concentration on form, believing a concern with content and form and the interplay between them is not only important but crucial.

However, Dale goes on to outline an approach to the sociology of teaching stemming from this approach to the hidden curriculum of schooling. Quoting the cases of both Countesthorpe College and the William Tyndale School, Dale (1975) suggests that while teachers with extreme views are tolerated in relatively large numbers, and while almost anything can be taught in school, challenges to the key features of the hidden curriculum, that is, to crucial aspects of the form or structure of schooling, are not readily accepted. This is explained with reference to Bowles and Gintis' (1975) thesis about the central function of schooling and the way in which it is achieved primarily through the form rather than the content of schooling. Dale attempts to relate this account of the function of schooling to a sociology of teaching by inspecting the nature of the part teachers play in the process, locating the essential explanation at the level of structure and not teacher consciousness, in contrast, for example, to Keddie. Teachers, furthermore, do not make a choice about whether to perform the functions of the hidden curriculum, they need not consciously acquiesce, since the performance of these functions is made an essential, not a voluntary, part of teaching by the structural

context of that teaching.

The teacher fulfils these functions, then, because of structural constraints such as teacher-pupil ratios, the fact that most teachers are faced with clientele who have not necessarily chosen to be in school, the finite number, size and type of schools available, and so on. Dale suggests such structural constraints as these make it impossible for a teacher to avoid participation in the hidden curriculum. It is the combination of "having to teach them something" and the particular circumstances, resources and context in which that is to take place, which compels teachers to carry out crucial parts of the hidden curriculum of schooling.

Having to fulfil such functions, is thus, suggests Dale, the "problematic" which is imposed on teachers and which confronts them in their everyday practice of teaching. How teachers cope with that "problematic", and the source of their responses to it, would be the central problem for a sociology of teaching. Dale argues, briefly, that the rationalisation teachers make which allows them to accept this situation stems from their "commonsense knowledge" of teaching derived from three interlinked sources:

- a) the teacher's own experience as a pupil,
- b) the teacher's professional education, and
- c) the teacher's experience as a teacher.

The teacher's own experience as a pupil provides a "recipe knowledge" of schooling which resists both the desirability and the possibility of change in the occupation. The "apprenticeship model" applies in which not only are the purposes of the activity taken for granted, but established means of pursuing those purposes are accepted

as models to be emulated as far as possible. The teacher's professional training itself is also essentially conservative. Dale (1975) argues that the chief impact of teachers' training itself stems from the hidden curriculum of the college and refers to Bartholomew's (1976) study of a "liberal" college of education in which there was a gap between the liberal theory of the college and the rather more conservative practice. While the liberal view of the college was produced by comparing attitudes in the college with practices in school, a comparison of the attitudes in college with the practice in college will reveal the same gap between liberal and conservative that was found initially between college and school. For Bartholomew (1976) the key was that as a college student, a trainee teacher never actually experiences in practice the liberalism which he is allowed to freely express in theory. One attempt to move towards more radical forms of teaching and learning in teacher training is reported by the author elsewhere (Rutherford, D., Fielding, R., Meighan, R., and Sparkes, J., 1979) but there is no evidence to suggest such attempts are widespread.

The teacher's own experience as a teacher also contributes, argues Dale, to their "commonsense knowledge" which allows them to accept their situation in fulfilling the hidden curricular functions of schooling, that is the teacher's relative isolation in the ordinary work situation. Teachers are thus often faced with large numbers of pupils whom they are physically unable to control, and thus they must insist on authority and hierarchy in the classroom if only for survival. In this way, suggests Dale, the reproduction of the social relations of production are achieved.

So far, then, chapters Six, Seven and this first part of Chapter Eight have outlined the central aspects of the "new" sociology of education and some of the implications it holds for teaching and the teaching of sociology in particular. The concept of hidden curriculum has also been discussed along with a discussion of some of the main criticisms of the "new" sociology of education and the interrelationship between these considerations and the concept of the "hidden curriculum". The next section of this chapter looks at the implications these latter considerations have for the teaching of sociology.

8.3 SOCIOLOGY TEACHING AND THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

Just as an earlier section drew out the implications of the "new" sociology of education for the teaching of sociology (Vulliamy (1973); Meighan (1976); Bellaby (1975); Simons (1975)) this section sets out to briefly review the implications the concept of hidden curriculum might have for sociology teaching, associated, as it is, with the criticisms often made of the "new" sociology of education.

Social studies teaching began in schools shortly after the Second World War, more, however, in the form of "education for citizenship" courses than as the courses recognised as sociology today. It was the Crowther Report (1959) which, report Gleeson and Whitty (1976), dramatically drew attention to the need for schools to provide social studies courses "to help young workers find their way in the world". The Newsom Report (1963), too, stressed the importance of teachers of English, history, geography and religious education working together more closely in order to provide relevant programmes of social education.

Social studies at this stage however was still a "low status subject taught to low status pupils by low status teachers" (Gleeson and Whitty, 1976, p 6). It was the "New Social Studies" movement of the mid-1960's which sought to challenge the low status of social studies in the school curriculum and which stimulated the development of advanced level sociology and a subject association for social studies teachers (the Association for the Teaching of the Social Sciences). Whitty's (1977) criticisms of this movement, however, with its attempt to simply "market a new commodity" without challenging prevailing views of knowledge have been discussed earlier. Vulliamy's (1973) suggestions for "doing sociology" is based on the "new direction" sociology of education and is oppositional to many of the features of the "New Social Studies". The new directions, suggest Gleeson and Whitty (1976), challenge what was the central idea of the New Social Studies movement, the notion that knowledge grounded in the academic disciplines had an intrinsic superiority over other types of knowledge, such as commonsense, and that sociologists had a clear conception of correct sociological method and the nature and status of the knowledge which it generates.

However, elsewhere, Whitty (1976 (a)) suggests that such "new directions" in sociology have been treated more like incremental additions to existing content in sociology courses - either generating new "facts" about everyday life or new perspectives to be learnt about along with all the others. None of these approaches, Whitty (1976 (a)) argues, had radically challenged the status quo in the way Vulliamy (1973) proposes they should, and thus none is likely to lead teachers into conflict situations in either schools or society. Unless social studies and sociology courses "challenge

the existing relations of school knowledge" (Whitty, 1976 (a) p 42), they will remain as something which is "done to pupils rather than something which (pupils) do" and in this way will be perceived as just more "normal school" much the same as other subjects and not noticeably more relevant to the world outside the classroom.

The following chapter, which reports a study of school sociology teaching, questions the extent to which sociology in a school provided an "oppositional" curriculum or simply formed part of the pupils' "normal" school. This question addresses as problematic the more pertinent features of the hidden curriculum of the sociology classroom. The popular notion that sociology is "subversive" in some way is an illustration of the idea of a hidden curriculum related to the sociology classroom. The suspicion is that "subversion" is an unintended consequence of teaching sociology. (The idea that sociology is taught in a deliberately "subversive" way - whatever way that might entail - would not be part, of course, of a consideration of a hidden curriculum). Meighan (1973) notes several reasons why sociology might be inevitably "disturbing". Firstly, he suggests it casts doubt on the notion of "individual accountability" for actions and suggests an alternative insight into the complex, collective and social nature of human actions. Secondly, sociologists refuse to take situations at their face value and are neither willing to accept official definitions of situations uncritically nor those definitions of the participants. Meighan (1973) suggests here "everyone and everything is open to suspicion" (Meighan, 1973, p 165). Thirdly, sociology attempts to improve on "commonsense" and this is therefore threatening to the taken-for-granted aspects of our social behaviour and can expose some of the "folk interpretations", on which behaviour

may be based, as either false or distorted. Finally, the relativistic, non-ethnocentric viewpoint of sociology can expose accepted and familiar ways of behaving to comparisons which may be interpreted as unfavourable. In this way a sociology student is allowed, suggests Meighan (1973), to be "part of one's own culture yet at the same time out of it".

While the proposals of the J.P.A.L.S.E. Study Group (Meighan, 1976) were considered in relation to the insights of the "new" sociology, they do serve to guard against the pitfalls, warned of by Whitty (1976 (a)) that "new directions" in sociology might simply be treated as incremental additions to existing content. The course suggested would, in fact, serve to challenge the existing social relations of school knowledge in a number of ways. Firstly, the practical outcome of the student-centred approach advocated would involve a series of discussions and negotiations with students at the start of a course on what to start learning, how to learn it, how to organise it, and how learning might be evaluated. The role of the teacher in the course would therefore contrast with the traditional role of teacher as instructor. Secondly, and this has been referred to here previously, the use of practical experiences, in conjunction with the student-centred approach, challenges the rigid, absolutist view of knowledge and allows the flexibility needed, with a networked approach to knowledge, to accommodate the decision-making of students. The proposals of the J.P.A.L.S.E. Study Group, therefore, seem to provide the starting point for a truly "oppositional curriculum" which could avoid some of the hidden curricular implications of "normal school".

In a consideration of the ideological potential of school sociology Reeves (1976) looked at the hidden curriculum of sociology teaching. Reeves, in fact, seems to move some way towards articulating a theoretical framework for an analysis of the sociology classroom at the levels of both teacher and student consciousness, and wider social structural factors i.e., at both micro and macro levels. Basically Reeves suggests that while sociology can be ideological there is a need to distinguish between the message of the subject and the effect it might have on a student or pupil.

Reeves illustrates his claim that sociology can be ideological with a number of examples of ways in which the ideological potential of sociology may be realised both in terms of what might be taught and in terms of what might be omitted. He notes, for example the seemingly widespread belief among many sociologists that university sociology is the real thing and that everything else is just a watered-down version of it. Reeves suggests that in particular social studies is generally seen as "social" only in so far as it is the opposite of "unsocial", and that often it only serves a part in the "ideological control of manual workers". Reeves also refers to the ideological significance of the distinctions between sociology, economics, politics and anthropology inasmuch as these distinctions serve to limit the explanatory power of each subject. Gouldner (1970) makes a similar point with his observations that sociology is primarily concerned with social order and social integration and implies that this problem may be solved without, for example, clarifying and focusing on the problem of scarcity, with which economics is so centrally concerned. It would be more accurate, claims Gouldner (1970) to say that sociology focuses on the non-economic aspects of social order.

Apple (1979), too, suggests that social studies in the curriculum often has a tacit acceptance of the idea that society is basically a co-operative system. This cannot, suggests Apple, be determined empirically but is essentially a value orientation which helps determine the questions that one asks, or the educational experiences one designs for students. There is a lack of treatment of "conflict" in most available social studies curricula or in most classrooms observed, suggests Apple, and this simply reinforces the hidden curricular messages of what he has called, the "deep structure" of schooling. Apple (1979) goes on to suggest alternative approaches which may allow that hidden curriculum to be, at least partially, "counter balanced". Amongst these he includes the comparative study of revolution, for example, the American, French, Russian, Portugese and Chinese revolutions, which would focus upon "the properties of the human condition that cause and are ameliorated by interpersonal conflict" (Apple, 1979, p 92). Another suggestion is the study of the uses of conflict in the legal and economic rights movements of Blacks, women, and workers to show these and similar activities as legitimate models of action. The fact that laws had to be broken, and were then struck down by the courts later is not, suggests Apple, usually focused upon in social studies curricula.

However, Meighan (1973) notes Berger's (1971) argument that sociology can be both radical and conservative simultaneously:

"Sociology (Berger) concludes, is only subversive in a specific way through its liberating effects on consciousness but in this process it also points up the social limits of freedom, and the importance of triviality and mere routine as necessary conditions for both individual and collective sanity."

(Meighan, 1973, p 166)

Townley (1979) made a similar point in reviewing an integrated social studies course designed for 10-12 year olds. That is "MAN: A Course of Study" (known as M.A.C.O.S.). He described it as being the most complex and the most sophisticated piece of curriculum development which has ever been undertaken in the field of social studies or humanities but also reported a duality in the response the course provoked in those who had used it:

"... criticisms come from both 'left' and 'right'. In the United States there was a furore because it was felt by many to be too radical, while in Britain, there was a feeling that it is too conservative! ... there is a view, in Britain, that the course is written within a functionalist perspective; that there is too great an emphasis on order, harmony, co-operation and consensus."

(Townley, 1979, p 187)

Meighan (1973), Berger (1971) and Townley (1979) all seem, with Reeves (1976), to be indicating not only something of the hidden curriculum of the sociology classroom but also a need to look more specifically at the hidden curriculum of differing theoretical perspectives within sociology.

Returning to Reeves' (1976) initial suggestion, however, that there is a need to distinguish between the message of the subject and its effect on the recipient Reeves goes on to suggest that however ideological the content of sociology may be, the relationship between the message of sociology and its effect upon an individual's attitudes and behaviour has still to be explored. Reeves essentially seems to argue that the hidden curricular messages from the social structuring of the classroom seem to negate the hidden messages of sociology whether they be ideological or subversive. The social structuring of the classroom often seems to resist the application of theoretical

perspectives to the student's immediate situation, to considerations of the teacher, the taught and the classroom. The sociologist, rather, is expected to view himself as a detached observer of society who will study others rather than himself. Under such conditions, whatever the messages of sociology teaching it will essentially be a "commodity" to be received along with other packages of "knowledge" within the context of "normal schooling". Only when there is a congruence between the hidden curriculum of the structure of schooling and the messages of sociology as taught in the classroom, will teaching be facilitated. The teacher, in order words, must "practice what he preaches". Reeves makes the further point that if the combined message of the sociology syllabus and the social context is to be effective, it must reflect the students' experience in other social institutions and he must be able to internalise the material. In stressing the need for teachers to view the learning process within the totality of a school's social structure and students' personal experience, Reeves is essentially calling for teachers to be more aware of the complex processes at work in their own classrooms.

Whitty (1976), Meighan (1976), Apple (1979), and Reeves (1975), then, all indicate something of the implications of the idea of a hidden curriculum for sociology teaching, with a more specific reference to school sociology than sociology teaching in higher education. The next chapter continues this focus on school sociology while the final chapters of the thesis return to a consideration of higher education specifically, and the problems of teaching sociology in higher education, before a reappraisal of

the data reported earlier in the light of the theoretical framework developed here.

SECTION FIVE : LATER EMPIRICAL WORK

CHAPTER 9

THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM OF SCHOOL SOCIOLOGY

This chapter reports empirical work undertaken late in the development of the research perspective on teaching and learning articulated within this thesis. This study of the teaching of sociology in one school is informed by this research perspective with particular reference to the concept of hidden curriculum. Data was gathered for this study using an open-ended questionnaire and the author's observation as participant in the school as a teacher.

The school was a large (1800 pupils and twelve form entry) multi-racial comprehensive community school qualifying for a social priority allowance in a predominantly working class area north of Birmingham in the West Midlands. Sociology and social studies was taught at C.S.E. and G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' levels and had been offered at the school for five years. With eleven students in the lower sixth form at the time of the study, sociology comprised one of the schools largest "A" level groups. In both fourth and fifth years there were two sets of students each numbering around fifteen students pursuing more or less the same course. The examination board for both the G.C.E. examinations was the Associated Examining Board and the C.S.E. was a Mode III examination written by the head of department, who also set the syllabus.

In the first year of schooling all pupils take English, Mathematics, General Science, French, History, Geography, Art, Music, Craft (both boys and girls do all four craft subjects), Hygiene, Physical Education and Games. All children also take Religious Education unless a letter requesting withdrawal is received from the parents.

In the second year and third year the curriculum is arranged to enable the pupils to be introduced to a broader field of studies.

Spanish is offered to children with a linguistic ability and Engineering Drawing is offered in the third year. The subject dealt

with as General Science in the Lower School (first and second years) is covered in greater depth as Physics, Chemistry and Biology in the third year.

More intensive studies take place in the fourth and fifth years with courses leading to C.S.E., G.C.E. and R.S.A. examinations. As all children now remain at school until the fifth year, the school expects that all pupils will attempt some examination subjects. It is at the end of their third year that students are asked to make their subject choices for their fourth and fifth years at the school. For time-tabling and other reasons the students cannot be allowed to make a completely free choice, their choices are therefore guided by organising the differing options into a "column system". Students must choose one subject from each of the four or five columns presented. Some subjects may appear in more than one column, other subjects will appear only once. Students are offered guidance about their choices by the careers department, and by the subject teachers in assemblies and form periods. In the sixth form a range of "A" level subjects is studied and many other pupils remain for a one-year course in the sixth form to add to their "O" levels.

It was during a sociology lesson the questionnaires were distributed and students were given the lesson period to respond to them.

I stressed to the students that there were no right or wrong answers to any of these questions. The questions were introduced with the idea that not many teachers asked their pupils about their lessons and how they might be improved, so here was a chance for the pupils to say something, at least, about their sociology lessons. The point was also made that no-one would "get into trouble" if they said anything

the teacher might not like. This threat was further reduced by suggesting that the replies might be anonymous - no name was required on the answer sheet. Some students commented (quite correctly) that their handwriting was obviously recognisable, although this did not seem to worry them too much. In the event, a number of students did put their name on their paper.

I examined the data thus gathered, in the light of my observations as participant, so see what evidence there was of a hidden curriculum of school sociology and to investigate the nature of its messages.

I initially asked students why they had chosen sociology. In the fourth and fifth years there were predominantly two main reasons given for choosing sociology. The first was almost by default and is perhaps an inevitable result of the option scheme operating after the third year:

"I chose sociology because I didn't like any other subject in the column."

"I chose sociology because it was the only thing I liked in the column."

This is not necessarily to criticise the column system of option choice as it operates in the school - with any system such an outcome would be difficult to avoid. Although the questionnaire data cannot indicate the extent to which other subjects are the result of "choice by default" my observation of the process as a form tutor and my conversations with the pupils during the period in which they make their choices, would lead me to suspect that the basis of pupils' subject preferences are not particularly well informed. There was a tendency among the pupils to choose subjects they were already familiar with - and did well in - or to choose subjects their favourite members of staff taught. And although there was a system operating which was to

provide impartial pastoral advice to the pupils with regard to their option choices, it was clear that the more traditional humanities subjects - such as history or geography - were the preferred choices for the brighter pupils. Sociology, on the whole, was viewed with suspicion and was regarded, informally, as being an option of low status.

The second reason given by a great number of students is perhaps more positive, and this was their belief that sociology would be "interesting"; this was often coupled with its unfamiliarity to students:

"I thought it would be interesting and it was a new subject to me."

"I chose sociology because I had never heard of it before and I thought it would be interesting."

A couple of students thought sociology would teach them how to "socialise with people" and a couple more thought it would teach them about "community and social backgrounds" and about "the environment". One girl chose sociology because "sociology is truth!"

While none of the fourth and fifth years chose sociology because they thought it was a "soft option" students did seem a little more aware of "playing the system" by the sixth form:

"Someone who had taken sociology said it was one of the easiest 'A' levels and the most interesting."

"It was an 'A' level which I thought I could pass ..."

However, for the sixth form students, too, sociology was still generally a "new" subject, which most felt would be "interesting". One student wanted to "learn about people" and one student wanted to "fill

in my timetable ". Upon entry to the sixth form students appeared to be allowed a relatively free choice of subjects - unlike their choices in the fourth year which were constrained by a number of factors as I have indicated - and sociology, in fact, consistently attracted larger numbers than all other humanities subjects, not infrequently beginning as one of the larger 'A' level groups.

Given their reasons for choosing sociology in the first place, not surprisingly most students expected it to be "interesting ". A few expected it to be "boring" and yet others expected it to be "difficult" or even "complicated ". Those students who gave more specific answers relating to the expected content of sociology listed such topics as education, the family, law, poverty, "what is going on in the world today" and on to "people who are not as lucky as us, e.g. invalids, spastics, etc.". A number of sixth formers "didn't really know what to expect" and one or two expected it to be similar to the 'O' level except "harder and in more detail ".

For some of those students with the broad general expectation that sociology would be "interesting", there was disappointment. They had not found sociology to be interesting all the time:

"No. It is sometimes boring."

"No. It is different from my expectations.
It is boring."

"Not quite, it's a little bit boring."

For others, sociology had lived up to its promise. These students expected sociology to be, and actually found it to be, "interesting ".

"Yes it has turned out to be what I expected.
It is similar to my expectations because I
find it interesting."

"Yes, it is very interesting."

One student found it different from his expectations in that "we study things I didn't think of, such as population ". Another found it different because "(I thought) it would be just education and the family ". For most of the sixth form, although they "didn't really know what to expect" the subject did not turn out to be radically different from anything they might have foreseen.

I went on to ask the students how they found sociology to be different from their other subjects, if at all, and how the subject was similar to any of their other subjects. For most students, this meant a simple comparison of syllabuses, thus I found typical responses to be as follows:

"The subject isn't like any of my others. Everything we do in sociology we don't do anything like it in other lessons."

"It is not like any other subject. It is different because we learn different things altogether."

Other students, still those comparing syllabuses however, did find similarities:

"It isn't really like other subjects, except my history lessons which tend to do the same topics sometimes, e.g. education."

"It's a bit like history, studying population and about different people. And Religious Education when we study about people and their attitudes."

Some students went beyond comparing the topics within their different subjects and suggested other perhaps more interesting similarities and differences:

"It's different than other subjects it's not just right answers, it's often people's own opinions ..."

"The subject is not like other subjects I take. It is different from other subjects because it

is taught different from other subjects and there is more discussion subjects."

"It isn't other subjects you just have to sit and work, but this subject you feel more choose (choice)."

"It's like other subjects we take because we have to do homework, still, and we have to do work that is set for us."

For the sixth form too, who mostly studied either economics or history with sociology, the main similarities noted were in terms of the topics studied. However, one student noted:

"Sociology, to me, is a subject on its own - different in most ways."

And, another student made the following remark:

"(Sociology) is more concerned with people and society and looks inside instead of other subjects which seem to look at things from the outside."

Although the idea is not expressed with any great clarity, here, this student is making some reference to the radicalising potential of sociology, the way in which it may refuse to take everyday assumptions for granted and attempt to get beneath the surface. If sociology does have any radicalising potential, however, it is certainly lost on most of these students. The fourth year, for example, were unanimous in their opinion that "sociology is not upsetting or disturbing", and only one fifth former admitted to being disturbed by their study of education. (One other fifth former was disturbed by sociology but this was because "I don't like it and don't think it's interesting", which is to misunderstand the question). The picture is largely the same for the sixth formers:

"Sociology has not upset me in any way, I don't see why it should."

However, there were one or two rather different responses indicating that, at least for these students, sociology engaged with some of their wider extra-curricular concerns, and in some way, therefore, might be thought of as having had some of its radical potential fulfilled:

"It has not upset or disturbed me in any way, it has simply made me think more."

"No, it has just made me think about things more than previously when I took most of them for granted."

"No, the ideas have enlightened me upon basic ideas which I already had."

This is not to suggest my observations included no instances of sociology serving to "disturb" students. On occasions it did. For example students resisted the idea of the differential educational achievements of the social classes. I have referred to the need to ameliorate feelings of fatalistic determinism provoked in students by such discussions of social class elsewhere (Fielding and Anderson, 1979) but in a working class school, such as this was, this can be a particularly pertinent problem. Teenage girls in the fourth form have also shown considerable resistance to the notion that their approach to their gender roles is socially constructed. They have been disturbed by the suggestion that their behaviour in this respect is not "natural" (i.e. biological) but rather is socially determined.

At this point, the questionnaire asked students which topics or ideas within sociology had, so far, been for them, the most interesting, the most difficult and the least interesting or "most boring

For most students the most interesting "idea" meant the most interesting "topic" thus their responses do not tell us as much as

they might otherwise have done. However, for the fifth year the "mass media" was most frequently mentioned (five times) followed by the "family" and "slums" (four times each). For the fourth year the "family" was the most frequent choice (five times) with no close rivals. ("Roles" and "population" were in fact second choice with two choices each). "Deviance" was mentioned by three of the sixth formers, although two had found "most of it" or "all of it" equally interesting. One said:

"There is nothing which has sent me mad with interest."

While a number of fourth year students found "none of them" most difficult to understand, others suggested their "extended essays" (on any topic) were most difficult. There was no consensus regarding difficult topics amongst the fifth formers. A number of sixth formers found their first look at sociological theory their most difficult topic so far.

No consensus emerged for any of the years with regard to the "most boring" topic although a number of the fourth year noted that extended essays were "boring" as well as "difficult ". In fact, the extended essays were introduced into the Mode III syllabus with the intention of allowing students to follow up areas of particular interest in more detail with the opportunity of being given credit for this in the final assessment.

It was the final few questions on the questionnaire which asked students specifically about their lessons, as opposed to the sociology course itself. These questions asked students what they liked least and most about their lessons and how they would change the lessons if they had an opportunity to do that. It was class discussion which most

students referred to, and students suggested they either liked or disliked class discussion:

"I like the periods when we talk and discuss certain topics, in this way we can understand more."

"I like discussions in the lessons."

"I don't like having discussions."

"I don't like going to the front of the class to talk."

"I think discussions are boring, so are filmstrips."

It may well be that students all referred to "class discussions" in some way in response to this question because this was the only significantly frequent alternative to the use of "worksheets" in the classroom they came across in their sociology lessons. Certainly my own experience of teaching some of these students has indicated that they have a strong resistance to any innovations in teaching methods introduced to the classroom. There was a collective resistance to class discussion and students exhibited a clear preference for being "left alone to get on with the work". For some students while writing was work, talking was wasting time. Written work, of course, was usually marked while the discussions were not.

Apart from this noticeable difference of opinion with reference to discussion, the fifth years all seemed to notice, and appreciate, the relative freedom they were allowed in their work.

"You can sit by your friends and discuss the work, and also the essays."

"In the lesson you feel more free to work because you can talk when you like. I don't."

"I like picking your own topic to write about because its something you have picked yourself."

"I think the most thing I like about Sociology is that we weren't told what in an essay we could choose what we wanted to do."

In summary, these students do not wish to see many changes made to their sociology lessons. While the fourth year expressed a desire for "less writing" and "more visits" the fifth year generally wanted to "leave it how it is";

"No changes would be made as it is already a well set course."

The sixth form as a whole were not sure what changes they would make, although some would like lesson time used for private study. One sixth former commented:

"Basically the same idea of teaching should be kept, just a slight change in how discussions are held, e.g. more pupils' ideas."

Asked what kind of topics the students wanted to study, if given the choice, a number of fourth year students would just "carry on as we are working now ", while another said:

"I don't know really, I would do anything as long as it is interesting."

One student suggested "population ", but then commented "I don't know any more (topics) ". This lack of awareness of the possibilities might have been a problem for most students, whose suggested topics were largely only those topics which they had already covered in their existing course.

The students' responses to sociology, as I have described them in the foregoing, can be summarised, briefly, in seven points as follows:

1. Students chose sociology for a combination of two main reasons - either "by default" because they didn't like other possible and

- more familiar options, or because sociology was "new" and "different" and promised to be "interesting" in some way.
2. Students who had thus chosen sociology had no clear expectations for it - except that it would be "interesting" in some way.
 3. Students generally felt sociology to be different from their other subjects only in terms of the topics it included. A few students, however, noted that it might differ in approach as well as content.
 4. Students were generally not upset or disturbed by sociology in any way. Only a few students indicated some engagement of sociology with their wider concerns.
 5. Students generally did not agree on what were the most interesting, most difficult, or most boring topics within their sociology courses.
 6. Students were most noticeably divided in their preference for, or dislike of, discussions in lessons. Other aspects of lessons passed without either positive or negative comment.
 7. Students generally would make few changes to the way lessons are presently conducted, and are generally happy with the syllabus they were given.

I have suggested in previous chapters that the increased and central importance of notions of a hidden curriculum to recent analyses of education and schooling, and the alternative "structuralist" and "interactionist" conceptions of that notion, seem to me to prompt with renewed urgency the need to consider linkages between macro and micro perspectives within sociology. In my analysis of the foregoing study of school sociology teaching, therefore, I make an attempt to address both these levels of analysis by questioning the extent to

which sociology in the school provided either an "oppositional curriculum" for its pupils or simply became part of their "normal school ". While "normal school" is "much the same as other subjects and not noticeably more relevant to the world outside the classroom" (Whitty, (1976 (a), p 40) elements of an oppositional curriculum should serve to challenge the status quo, and the "existing relations of school knowledge ".

While many students chose sociology because they thought it would be "interesting" it is not unlikely that they viewed other subjects with similar curiosity. However, students had some ideas about the nature of those other subjects through previous study but only had an unclearly formed notion of what sociology would entail. My observations of, and conversations with, students making their choices suggests that at least some students thought sociology would be "interesting" because it would be different from the "ordinary" school subjects. Given this, I would like to suggest that those students who eventually reported finding sociology "boring" were in fact suggesting that sociology had turned out to be the same as "normal school", which was also, usually, "boring ". It was not, therefore, that sociology turned out to be any more boring than other subjects, but that it turned out to be, contrary to expectations, no more interesting.

Students who suggested sociology was different from other subjects simply in terms of the topics covered also seem to me to be suggesting in effect, that sociology was the same as other subjects in terms of its being just another bundle of, albeit different, topics. Sociology for these students, was certainly just more "normal school ". Some students, however, did note the differences of sociology from other subjects, both in terms of the form sociology teaching took and the

nature of the content of the subject:

"The subject is not like other subjects I take. It is different from other subjects because it is taught different from other subjects and there is more discussion subjects."

"(the subject) looks inside instead of other subjects which seem to look at things from the outside."

One student engaged directly, but unwittingly, with Postman and Weingartner's (1969) "right answerism" by suggesting that sociology was:

"... different than other subjects, it's not just right answers it's often people's own opinions."

Something of this seemed to come across to one of the sixth form students who contrasted the perhaps less problematic more positivistic nature of economics as taught at 'A' level with their sociology lessons:

"Sociology deals with sociologists and many people who had studied, whereas economics deals more with economics and less with economists."

However, for other sociology students, sociology was still altogether too much like other subjects:

"It's like other subjects we take because we have to do homework still, and we have to do the work that is set for us."

Perhaps one of the most noticeable confirming features of sociology's problematic status as "normal school" is the almost unanimity with which pupils claimed immunity to any disturbing features within the sociological perspectives presented to them:

"Sociology has not upset me and I don't see why it should."

Finally, the students' ambiguous responses to the question of

discussions in class seems to reflect their ambiguous responses and orientations toward their sociology lessons. Some students find discussions enjoyable and, indeed, find them to be one distinguishing feature of sociology lessons as against other, perhaps more conventional, lessons, while other students "don't like going to the front of the class to talk" and "like the written work best". In other words, some students like the chance to participate in their sociology lessons in a relatively permissive manner while others prefer to be told what to do, and then, importantly, left to get on with it.

Two further illustrations derived from participant observation also might contribute to this analysis. They illustrate, in addition, the not unsurprising difficulty teachers might experience in attempting to deviate from the hidden curriculum of the status quo. In one lesson, sixth formers showed marked confusion when I asked them to take notes from certain chapters of a textbook, when further told it would not be required that these notes be "handed in". Their confusion over the status of these notes filtered back to me via their comments to other staff members. The implied but hidden message to these students of the fact that they need not "hand in" these notes was that these notes were not, therefore, sufficiently important to be looked at. A teacher's "approval" of notes it seemed invested those same notes with greater quality. The hidden curriculum was, thus, claiming superior knowledge for the teacher and devaluing the pupils' own efforts. (This dilemma was resolved by a collection of the notes and their redistribution a few days later).

On another occasion in the same sixth form I put the suggestion to the students that they should "mark" each others' recently completed essays. (At the least to comment upon each other's essays

and note similarities to and difference from their own). This appeared to be a new idea and was greeted with the suggestion that I had been training for they-didn't-know-how-long and they couldn't be expected to comment on any essays after having been doing the subject only for one term. Again, here, the implied authority position of the teacher vested with knowledge and expertise is contrasted with the devalued opinions of the students themselves.

In summary, then, for most students, in all years, sociology formed part of their "normal school" and did not exhibit noticeably more relevance to the world outside the classroom. The hidden curriculum still claimed superior knowledge for the teachers and devalued pupils' opinions and gave a consequently high status to knowledge defined as such by the teacher, and a low status to pupils' own experience and their experientially-based knowledge. This study seems to confirm Whitty's notion, described previously, that different pedagogical approaches in the classroom will be reinterpreted in terms of pupils' conceptions of "normal school" and will invariably be seen as "new, and probably incompetent ways of telling it like it is". (Whitty, 1977(b), p 241).

In the concluding chapter of the following section I reinspect the data reported in Chapters Four and Five, and ask similar questions of that data as I asked of the data here relating to sociology and secondary schooling. This reinspection of the data follows the next chapter which looks specifically at the sociology of higher education, the relevance of recent sociological analyses of secondary schooling to that field and the particular problems of teaching sociology within higher education.

SECTION SIX : CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER 10

10.1 THE SOCIOLOGY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

10.2 TEACHING SOCIOLOGY IN HIGHER
EDUCATION

10.1 THE SOCIOLOGY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

This chapter inspects the sociology of higher education and the problems of teaching and learning in higher education, with reference to the theoretical framework broadly articulated in previous chapters. The second part of this chapter makes specific reference to the problems of teaching and learning sociology in higher education and thereby engages with the central problematic of the thesis and extends arguments made elsewhere about the teaching of sociology.

Clark (1973) provides a useful initial review of the field of the sociology of higher education, suggesting that its development followed upon the expansion of higher education following the end of World War Two, when it became important both to the general population as well as to "economic and governmental elites". However, although Clark suggests a "serious" sociology of higher education did not emerge until the 1960's he does identify two types of pre-World War Two literature which connect with the currently emerging sociology of higher education. The first such type consists of what Clark (1973) calls "broad statements in sociology and anthropology" which offer an undifferentiated view of education of all levels and types, seeing it as a means of cultural transmission, socialisation, social control and social progress. Clark (1973) refers to the works of Durkheim (1922), Cooley (1956), Ross (1928) and Ward (1906) as examples of this kind of literature. The second kind of literature about higher education before World War Two includes the works of Weber (1936), Veblen (1954), Beck (1947), Wilson (1942) and Caplow and McGee (1958). This literature, says Clark (1973), contains rather more specific statements about higher education, and although they became established as classics

they have stood isolated for decades. The 1960's have seen the emergence of two main areas within the sociological study of higher education, two areas which see the convergence of sociological with practical concerns. The first is a concern with inequality beyond secondary education, and the second is a concern with the effect of higher education upon the character, beliefs and attitudes of students, and of life on the university campus.

While these two main areas of research focus on students, two subsidiary areas of focus, higher education as a profession and higher education as a formal organisation, are also broadly discernable as separate issues within the sociology of higher education. Clark, however, notes some possible dangers in the areas of the study of inequality and college impact. Both, he suggests, are in danger of becoming increasingly trivial with increasing specialisation. He points to Meyer (1972) and his challenge to the relative importance and potential contribution of these two areas. Meyer suggests that the fundamental effect of college is to make college graduates out of high school graduates - all of those receiving their degree are socially defined as college graduates: this social definition as "graduate" means that whether or not a student has learned anything, his job prospects, income potential, access to political and civil service positions, and even marital prospects, etc., are greatly altered. The impact of college is, thus, not primarily at the level of attitudes and values, but in the allocation of statuses and roles. Meyer (1972) suggests colleges are just so socially chartered to alter social statuses with the self and public definition of "college graduate".

Brennan (1978) also notes two similar foci of interest in the sociology of higher education. Firstly, Brennan refers to the "impact" studies, largely American, whose principal aim has been to detect and to measure changes in attitudes and values thought to occur in students as a result of higher education. The second focus of interest Brennan identifies is the more characteristically British approach involving the investigation of the interrelationships of such factors as social class, occupational placement, life chances and higher education.

Marris' (1964) study of higher education was undertaken as evidence for the Robbins Committee (1963) with the intention of furnishing qualitative interpretations to statistical information about students in higher education. Marris wanted to know, he says, exactly what happened to students at university so he would more clearly be able to see not only what should be altered but also what should be preserved, and why. Marris (1964) studied three universities and later included one college of advanced technology in his sample. The primary concern of the study was with the content of education, says Marris (1964) and with how the experience of higher education appears to the students, who go through it. Marris' (1964) study would fall, therefore, with the second of those two concerns outlined by Clark (1973), which have characterised the sociology of higher education since the 1960's. Indeed Marris' work could be taken to be typical of the work being undertaken in the sociology of higher education in the early 1960's.

Abbott's (1971) study in contrast to Marris' (1964), falls within the first of those categories outlined by Clark (1973). Abbott (1971)

attempted to discover the social class composition of three universities and, then, to attempt to discover evidence of expansion of educational opportunity as a result of the provisions of the 1944 Education Act. For Abbott, (1971), the most striking result in this regard was the small proportion of working-class students in each university. Abbott's essential concern, therefore, was with inequality beyond secondary education.

However, Abbott (1971) made the point that it is difficult to keep distinct the two processes of selection and socialisation. The social input, suggests Abbott (1971) will always affect the changes which are effected in terms of "social output".

Little's (1970) study of students' university experience in Australia is similar in many respects to the study conducted by Marris (1964). Certainly Little has similar concerns to explore students' own experience of higher education. Little (1970) bases his study on the concept of "student perspective", and in so doing pays attention primarily to their subjective experiences. Most of Little's questions, therefore, were designed around things students would be expected to know and he moved away from subjective perspectives towards interpretation of objective situations only, he says, with care. Little's (1970) approach, and Marris' (1964) both share similarities with the early approaches of the present research. The contrast between these studies and the later analyses of higher education, of Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Rex (1978) for example, indicate the development of the sociology of higher education during the 1970's, in conjunction with developments in the sociology of secondary schooling.

Bowles and Gintis (1976) claim, towards the end of their study of

schooling in capitalist America, that higher education, as well as secondary education, has taken its place within the process by which the class structure of advanced capitalism is reproduced. They say that as late as 1870 higher education was only of marginal importance to the processes whereby the economic order was reproduced and extended. Since the Second World War, however, since half the relevant age group began to go on to post secondary educational institutions, higher education began to play a crucial role in the reproduction of the class structure. Bowles and Gintis (1976) go on to outline changes in the social relations of production of the American economy and the accommodation higher education has made to these changes. They more specifically draw on the work of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education chaired by Clark Kerr between 1967 and 1973 whose publications indicate, suggest Bowles and Gintis (1976), a strategy for the restructuring of higher education in such a way as to satisfactorily meet the needs of stable capitalist expansion. This strategy, suggests Bowles and Gintis (1976) consists of an attempt to "fragment the culture of the college community" and to "stratify and vocationalise" higher education (Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p 206), by, for example, advocating community colleges. The culture of the college community was appropriate when all students were destined for positions of leadership, says Bowles and Gintis, but as enrolments increased colleges began to teach both future leaders and future followers. The fragmentation of studies and research, the "compartmentalisation of intellectual pursuits" suggests Bowles and Gintis, begins to resemble the way workers are forbidden to produce a whole product and is thus one way in which higher education has begun to

meet the needs of capitalism. The stratification of higher education is another, and Bowles and Gintis described the American higher education system as a multitiered system dominated at the top by Ivy League institutions and the great state universities, followed by the less prestigious state universities, state colleges and community colleges. Bowles and Gintis (1976) posit a "correspondence theory" of higher education which suggests a relationship between American education and the capitalist economy. They note the existence within higher education in America of a hidden curriculum whereby students are enabled to obtain that particular combination of "technical competence and social acquiescence" which they suggest is required in the skilled but powerless upper-middle positions in the occupational hierarchy of a corporate capitalist economy. Bowles and Gintis (1976) go on to suggest that the expanded and thereby differentiated system of higher education in America serves to perpetuate the traditional elite system. Colleges, they say, have come to reflect both the social status of the families of the students and the hierarchy of work relationships into which each type of student will more often than not graduate.

In addition to the arguments put forward by Bowles and Gintis (1976), Brennan (1977) also draws on Meyer (1977) and argues that both "credentialism" and "allocation" are themselves major sources of the impact of college life. It is the belief that the credential is a measure of what has been learned that ensures, suggests Brennan (1977), the legitimacy of the allocation process and of the occupational status and power structures, which are thereby maintained and reproduced.

The two main concerns of the sociology of higher education then, equality and social selection, and socialisation or the "impact" of higher education on the student, are brought together in a consideration of both Meyer (1972, 1977) and Bowles and Gintis (1976). This is however, to accept for the moment the ideas of Bowles and Gintis on the lack of autonomy of the system of higher education, indeed the educational system as a whole. This is to return to the debates of the earlier chapters of this thesis in relation to the possibilities of educational change from within the confines of the classroom alone. Bowles and Gintis, in this respect, are clearly "pessimistic" and attribute little autonomy to the educational system. It is in the resolution of this issue that lies one of the key issues for future research in higher education. Rex (1978) addresses this problem for the case of sociology teaching in British universities and this contribution is inspected in what follows.

In criticising Bowles and Gintis' assumption about the mechanistic relationship between environment and experience, and between college experience and work experience, Brennan (1978) turns to Bernstein (1977) and Bourdieu (1977). Bernstein (1977) discusses the relationship between education and the mode of production through his concepts of 'classification' and 'framing'. It is through these concepts, suggests Brennan (1978) that Bernstein (1977) has generated "new possibilities for understanding the cognitive framework of socialisation processes" (Brennan, 1978, p 3). The concepts allow systematic comparison of educational and work settings and the possibilities of predicting the socialisation outcomes resultant from each. Bourdieu (1977) differs from Bernstein, however, in concentrating more upon the

structural context of the socialisation process rather than on the process itself. However MacDonald (1977) notes that in both theories the socialisation is nearly total and the gap between socially determined action and individual freedom of action is small. The process of "reproduction" seems unbreakable MacDonald suggests, and the view which comes across is that power is exerted down from the macro level of societal structures and class domination to the individual through school experience. The individual, concludes MacDonald (1977) is seen more as a social product of the structure than as an active creator of "reality". This means that the possibilities of social change through the creation of radical consciousness would be denied by both these theorists. Although, therefore, the relationships between education and the social relations of production which Bernstein and Bourdieu see are not the mechanistic ones of Bowles and Gintis, none-the-less both Bernstein and Bourdieu would also be firmly identified as "pessimistic" in terms of the earlier analysis of stances with regard to the possibilities of change from within the classroom.

These issues, in so far as they relate to the possibility of an analysis of higher education, also relate to earlier debates on educational change. As this chapter has claimed, it is in the resolution of this issue that future research in the sociology of higher education must lie. Just as Whitty (1976 (b)) argued for a need to examine the variety of practices which serve to "co-opt" or "neutralise" radical challenges to prevalent social relations of school and hence to dominant social relations of production, so must the sociology of higher education examine similar constraints on its own practices. Whitty cited the role of curriculum development agencies,

as sources of financial support, and examination boards, as agents in this neutralisation and co-optation. In the case of higher education the pertinent areas of study may still include the sources of research funding - directly governmental, industrial or through the S.S.R.C. - and also include the role of the U.G.C. and the C.N.A.A.. Such studies are essential to determine the nature of the relationships between higher education and the wider social relations of society.

Harris and Holmes (1976) offer what they call the beginnings of a critique of some central practices of the Open University in an attempt to clarify the ideological bases of these practices and their effects. Their study, they suggest, is in response to the "new" critical awareness, stemming from recent developments in the sociology of education, that educational organisations can effect social control in a number of unsuspecting ways.

In doing this, Harris and Holmes (1976) are engaging with the very issue I suggest could be crucial to developments in the sociology of education. They point specifically to the effects of the hidden curriculum of the rational organisation of course production which characterises the Open University: the modes of evaluation and assessment used, and other aspects of the remote teaching and learning situation. The hidden curricular messages purveyed here, which Harris and Holmes attempt to demonstrate, assume essentially that education involves the accumulation of expert knowledge and its rational dispersal to ignorant students, in other words, an educational ideology referred to by Freire (1972) as the "banking concept" of education. Harris and Holmes (1976) suggest that:

"Knowledge has literally become a commodity at the Open University, and, in the form of actual courses, it is produced, marketed and consumed like any other commodity."

(Harris and Holmes, 1976, p 83)

Harris and Holmes, however, go on to suggest that there has been very little research done to discover whether Open University students develop any instrumental strategies, such as those described by Becker (1961; 1968), to cope with their courses. There has been, they say, a neglect of the perspectives of students themselves in favour of simplified "objective" data designed to assist central decision-making. And while some academics have intended their students to seek "personal meanings in the texts" and to begin to apply these arguments to their own surroundings, the immovable nature of the one-way "at a distance" teaching method, and the hidden curriculum generated by the assessment system, effectively serve to ensure that such liberating intentions will not be realised. Harris and Holmes' brief analysis of the Open University is, then, one of only very few analyses of higher education which utilise insights from the more recent developments in the sociology of education and which utilise, in particular, an idea of the hidden curriculum which transcends Snyder's notion of selective negligence. Their conclusion is similar to points made elsewhere by Whitty (1976 (b) for example), that there is a tremendous potential for radical ideas within education to be managed and incorporated or, to use Whitty's terminology, "co-opted" or "neutralised".

Brennan (1978) relates Bowles and Gintis' (1976) point about the expansion and differentiation of higher education, to the higher education system of the United Kingdom. He goes on to note the functional and usually inferior facilities of polytechnics, with their

emphasis on vocational relevance, their more comprehensive and innovative provision of course types and their students from "inferior" social and educational backgrounds. He then relates this to Young's (1971) suggestions about the restriction of curricular innovation to low status areas and low status individuals, discussed earlier in the thesis. Brennan suggests that it is possible to find consistent patterns of difference in the institutional context of British higher education and that these differences can be functionally matched to the increased differentiation of the middle-class labour market and the changing role of educational credentials in allocation. While Brennan does not suggest these differences neatly follow the binary division between universities and polytechnics, they do roughly approximate to the differences between their "charters" and the public meanings of the two sectors.

Returning however, to the relationship between material constraints and interaction, Brennan (1978) further suggests that the educational systems of the West continue to demonstrate a degree of independence from external pressures. He suggests, therefore, that broader social structural pressures may well be unable to penetrate directly internal constraining factors on course design such as the organisational structure of the institutions of higher education, the subject loyalties of teaching staff and the perceived needs and interests of students. However, while both Brennan (1977) and Rex (1978) attribute an autonomy to the higher education system, Rex (1978) notes material constraints beyond those of organisational structure, teaching staff subject-loyalties and student interests. He suggests that government and business interests acting through government and other research

foundations will not, for example, usually support any teaching or research which "brings their concealed, as opposed to their overt, ends into question" (Rex, 1978 (b), p 414). He goes on to suggest that the British Sociological Association has tried over past years to have its voice heard on those bodies which serve to control sociological standards, such as the Social Science Research Council, the Council for National Academic Awards, and various other school examining boards. The British Sociological Association, Rex claims, has had very little success in this area. He goes on to claim that:

"... Those who are in charge of (the examinations for, and the award of, higher degrees) are the ultimate gate keepers of the subject."

(Rex, 1978 (b), p 414)

Elsewhere Rex (1978 (a)) has drawn attention to the similar role of the University Grants Committee and what he calls "capitalist business". He draws attention to what he sees as a capitulation by the University Grants Committee and other research councils to the pressures of government and capitalist business:

"There is too much pressure on universities and other institutions of higher education to devote themselves to narrowly defined policy issues, and agencies like the University Grants Committee and the research councils have either allowed too easily a usurpation of their functions by the governmental agents who supervise them, or have done those agents' work for them by applying the pressure themselves. The thinking behind the last lines of the U.G.C.'s letter to universities which begins, 'we would discourage development in ...' is an example of this kind of capitulation.."

(Rex, 1978 (b), p 414)

As an example of this, Rex points to the case made in the book "Warwick University Limited" (Thompson, (1970)).

This book, although misleading in not showing that the problem diagnosed was part of a far more general problem, none-the-less, by

accusing Warwick University of being the "handmaiden of business", the book illustrated, suggested Rex, something of the relationship between business and higher education.

In pointing to the relationship between education and government and business interests in this way, Rex's comments are highly suggestive of a research programme for the sociology of higher education not unlike that suggested by Whitty (1977 (b)) in his criticisms of the "new" sociology of education. The differential extent to which Brennan (1977) or Rex (1978), or even Bowles and Gintis (1976) are correct in their assumptions about that relationship remains to be demonstrated by such a programme of research.

Clark (1973) concludes his review of the development of the sociology of higher education asking how it is that a sociology of higher education can take cues from, and make returns to, the concerns of "educational practitioners" without becoming a "managerial sociology", since educational questions can only too easily set the sociological questions. This is, of course, related to the issues discussed earlier. Clark suggests one way to contain this tendency, in part at least, is to see higher education through the definitions presented by students and other subordinate actors, for example, as Becker's studies have done. Bourdieu's notion of "relative autonomy", and the way in which delegation to education of a certain degree of independence by the dominant classes allows the processes of cultural and social reproduction through education to be effectively hidden under an illusion, or surface appearance, of reality, indicates however that Clark's solution cannot be wholly adequate. The arguments against the "new" phenomenological sociology of education which I have

reviewed in Section Four of this thesis, also indicate the inadequacy of such a solution. However, to begin at the level of consciousness, with student perspectives and definitions, is an alternative and complementary approach in the development of the sociology of higher education, to the kind of approach offered by Bowles and Gintis, for example. The aim would eventually be to socially situate the processes of teaching and learning (including curriculum development, pedagogy and evaluation) within the wider structure of those social relationships to which attention has earlier been drawn.

Given the problematic context of the processes of teaching and learning, then, as I have outlined it here, this chapter goes on to examine approaches towards the specific problems of teaching sociology in higher education.

10.2 TEACHING SOCIOLOGY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

I have documented the development of social studies and sociology in schools previously in this thesis. Clarke (1976), while not discussing the development of sociology teaching in higher education, none-the-less provides a useful survey of the nature of all first year sociology degree courses available in the United Kingdom. In this survey Clarke aimed to discover what conceptions of sociology it was that first year courses were attempting to convey, i.e. what does sociology consist in and is there a consensus on this? Secondly, Clarke was concerned to understand what exposure to sociology was intended to achieve for its students, and, finally, he wanted to discover to what extent these aspirations were realized by investigating what was taught, by what methods, for how long and within what administrative constraints.

Clarke found that sociology students were rarely asked to devote all their time to sociology, often studying other subjects in their first year. The median amount of teaching time was one or two hours of lectures per week with one hour or less of classes and seminars. The picture which emerged from Clarke's study, then, was one of "remarkable uniformity and traditionalism":

"... Large numbers of students are taught for a small proportion of their time by limited numbers of staff, relying principally upon lectures as a means of instruction."

(Clarke, 1976, p 88)

Clarke makes the observation that many universities and polytechnics seems to use no other teaching methods than lectures and seminars. The few which did use other methods used such things as films, project work, tape recordings and overhead projectors, etc. This observation

reinforces the uniqueness of the innovations in sociology teaching attempted at Keele. These innovations have been referred to previously in this thesis in some detail and therefore need not be discussed again here, but Clarke's findings certainly do confirm just how radical a departure from prevailing practices were Keele's experiments.

The questions on teaching difficulties produced few indications that material constraints such as large student numbers, staff shortages and shortages of time and resources were seen as principal problems. While Clarke suggests it may be that such constraints were taken for granted, he goes on to say that all other comments seemed to concern either the difficulties in teaching sociology as a subject or the not unrelated difficulties posed by the various characteristics of the students. These, from Clarke (1976), can be listed as follows:

- ".. (1) variation in student commitment to sociology...
- ... (2) variation in students' background, particularly their lack of social experience ...
- ... (3) the range of expectations students had of the subject ...
- ... (4) the difficulty of penetrating commonsense assumptions held by students ...
- ... (5) the intellectual difficulties of the subject and the problems involved in putting across complex issues and sophisticated concepts ..."

(Clarke, 1976, p 89)

Clarke makes the proviso, however, that none of these "difficulties" was mentioned at all frequently by all the universities and polytechnics who returned his questionnaire and it was therefore very difficult to define any pattern in the responses. However he does suggest that

there appeared to be an awareness amongst the respondents that the difficulties of teaching the subject and, at times, the resistance of students to it, are a consequence of its being in the words of one respondent "not just another subject" (Clarke, 1976, p 90).

Clarke concludes with the suggestion that the nature of sociology, and Clarke (1976) uses a conception of sociology and sociology teaching which is very similar to that which I described in Chapter One earlier, in conjunction with the students' range of knowledge of the social world and of sociology, amounts to "a considerable and intractable teaching problem" (Clarke, 1976, p 90). This would appear to contrast with Vulliamy's ideas that teacher and taught should "do sociology together" and his plea that teachers should use students' experiences in the classroom and not discount personal experience. It also contrasts with my own ideas on the subject of "relevance" as I expressed them towards the end of Chapter Five. Meighan (1976) also suggested a student-centred approach to the teaching of Social Science, which would involve, amongst other things "use of students' existing stock of folklore concepts about society, their experience of it, and their expectations" (Meighan, 1976, p 126). Finally, however, Clarke notes that many of the respondents to his questionnaire referred to "the sociological perspective" or to "thinking sociologically", with an emphasis on reorientation, and sociology as a particular way of looking at the world, when asked about the aims of their course.

In summary Clarke suggests that there is a "common core" to what is taught as first year sociology in Britain, and that the basic course structure is generally through lectures and classes with little innovation in teaching methods.

"... In terms of pedagogy, the outstanding feature of sociology appears to be the importance of the nature of the subject as a determinant of the relevance of teaching methods ... there seems no possibility of considering improvements in teaching methods in a context wider than the subject itself ..."

(Clarke, 1976, p 97)

As Clarke notes, this is quite out of keeping with current efforts to improve teaching in higher education, nearly all of which assume the applicability of teaching methods universally. This supports the approach taken by this thesis of concentrating particularly on the teaching of sociology throughout.

Jary (1969) discusses the case of sociology teaching specifically in polytechnics and the kinds of pressures faced in that sector of the higher education system. Arguing against vocationalism in polytechnic teaching, Jary specifically refers to the BA Social Sciences Honours Degree of Manchester Polytechnic, which was the first full-time honours degree without a "sandwich" element to be approved by the Sociological Studies Board of the C.N.A.A. The sociological content in this degree is "unashamedly general and theoretical".

Jary's (1969) case study of this particular course, referred to in earlier chapters of this thesis, is illustrative of the kinds of material constraints those earlier chapters suggested were important in such studies of higher education. Jary quotes the White Paper 'A Plan for Polytechnics and other Colleges' which suggests that courses should have ...

"closer and more direct links with industry,
business and the professions"

Jary goes on to say that statements from the Council for National

Academic Awards also refer to courses which should be ...

"more closely linked to industrial, commercial and professional practices and requirements"

Such policy statements, suggests Jary, can become rumours that the C.N.A.A. is "totally opposed to general courses", or that the D.E.S. "has issued a statement that calls for a halt to new social science courses". The rumour, in such cases, is often more potent than the policy.

In a similar way to Brennan (1978) Jary refers to the difference between universities and polytechnics in terms of "esteem" and status. He argues that students do not exercise a real choice between general and vocational courses, and cannot until status differences cease to exist. Indeed, he argues that polytechnics might not work as vocational institutions unless they were "vocational universities". He argues it is impossible to imagine that students are going to be persuaded to choose between institutions on the basis of the kinds of courses they offer, when there is so much else which differentiates between the two kinds of institutions. This begins to engage with Venables' (1978) suggestion that some students would rather go to a technological university because it is a university rather than not go to university at all.

In the previous chapter on the sociology of higher education, Brennan's (1978) explanation of the nature and role of polytechnic education goes some way to explaining the resistance Jary reports finding to "general" as opposed to "vocational" courses in polytechnics.

"The classification and framing within further education is not unconnected with the classification and framing of relevant employment contexts. Above

all, if reflects, in contrast to the university tradition of higher education, a relatively low level of personal autonomy for both students and workers. This is matched by a lower level of autonomy at the institutional level"

(Brennan, 1978, p 8)

The ideas of classification and framing refer to Bernstein's theory of knowledge codes and the relatively high status, strong boundaried, single honours arts degrees offered by universities and the "heavier timetables, longer terms and more teach-dominated style of pedagogy" of the polytechnics. Brennan (1975) suggests, in other words, that universities are characterised by strong "framing" and that this is not unconnected with the different social functions both universities and polytechnics are expected to play. The same kind of analysis might well appropriately be applied to the "technical universities" or ex-C.A.T.s. The extent to which the ex-C.A.T.s, in their role as "vocational universities" have overcome the problems faced by Jary in the polytechnic sector would require further empirical investigation. While some contribution to this debate was made in the early empirical sections this did not constitute the main focus of those sections which more specifically focused on student perspectives.

Returning to the processes of teaching and learning sociology in the "classroom" therefore, Haswell (1977) has argued that teaching the 'new' sociology of education is an "impossible" commitment. Haswell is examining the relationship between a polytechnic setting and the 'new' sociology of education as taught to practising teachers. Haswell (1977) presents two "ideal types" of ways of teaching sociology - either as a "form of introduction" or as a "form of awareness". In the first the sociologist would aim to emphasise the difference between himself and

his audience:

"... The methodological position of clinical detachment is based on a declaration of the necessity of the separation between the subject and the object - an insulation necessary because of the possible contaminating influence of the "self" as viewer."

(Haswell, 1977p 3)

This contrasts with the teaching of sociology as a form of awareness which demands a "mutual interrelationship between subject and object".

Haswell goes on to consider the pedagogical implications of the two positions. He suggests that while in the first position the lecturer sees himself as essentially "different" from his audience, the second implies "beginning where the student is ... (and) staying where the student is" (Haswell, 1977, p 5). In conclusion Haswell suggests it is very difficult to know how to maintain the second kind of approach in a polytechnic teacher training setting. He makes a comment similar to Whitty's (1978) warnings of the dangers of making 'new' approaches in sociology simply incremental additions to existing content.

"Consider two kinds of lecturer, the one impressed by the new sociology of education, the other not impressed. Whether the second wants his students to know about this or any other kind of theory, model etc. his problems are technical ones. However, for the first there is a basic contradiction. Either he "tells" about new sociology conceding that his own practice can be little informed by his sensitivity to the problem, or he works out a completely new and authentic set of procedures."

(Haswell, 1977, p 6)

Before returning to a consideration of Rex (1978) and the social context of sociology teaching, I note below several difficulties of sociology teaching listed by Clarke (1973). These difficulties stem

in part from the subject and in part from student expectations and experience:

Clarke (1973), then, lists the following "special difficulties" of sociology teaching.

- " (1) .. (there is a) difficulty for the teacher in stating just what sociology is all about,
- (2) .. which makes it hard for the student to locate it conceptually ...
- (3) .. the teacher is also confronted with students with a high expectation of the subject upon which, in the absence of a clear definition, they can each project their individual interests ..
- (4) .. (thus) .. material is provided which .. touches on individual interests but always fails to provide the answers required of it ..
- (5)..(there is also) the occasional relevance of a particular study to particular students (which) may be threatening or disturbing .."

(Clarke, 1973, p 5)

Rex (1978) in contrast points to structural and material constraints and problems to the teaching of sociology. Rex (1978) points to the nature of the relationship between higher education and government and business interests, and the roles of the B.S.A., the S.S.R.C., the C.N.A.A., and the U.G.C. in controlling standards and governing curriculum development. These relationships Rex basically sees as threats to academic freedom affecting particularly sociology, which Rex claims is "at once the most important, the most troublesome and the most dangerous subject in the university curriculum" (Rex, 1978 (b), p 414). Previous discussion of Rex (1978) has indicated the way in which he sees government and business affecting sociology teaching through research funding. He suggests it is through the control of finance that government and business are principally able to control

ideas. Government and business would like sociologists to pretend that their ends are a matter of a shared value consensus and then to get on with the purely technical discussion of the means to the attainment of those shared ends.

Rex (1978), as Reeves (1976), also sees the ideological potential of sociology. However, while Reeves drew attention only to the conservative nature of much of school sociology teaching, Rex suggests sociology is in danger from political ideologists of all persuasions who can easily either pass off their ideology as sociology "as a means of establishing political as well as intellectual hegemony", or simply move towards more and more ideological teaching "sometimes as a matter of conviction, but often through intellectual idleness, without really being aware of what (is happening)". (Rex, 1978 (b) p 414). Thus Rex (1978 (a)) suggests that what business really objects to is the fact that students seem to be losing faith in capitalism. Rex (1978 (a)) suggests that teachers within higher education should respond to this problem by helping students to understand the "structures and the morality" of capitalist, socialist and communist societies and not simply teach on capitalism's behalf:

"I do not feel we should respond to this fear by engaging in ideological teaching on capitalism's behalf. Nor do I think that universities should allow their positions as privileged corporations to be abused so that they become red bases."

(Rex, 1978 (a), p 358)

The thrust of the arguments made here during the articulation of a theoretical framework for analysis of teaching and learning in higher education, is that overt curricular aims can be subverted or diverted by both the structure of classroom interaction and the relationship of the education system as a whole with wider society. Using that

framework, and the factors in that relationship of which Rex's articles are so highly suggestive, is a way in which sociology teachers can be more aware of the pressures on their teaching and the hidden messages of their classroom.

The kind of approach Rex makes to sociology teaching, then, is highly suggestive of the kinds of directions a sociology of higher education should pursue if it is to be informed by recent theoretical advances in the sociology of secondary schooling. The studies already reported in previous chapters of this thesis did not fully utilize that framework suggested here, although that framework did derive from, and did gain insight from, those studies which in turn contributed to its development. The following, and final, chapter attempts a reappraisal and reanalysis of the data, relating to higher education, discussed earlier in this thesis. This reappraisal indicates something of the potential of the new framework and is suggestive of the directions future research could take.

CHAPTER 11

THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM OF
SOCIOLOGY TEACHING IN
HIGHER EDUCATION

Chapter Nine asked of school sociology teaching whether it was simply more "normal" school or whether it constituted, in any way, part of an "oppositional" curriculum. This chapter attempts to re-appraise the data on the Aston sociology courses in the light of the theoretical framework developed during the course of the thesis. This reappraisal and reanalysis of the data will involve asking that same question of those Aston sociology courses inspected in Chapters Three, Four and Five. The selective negligence by students of unexamined and unexaminable aspects of the formal curriculum will be explored, along with an attempt to identify the bases of students' restrictions of the level and direction of their efforts. In addition to these aspects, which stem primarily from what I have previously termed the "conservative" notion of the hidden curriculum, I will explore the unintended consequences of the ways in which the sociology courses were both organised and taught at Aston and the ways in which these unintended consequences might stem primarily from the structural context of the teaching and learning situation rather than from the content or subject matter taught within that situation. The theoretical framework I have developed within earlier sections of this thesis would suggest that important constraints upon the teaching and learning situation would stem from "structural" constraints external to that immediate situation. While the data collected at earlier stages of this research focused upon both staff and student perspectives, and thereby did not engage fully with this framework, my reappraisal will none-the-less attempt to go some way beyond the data already reported upon, to indicate something of the possible utility of my theoretical framework.

This reappraisal and reanalysis of the data will inevitably

involve my using again students' comments used in earlier sections of the thesis. This reutilisation of some of the students' comments during this reappraisal is both conscious and deliberate. Some comments will reinforce points I wish to make a second time, albeit within the context of an alternative analysis; other comments take upon themselves a renewed significance in the light of my new theoretical priorities. However, many comments quoted here are unique to this chapter and its concerns.

I shall begin first by looking at the students' selective negligence of unexamined or unexaminable aspects of the formal curriculum and look for the basis of any rationale behind student restriction of level and direction of effort. I shall begin with this exploration first as it quickly became clear that this element of the hidden curriculum was evident within the Aston situation. In my earlier interviews and discussions with the students, examinations were already a source of concern and were already determining students' approach to their subject. The following comment from one of the Combined Honours students was not one which met with any disagreement during group discussions.

"I was surprised how exam. oriented the whole university was, and it's always cropping up - the mention of exams.s."

Other students indicated in a variety of ways how their concern with passing examinations had an impact upon their approach to their studies. The following comments show particularly clearly the way in which students were forced to "trade" their extra-curricular academic interests for the sake of work which they felt would more directly contribute to their examination performance:

".... you can postpone your own personal interests as far as the curriculum is concerned and just get through the year because you realize there's a certain failure rate and that if you don't ... keep up with the subject then you're going to .. get rejected."

"Everyone has been 'socialised' to defer gratification ... intellectual or otherwise ..."

The following comments, however, engage more directly with the idea of the hidden curriculum and the "selective negligence" not simply of extra-curricula academic material but also of unexaminable aspects of the formal curriculum. These comments also engage with Miller and Parlett's (1974) ideas of cue-seeking students:

"I feel it's compulsory to attend lectures otherwise I wouldn't know what to read."

" ... I don't feel it's necessary to attend every lecture just to find out which way he thinks, or to find out which books to read."

The first of these comments strongly suggests that the student is a "cue-seeker", actively aware of, and looking for, cues to examinable aspects of the formal curriculum. The second student is certainly "cue-conscious", to use Miller and Parlett's term. This student is conscious that lectures will contain hints as to the content of the hidden, examinable, curriculum even though his independent intellectual stance does not allow him to spend time actively looking for, and following up, these ideas. One student was even able to label the examination system as a "game" he was aware of playing. A "game" he had played at school and was now finding he must play at university:

"... completing the course successfully still requires playing the academic game as with 'O' and 'A' levels - the ability to regurgitate information in exam.s."

This comment engages directly, of course, with Miller and Parlett's

(1974) use of the idea on "examination game" in education, with students as "game players", playing the system and using strategies to get by.

In addition to students differentiating between examinable and non-examinable lecture material in this way, their perceptions of the hidden curriculum also had an impact upon their approach to tutorials. For students the more directly "assessable" element of tutorials was the attendance record and it was, therefore, this which seemed to be important to students:

"We have tutorials in another subject that doesn't take your names so hardly anyone turns up, and in sociology where they take your names everyone turns up ..."

"It seems a bit pointless turning up without knowing anything about it, but I think it happens quite a lot and you come just to get your name ticked off."

Another student made it clear with their comment, which I reproduce below, that the "mark" was of primary importance and the participation in the discussion, which was not visibly assessed, was only, therefore, of secondary importance:

"The first thing is to turn up and the second thing is to worry about having done any reading for it."

In a way, too, not unlike Becker's (1968) medical students, Aston sociology students would also selectively neglect aspects of their course they did not think "useful". Students tended to select what they would study, from within the vast amount presented to them, on a variety of criteria. The following comments indicate different ways in which students made these decisions:

"I reckon that the statistics is the only thing which is vocationally useful. The other things have only limited value - social work is the only think you could do with it."

"(Sociology's) not really knowledge. It's not like you can learn just simple "supply and demand" - you know how it works, you can play with the model and you sort of know it. You think you've learnt something useful..."

Brennan and Percy (1976) devised a typology of student goals and reported finding that the goals of most sociology students were what they called "curricular-instrumental" ones. These goals were essentially non-curricular goals, such as securing a job or developing self-awareness, as we have seen here, but for which the curriculum was only important in contributing towards achieving those non-curricular goals. They were not, in contrast, what Brennan and Percy (1976) would call "curricular-intrinsic" goals for which the curricular experience itself was seen as intrinsically desirable.

Students therefore did selectively neglect aspects of their formal curriculum, and used a concern with examination performance as a basis for rationalising the level and direction of their effort. There were insufficient "cues" for some students, however; those who, in Miller and Parlett's terminology would be labelled as "cue-deaf". One student, as the following comment indicates, clearly wanted more feedback from staff:

"I don't know how we're meant to improve from essay to essay other than that we're getting older. We don't get any sort of indication of how to improve."

Other students expressed similar difficulties but suggested the source of their difficulties lay more with the nature of the subject itself:

"This is the thing which I miss most of all in sociology, there's no logical thread running throughout. In most other subjects you have a logical step by step acquisition of knowledge - A follows from B, and C follows from B etc., etc., but in sociology you haven't."

"I find sociology is a bit like driving through a patchy fog - you suddenly come out into a clear patch and you think you've understood something but before you know it you're back in the fog again, and you're lost."

"(The fog clears for me) when I can relate something to something personal I think "yes", I see that, I can grasp that concept, I can see how that has worked in this instance, and it becomes quite clear to me. And then later on we go into it in more depth and I have doubts about whether I really did grasp that concept."

These ideas are not unlike the kinds of problems Parlett and Simons (1976) pointed to in their discussions of the disjunctions which occur between student and staff perspectives. I have referred to this previously in my thesis. These comments illustrate further how mistaken is the notion that learning follows a linear pattern. Learning, suggested Parlett and Simons (1976), does not follow a regular pattern of steadily accumulated understandings, rather it is "jerky" and proceeds in a "backwards and forwards" way. Parlett and Simons (1976) themselves quote students, in a similar fashion to those I quote here, saying that the understanding of a subject sometimes "winds back on itself" or comes as though, after a long time period, "light appeared".

Associated with the nature of the subject, as well, however, were other hidden messages which spoke to the students' personal situations. The comments, below, therefore, serve to illustrate something of the "ideological potential" of sociology:

"I find, sometimes, when I'm having a discussion and I express an opinion and I then thought, well, how did I find this opinion? And I'd learnt it in sociology. I was rather surprised to find this out. It's unconscious."

"I've found that I've been able to look back over incidents that have occurred previously to my being able to explain them or understand better why things happened as a result of what I've learned in sociology."

However, I have suggested that the organisation and teaching of the subject at Aston may well, also, have unintended consequences for the teaching and learning situation and that structural constraints external to that immediate "classroom" situation may also have similarly unintended consequences. I explore these possibilities in what follows.

Teaching and learning was organised around the conventional format of lectures and tutorials. For most students the organisation of their course appeared to have a significant impact upon their perspectives, as my previous analysis indicated. As the following comment reveals, this impact was immediate for the Combined Honours students:

"When I came here I hadn't decided on a third subject and I had a choice of either ergonomics, computer science or sociology. I didn't know what ergonomics was and I didn't fancy computing, so I thought I'd do sociology. I didn't really know what that was either."

Some students reported being constrained in their choice of sociology not only by the course structure but also by the personnel administering the system who appeared to use sociology as a general subject which would suit most people. While I have indicated as much in the earlier analysis the following comment again can illustrate the idea:

"I had no choice, the administrators chose it for me"

I would like to suggest here, however, that at least one unintended consequence of this aspect of the Combined Honours scheme's organisation was to indicate to the students that, at least in some cases, sociology was for them no more than a "good third subject" and not a subject of equal importance to the other two. This perspective

may not be unique to sociology but the development of this perspective in respect of sociology was encouraged as a consequence of what I describe above. One constructive way in which this situation was coped with by students was the development of the "interdisciplinary perspective" I have described previously. However another perspective students developed, sometimes in conjunction with the "interdisciplinary perspective", suggested that students should not devote a great deal of effort to sociology. Along with other elements of their situation which led to a restriction of effort, this perspective also provided a rationale for gauging the effort and time to be given to sociology. The following comment from a Combined Honours student sums up this approach.

"Sociology takes up more time than it should, and more time than it deserves. More than a third of your time anyway."

This comment clearly points to the organisation of the course as the root of the rationale behind students' restrictions of effort. This, however, is coupled with the devalued status sociology is given by its use as a "good third subject" in the Combined Honours scheme. One student in respect of this, made the following comment:

"The trouble with sociology is that you have got too many people, who didn't know what it was about before they came so they've got too many students who are just not interested. A lot of people just didn't know what to expect and its completely different."

Coupled together these perspectives were unhelpful in the teaching and learning situation and for some students sociology was studied not only by default but also almost under protest:

"I see (sociology) as something I've only got to do for a year or so, so I do as little as possible - and just hope to get by. I won't concentrate on it in any way. I just do it to get it over with as

quickly as possible. I don't linger over it. I think by now (2nd term) the choices could've been made and you could've dropped one and wouldn't have to be examined in it."

"I'd rather just concentrate on two and scrape through on the final one and hope that if I don't actually pass it, it won't be worth kicking me out for."

I have indicated, therefore, with a reappraisal of the data I had earlier collected, something of the hidden curriculum of the sociology courses at Aston. The way in which this involves selective negligence and the restriction of student effort and the way in which the organisation and teaching of the courses has unintended consequences for student perspectives, have been demonstrated. I am now in a position, therefore, to address the question I addressed, in an earlier chapter, of school sociology - does the sociology in any way constitute part of an "oppositional curriculum" for the students or is it much the same as other subjects and not noticeably more relevant to the world outside the "classroom".

Although, as any previous analysis shows, some students did find sociology relevant to their world outside the "classroom", some students did not find it noticeably different from any of their other subjects. For these students, sociology was just one more examination to pass. I have already referred to many students' comments which illustrate their concern for examination success, but the following comment indicates even more clearly the way sociology could well have been any other examinable subject:

"... what are you meant to do (with the lecture notes)? Just learn them up? And that will be just in your short-term memory so as soon as your exam.s are gone you're going to forget them, so actually you haven't gained anything at all. You've had an exercise in learning but that's all and you can do that in anything."

Within the study of school sociology I suggested that one of the most noticeable confirming features of sociology's problematic status as "normal school" was the almost unanimity with which pupils claimed immunity to any disturbing features within the sociological perspectives presented to them. The question I put to the school pupils was very similar to the question I had earlier put to both the Aston Behavioural Science and Combined Honours students. Most students responded guardedly to this question and while agreeing that sociology "was not just another subject" disagreed with the idea that it was "disturbing" or involved them in "emotional turmoil".

The question I asked of students was put as follows:

"It has been said that sociology is 'not just another subject' but that it can involve students in a reorientation to social reality, including those aspects in which the student is closely involved, which may involve some degree of emotional turmoil. Please explain if and how you agree or disagree with these statements from your own experience."

The results are presented in the table below:

Table 11.1

SOCIOLOGY IS "NOT JUST ANOTHER SUBJECT" : STUDENTS' RESPONSES

STUDENT RESPONSE	COMBINED HONOURS		BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCE		BOTH COURSES TOTAL	
AGREE	19	73.1%	15	60.0%	34	66.6%
DISAGREE	6	23.1%	9	36.0%	15	29.4%
NON-RESPONSE	1	3.8%	1	4.0%	2	4.0%
TOTALS	26	100.0%	25	100.0%	51	100.0%

Students then, on the whole, found sociology to be more than "just another subject". Typical responses here to this essentially open-ended question were as follows:

"I have found that I question more my actions and thoughts, and attitudes towards certain aspects of society - though not with great emotional turmoil."

"I have found myself saying to myself that 'I was always told' and having difficulty seeing and accepting the new idea but nothing that has involved any 'emotional turmoil'."

"... I'd agree with the part of the quotation suggesting 'close involvement'. I think it is going a bit far to suggest 'emotional turmoil', is involved though."

"I agree that it makes students more aware of their society, and I suppose it does make some students think more about their situation no emotional 'turmoil' occurred because a sociologist should be as 'unemotional' as possible."

While for the school pupils, therefore, sociology appeared to have very little "existential impact" or personal relevance, these students while denying any "emotional turmoil", all appear to agree that sociology has involved them in some kind of "reorientation to social reality". A much smaller number of students agreed wholeheartedly with the sentiments of the question:

"I agree quite strongly with the above statements about the study of sociology involving emotional turmoil - for especially at the beginning of the course the tendency was for us to analyse our own position in society as explained by sociology."

Other students, again a small number, took the opportunity to protest, again, about their study of sociology:

"DISAGREE. It is perhaps sociology which needs reorientating into social reality.. "

"I disagree with this statement, as from my own experience, I have not become any more involved in the social reality of life than before I took the sociology course."

For most of these students, then, even given their problems with

the course, which I have previously documented, sociology did seem to engage with their world outside the classroom and did seem to be different in this respect from their other subjects.

It was in the Eighth Annual Report (1973-74) of the University of Aston that the Vice-Chancellor was lead to say:

"We are a Technological University and intend to remain one. We have faith in Technology and we have faith in science. We have faith in industry and we have faith in commerce... "

(Eighth Annual Report, 1973-74, p 6)

This describes the peculiar situation at the University of Aston in which the social sciences were to be "directly relevant" to advances in science and technology, and to contribute to "the professional skills and attitudes" of physical scientists, engineers and managers. It is in spite of these ideas that students studying sociology at Aston appear able to retain a perspective on sociology which does not deny totally a "radical" potential for that sociology. The basis upon which rests my optimism in this regard awaits further clarification by further research into areas my research was able only to point to, rather than fully probe. Bowles and Gintis (1976) suggestion that the social-structural relations of higher education serve to prepare students for the capitalist relations of production needs to be addressed. Brennan's (1977) alternative suggestion that social structural pressures are effectively unable to penetrate directly into discussions about course design and organisational structure also needs to be addressed here. The problematic relationship between higher education and its social-structural context is exactly the problem Rex (1978) addressed in his suggestion that while the higher education system retains an essential

autonomy from external constraint, there are none-the-less certain important material constraints beyond organisational structure and student interest which impost upon the teaching situation. The nature of these material constraints and their impact upon the teaching and learning situation in higher education must certainly feature on the future agenda of a research programme for the sociology of higher education. There remains still, therefore, a need to address teaching and learning situations with a theoretical framework which primarily focuses upon social structural constraints, to complement the kind of analysis executed here with a primary focused on student perspectives.

To summarise, then, the concluding sections of my thesis have suggested the following:

- 1) That an attempt to determine the degree of autonomy exhibited by higher education be made. This is a potentially key issue for future research in higher education as Chapter Ten indicated.
- 2) Related to the above is the need to determine the extent to which social change may be encouraged by educational change in the tertiary sector, and the extent to which such significant educational change may be achieved from within the "college classroom". In terms of my previous analysis this is asking about the appropriateness or otherwise of an "optimistic" classroom stance towards educational change.
- 3) This last point will, in turn, involve an examination of the constraints on the practice of teaching in higher education with particular reference to those material constraints referred to by Rex (1978) which may serve to "neutralise" radical challenges to prevalent practices.
- 4) Practically, point (3) above suggests a research programme

which includes an examination of the sources of research funding-governmental industrial or through the research councils - as suggested in Chapter Ten, and the effect this might have on the teaching situation in higher education.

5) Point (3) would also suggest a more detailed examination of the role of the U.G.C. in the case of universities and the C.N.A.A. in the case of polytechnics and the constraints these bodies impose upon teaching resources and syllabuses.

Such approaches as the above would serve to complement the approach primarily taken within this thesis which focused upon students' and staffs' perspectives. Such approaches, however, focusing on the level of the "teaching situation", are in no way an inappropriate place for teachers to begin a self-examination of the way they organise their own immediate teaching and learning situations. As I have suggested elsewhere (Fielding, 1980) the implications of studies such as these do bear upon immediate practice. Perhaps I can most appropriately conclude my thesis with a series of questions which I believe must be faced by teachers and lecturers alike with reference to our own teaching:

- 1) What is the place of "relevance" in our teaching?
- 2) How do we identify what is "meaningful" to our students?
- 3) Do we currently value sufficiently students' own experiences of the social world as a learning resource for our courses?
- 4) What kind of curricular contribution are our students allowed, or encouraged, to make?
- 5) What kind of curricular contribution are students presently able to make given the present structuring of our teaching/learning situations?
- 6) What would a "students'-eye view" of our teaching look like

and how far short of our aims does that really fall?

- 7) Finally, to what extent do the unspoken "hidden" but none-the-less effective messages of our teaching situations contradict the aims we take to that situation and what is there, within the admittedly problematic parameters of possible change, we can do to ease that contradiction?

APPENDICES

- I) The First Questionnaire
- II) The Diary
- III) The Second Questionnaire
- IV) The School Questionnaire
- V) Conference Papers and Publication

APPENDIX I : THE FIRST QUESTIONNAIRE

THE STUDENT AND THE UNIVERSITY

FIRST QUESTIONNAIRE

PLEASE BE SURE TO RETURN THE QUESTIONNAIRE. This may be done either at the lecture on Tuesday, December 14th or at any other time to the Sociology Group office on the 4th floor of Maple House.

Thank you.

Roger Fielding
Postgraduate Research
Sociology Group
Aston University

The following questionnaire comprises the first part of a longitudinal study into students and the University environment.

All information received will be treated in strictest confidence.

It has been necessary to request your name overleaf due to the longitudinal nature of the research. Your name will be used only to match this and subsequent questionnaires you may be asked to fill in, after which it will be represented by a number and the original form destroyed.

You may take as much time as you need to answer fully all the questions, but please be sure to return the questionnaire.

You may have the freedom to refuse to answer the questionnaire in part or whole if you wish, but your full co-operation is sincerely requested.

Thank you.

1. University _____

2. Title of Degree Course _____

3. Name _____

4. Sex _____ Marital Status _____

5. At what age did you enter University?
_____ years _____ months

6. In what town or city do your parents live?

7. What is your father's occupation?

8. In what type of accommodation do you live during term-time? Please tick appropriate box.

- High rise flats on campus
- Low rise flats on campus
- Handsworth Hall
- University flats elsewhere
- Lodgings
- Flat/shared house
- Home
- Elsewhere. Please specify below

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

9. In what type of accommodation would you ideally prefer to live in during term-time? Please tick appropriate box.

- High rise flats on campus
- Low rise flats on campus
- Handsworth Hall
- University flats elsewhere
- Lodgings
- Flat/shared house
- Home
- Elsewhere. Please specify below

10. What was the last type of school you attended before you came to University?

11. Which subjects did you study to "Advanced Level" at school? Please also specify the grades you achieved in the appropriate box.

IF YOU DID NOT COME TO UNIVERSITY IMMEDIATELY AFTER SCHOOL PLEASE OMIT QUESTIONS 12, 13 AND 14, BUT ANSWER QUESTION 15

IF YOU DID COME TO UNIVERSITY IMMEDIATELY AFTER SCHOOL PLEASE OMIT QUESTION 15 BUT ANSWER QUESTIONS 12, 13 AND 14

12. Did you seriously consider any alternatives to coming to University immediately after school? Please tick the appropriate box.

YES

NO

13. Please specify the alternatives you considered, if you answered 'Yes' to question 12.

POLYTECHNICS

TEACHER'S TRAINING COLLEGES

OTHER. Please specify

14. Please think of your two or three 'best' or closest friends from school. Please indicate in your own words what they went on to do after school.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

15. Please describe your career between leaving school and entering University. Please indicate the type(s) and duration of occupational experience(s) you may have had.

16. In your own words please describe your reasons for your choice of a University career.

17. In your own words, please describe the attitude your parents had towards your coming to University.

18. In the space below please indicate the Universities to which you applied through UCCA. Please list these in the order of preference used on your UCCA form.

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____
- 5. _____
- 6. _____

19. If the University of Aston in Birmingham appeared on your UCCA form (as above) please indicate any particular sources of influence or reasons leading to choice of Aston

20. In your own words please indicate the reasons affecting your choices of the other Universities on your UCCA form.

21. Please explain the reasons underlying the order or preference in which you chose the Universities on your UCCA form.

22. If you are studying on "Combined Honours" what reasons had you for choosing sociology specifically.

23. If you are studying either "Combined Honours" or "Behavioural Science", was it your intention when you entered Aston to specialize in sociology? Please tick appropriate box.

YES

NO

NO DEFINITE INTENTIONS EITHER WAY

24. Have you changed your intentions since the courses have begun.

YES

NO

25. Please explain, in as fuller detail as you can, your present intentions.

I wish/do not wish to specialise in sociology because

26. Are you now studying the subject or the kind of course you initially applied for? Please tick the appropriate box.

YES

NO

27. If you answered 'No' to question 26 please indicate the subject or kind of course you initially did apply to study on your UCCA form.

28. In your own words please indicate the reasons for the choice of subjects you made on your UCCA form.

29. How closely related are the subjects you are now studying and your plans for the future? (Please indicate also what you hope to do when you leave University)

30. Before you came up to University you probably had certain ideas about the fellow students you would meet and study with. Please describe below in your own words the kind of people you anticipated your fellow students being.

31. You are now a University student and probably have ideas about the characteristics and qualities of a good University student. Please note below what in your view are the three essential characteristics or qualities of a good University student, in order of preference.

1.

2.

3.

32. Please list below the things you thought would bring you most satisfaction in being a University student.

33. Please list below the things which have in fact brought you most satisfaction so far in being a University student.

34. Before you came up to University did you have any specific expectations of the members of staff? If so, please briefly outline what those expectations were.

35. Is there any way in which the members of staff you have so far met have failed to fulfil your expectations? If so, please explain below.

36. Please indicate below the three most important characteristics or qualities a good teaching staff member should possess in your opinion.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

39. Assuming that they were fully acquainted with the nature and quality of your work at the University, whose judgement of your abilities would you value most? Please rank the following in order of importance using number 1 for the most important and down to number 5.

PEOPLE HOLDING SENIOR POSTS IN THE CAREER YOU HOPE TO FOLLOW

YOUR PARENTS

YOUR LECTURERS

YOUR HUSBAND/WIFE

YOUR FELLOW STUDENTS

OTHER. Please specify

40. Will you please indicate the importance you attach to the educational objectives which are represented below. Please encircle one of the letters "E", "D" or "N" at the side of the statements to indicate as follows:-

"E" = Essential as an objective of a University education

"D" = Desirable but not essential

"N" = Not Important as an objective of a University education

(NB: statements rated "N" might still be essential or desirable attributes of an individual, but still of no concern to a University education).

OBJECTIVES:

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1) An open and inquiring mind which bases judgement on evidence and not on 'authorities'. | E | D | N |
| 2) Able to think clearly and independently, as opposed to being a parrot | E | D | N |
| 3) Able to acquire further knowledge for himself without formal guidance from a teacher | E | D | N |
| 4) In a position to give useful service to industry as soon as he enters it | E | D | N |
| 5) Has engaged in vocationally relevant academic study | E | D | N |

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|
| 6) | A competent person who is useful to his employer in a short space of time | E | D | N |
| 7) | Able to apply fundamental knowledge to new problems, particularly in real situations | E | D | N |
| 8) | Has a clear understanding of the relationship between theory and practice | E | D | N |
| 9) | By contact in the work situation has become aware of the way of life, work and thought and the difficulties and rewards affecting people at all levels of professional attainment | E | D | N |
| 10) | Has an insight into management problems | E | D | N |
| 11) | Has an understanding of the people he will eventually work with | E | D | N |
| 12) | Has mastered general principles rather than amassed information | E | D | N |
| 13) | Has a depth of knowledge in a particular field | E | D | N |
| 14) | Understands the fundamental principles of a subject, not just a mass of facts | E | D | N |
| 15) | Has solid foundations | E | D | N |

41. You probably have views about the nature of a University and the characteristics of a University which are essential or desirable. Please indicate how essential or important you consider the following attributes to be. Think of your idea of an ideal University, a University as you would most like it to be. Please encircle the appropriate number against each attribute:

- 1 Absolutely essential
- 2 Important, but not essential
- 3 Moderately important
- 4 Not much important
- 5 No importance at all

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) | Easy informal contacts with staff | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2) | Opportunities to do considerable amount of work on your own | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3) Treats students as if they are grown-up, not as if they are still at school | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4) Has distinguished members of staff who are known for their research | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5) Provides practical training in industry or other organisation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6) Provides an opportunity to meet people of different backgrounds | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7) Is concerned with learning for its own sake, without regard for its practical applications | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8) Is concerned with preparing students for a vocation or occupation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9) Provides opportunities for improving students' social skills and confidence | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

42. In three or four years time you will leave University. Please indicate on the scale provided the extent to which a job or career will have to satisfy the following requirements before you would consider it ideal.

- | | Ideal | | | | Less than Ideal | | | |
|--|-------|---|---|---|-----------------|--|--|--|
| 1) Provide me with adventure | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | | | |
| 2) Provide me with a chance to earn good money | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | | | |
| 3) Provide an opportunity to use my special attributes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | | | |
| 4) Give me an opportunity to work with people rather than things | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | | | |
| 5) Enable me to look forward to a stable secure future | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | | | |
| 6) Give me a chance to exercise leadership | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | | | |
| 7) Give me social status and prestige | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | | | |
| 8) Give me an opportunity to be helpful to others | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | | | |
| 9) Permit me to be creative and original | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | | | |
| 10) Leave me relatively free of supervision by others | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | | | |

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION.

APPENDIX II : THE 'DIARY'

SOCIOLOGY LABORATORY

ASSIGNMENT 3

Name:

COMBINED HONOURS

SOCIOLOGY I - 1976/77

SOCIOLOGY LABORATORY: ASSIGNMENT THREE

THE STUDENT'S DIARY

HOW DO STUDENTS SPEND THEIR TIME?

INTRODUCTION:

There are essentially three main methods used by research workers to study how people spend their time. They may be asked in interview or discussion for a self-estimation of the amount of time spent on each of a variety of activities. They may be asked to keep a record (diary) themselves, or the research worker may record by observation what he sees them spending their time on. The assignment of the Sociology Laboratory this week is to determine how students actually spent their time.

METHOD:

The assignment will consist of a comparison between the first and second methods above, that is self-estimation and the diary method.

The laboratory period itself will be used to complete a self-estimation exercise by students, while the formal laboratory report will be replaced by the diary exercise.

Two measures may be used of a person's activities. One is the amount of time that he spends on particular activities, and the other is the frequency with which he does something. One may want to know, for instance, both how frequently students use the library and how long for, or how frequently they use the Vauxhall Dining Centre and how long they spend there, etc.

Both self-recording and observation can aim to cover the whole period under review, record only what a person is doing at random intervals through the day, or record the occurrence of specific incidents. Detailed self-recording, using a continuous diary, is time-consuming and imposes a heavy burden on the respondent. The laboratory diary assignment therefore consists of the structured recording of three types of incident, designed specifically to test certain propositions about students' study habits, informal academic exchanges among students and the extent of informal social relations between students and their members of staff. These areas seem self-evidently important to our questioning of the way students may spend their time.

DISCUSSION:

Students should note at the end of their diaries if the week during which they kept their diary was abnormal in any way.

Students should also abstract the distributions of the different categories in their diary, and display this using a histogram presentation.

PART I - THE CONTINUOUS DIARY

DIRECTIONS:

The categories used during the laboratory self-estimation exercise should be used during the completion of the continuous diary overleaf.

In order to make the Sociology Laboratory comparison between the diary and the self-estimation as accurate as possible, students should fill in the diary throughout the day at regular intervals. To estimate the composition of each day at the end of the day (or week) would, of course, defeat the exercise.

The categories to be used should be written below to avoid confusion and to ensure a consistent coding:

- A = TIMETABLED WORK
- B = COURSE-RELATED STUDY
- C = NON-COURSE RELATED STUDY
- D = NON-STUDY ACTIVITIES
- E = DOMESTIC
- F = SLEEP

If, during any one hour specified on the continuous diary, students find more than one category applicable (and this is not unlikely) then each applicable category should be entered as appropriate.

Name:

Sex:

Age:

Residence:

Course: COMBINED HONOURS, Subjects 1. Sociology

2.

3.

THE CONTINUOUS DIARY

	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
MONDAY												
TUESDAY												
WEDNESDAY												
THURSDAY												
FRIDAY												

PART II - THE STRUCTURED "INCIDENT DIARIES"

1. Work-related conversations with students.
2. Informal, social interactions with staff.
3. Study events.

Name:

Sex:

Age:

Residence:

Course: COMBINED HONOURS, Subjects 1. Sociology

2.

3.

DIRECTIONS:

All entries will be in the form of ticks in the appropriate boxes, except for the day of the incident and the time, which should be recorded to the nearest five minutes.

All entries should be made as soon after the occurrence of the incident as possible, to ensure both accurate recordings for each incident and full recordings of all incidents.

Each incident sheet will record 4 incidents, after which the continuation sheets may be used.

INCIDENT SHEET TYPE ONE:

CONVERSATIONS WITH STUDENTS OUTSIDE LECTURE AND TUTORIAL TIME, BUT
RELATED TO WORK

DIRECTIONS:

The "subject" categories are defined as on the front page of the diary. The other categories are self-explanatory, except the "where?" categories, which are defined as follows:

1. Maple House or other University teaching buildings (excluding those locations mentioned in category 3).
2. The library.
3. Bars and coffee bars of the University, including Vauxhall Dining Centre.
4. Place of residence.
5. Other (if this category is specified, please note in your comments the exact location).

THE RECORDING SHEET:

WHEN?	DURATION?			WHERE?					WITH WHOM?		INITIATED BY		SUBJECT						
	Day	Time		(-5)	(5-15)	(15-)	1	2	3	4	5	1 other	2 or more	Self	Other	1	2	3	
Tues	17.15				✓		✓												✓

WHY? COMMENTS/TOPIC OF CONVERSATION: *Fust Term Essay*

1.

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
2.

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
3.

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4.

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

CONTINUATION SHEET, TYPE ONE:

- 7 -

INCIDENT	WHEN?		DURATION?			WHERE?					WITH WHOM?		INITIATED BY		SUBJECT					
	Day	Time	(-5)	(5-15)	(15-)	1	2	3	4	5	1	other	2	or more	Self	Other	1	2	3	
5.																				
6.																				
7.																				
8.																				
9.																				

INCIDENT SHEET TYPE TWO:

INFORMAL INTERACTIONS WITH STAFF

DIRECTIONS:

The categories are self-explanatory except for the following. The "where" categories are defined as follows:

1. Maple House or other University teaching buildings (excluding those locations mentioned in category 2).
2. The room or office of the member of staff.
3. The library.
4. Bars and coffee bars of the University, including Vauxhall Dining Centre.
5. Other (if this category is specified, please note in your comments the exact location).

The "with whom?" categories are defined with reference to the "subject" categories (see front page of diary):

1. Sociology staff
2. 2nd subject staff (see front page)
3. 3rd subject staff (see front page)

THE RECORDING SHEET:

INCIDENT

WHEN?		DURATION?			WHERE?					WITH WHOM?			INITIATED BY	
Day	Time	(-5) (minutes)	(5-15)	(15-)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	Self	Other
WHY? COMMENTS/TOPICS OF CONVERSATION														
1.														
2.														
3.														
4.														

- 6 -

CONTINUATION SHEET, TYPE TWO

INCIDENT

WHEN?	DURATION?			WHERE?					WITH WHOM?			INITIATED BY			
	Day	Time	(-5)	(5-15)	(15-)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	Self	Other
5.															
6.															
7.															
8.															
9.															

INCIDENT SHEET TYPE THREE

STUDY EVENTS

DIRECTIONS:

All other categories are self-explanatory except the "where?" categories, which are defined as follows:

1. The library.
2. Place of residence.
3. Other (if this category is specified, please note in your comments the exact location).

THE RECORDING SHEET

INCIDENT

WHEN?	DURATION?				WHERE?			WITH WHOM?		SUBJECT			
	Day	Time	1/2	1	2	3	1	2	3	Alone	With others	1	2

COMMENTS:

1.														
2.														
3.														
4.														

CONTINUATION SHEET, TYPE THREE

INCIDENT

WHEN?	DURATION?					WHERE?			WITH WHOM?		SUBJECT			
	Day	Time	1	2	3	(3-)	1	2	3	Alone	With others	1	2	3
5.														
6.														
7.														
8.														
9.														

APPENDIX III : THE SECOND QUESTIONNAIRE

Q U E S T I O N N A I R E

Please complete and return this questionnaire as soon as possible.

Thank you.

Roger Fielding

This questionnaire should not take longer than about 40 minutes to complete. Most questions are multiple-choice questions framed in such a way that you need only tick the most appropriate box in each instance.

A few questions, however, are left "open" so that you may provide your own responses entirely. For these "open" questions please answer in your own words and please answer as fully as possible at whatever length you require.

The questionnaire is divided into five sections:

Section One asks some things about your study of Sociology,

Section Two is concerned with the University,

Section Three consists of only a few questions about your future,

Section Four asks about your initial applications to University, and

Section Five asks for some personal information about yourself.

The questionnaire is part of a research project in the Sociology of Higher Education with particular reference to students of Sociology. Although your participation in this research is voluntary, you may also be invited to attend a short informal interview upon issues related to those raised in the questionnaire. Your co-operation in all this is sincerely requested.

All responses to this questionnaire will be treated in the strictest confidence and used only for the purposes of the research. Your name is requested only for data-matching purposes after which it will be represented by a number and deleted from the record.

Please complete and return the questionnaire as soon as possible.

Thank you.

Roger Fielding

SECTION ONE

This section tries to deal specifically with your expectations of, responses to, and difficulties with the Sociology courses within your degree. After a few questions on your course options, you are asked to respond to four "open" questions in your own words. These are followed by a few items with which you may agree or disagree.

1. My Degree Course is BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCE
COMBINED HONOURS

2. When you began the course in which of your main subjects was it your intention to specialise?

I was undecided

--

3. Have your intentions changed since you began the course?

NO

YES.

I am still undecided

4. If your intentions have changed in which of your main subjects do you now intend to specialise?

The following five questions are "open" questions:

5. What were your particular reasons for wanting to study a degree course which included the study of Sociology?

6. What do you feel is the aim or objective of the Sociology course? (What is it trying to achieve?)

8

7. How would you summarise the expectations you had of Sociology before you began the course?

9

8. Please list the main difficulties you have had, and those you are still having, with the Sociology course(s) so far.

10

9. It has been said that Sociology is "not just another subject" but that it can involve students in a "reorientation to social reality, including those aspects in which the student is closely involved, which may involve some emotional turmoil". Please explain if and how you agree or disagree with these statements, from your own experience.

11

10. Please respond to the following statements about your Sociology course by circling the appropriate number in each case after each item as follows:

- 1 = agree very strongly
- 2 = agree
- 3 = disagree
- 4 = disagree very strongly

(1) "Sociology is really just commonsense"	1	2	3	4	12
(2) "I think Sociology has tremendous relevance to my own understanding of the world around me"	1	2	3	4	13
(3) "Sociology just points out what most people know already"	1	2	3	4	14
(4) "I did not expect there to be a great deal of work to the Sociology course"	1	2	3	4	15
(5) "You could learn Sociology fairly adequately from books"	1	2	3	4	16
(6) "Sociology is completely different from my expectations"	1	2	3	4	17
(7) "Looking back over incidents which have occurred in the past I am now more able to understand them as a result of having studied Sociology"	1	2	3	4	18
(8) "I come out of tutorials knowing little more than I went in with"	1	2	3	4	19
(9) "In comparison to my other subjects Sociology takes up more than its fair share of time"	1	2	3	4	20
(10) "I always try to relate Sociology to my personal experience"	1	2	3	4	21
(11) "I thought the Sociology course would be a 'soft option'"	1	2	3	4	22
(12) "I would like to do extra background reading in Sociology"	1	2	3	4	23
(13) "I have not got the time to do any extra background reading in Sociology"	1	2	3	4	24

10. Continued:

(14) "Sociology is a very interesting and important subject"	1	2	3	4	25
(15) "I learn more in Sociology tutorials than I do in lectures"	1	2	3	4	26
(16) "Sociology does not seem to have much relevance to 'real life'"	1	2	3	4	27
(17) "I just want to pass the examinations then forget all about Sociology"	1	2	3	4	28
(18) "Sociology won't have any relevance for my eventual job"	1	2	3	4	29
(19) "Sociology never seems to tell me anything I didn't know already"	1	2	3	4	30
(20) "I shall continue to read Sociology even when I have finished the course here"	1	2	3	4	31

SECTION TWO

11. In what kind of accommodation do you reside during term-time?

- ON CAMPUS
- UNIVERSITY ACCOMMODATION ELSEWHERE
(e.g. Handsworth Hall)
- LODGINGS
- RENTED FLAT/SHARED HOUSE
- OWN OR PARENTAL HOME
- OTHER (please specify)

12. Please read the following four descriptions of a University student and then indicate, by circling the appropriate letter, which would be:

(1) The most appropriate description of yourself as a University student: A B C D 33

(2) The most appropriate description of the typical student at Aston University: A B C D 34

Description A: "I participate in some social and intellectual activities of the University and do all the work that is set, but I do not do more than is necessary. I am primarily interested in education as preparation for my occupational future".

Description B: "I am not really interested in the University social life but enjoy interesting discussions with fellow students, and reading and following up lectures on my own in the library. My intellectual curiosity forces me always to go beyond the mere course requirements".

Description C: "I am concerned with books and the pursuit of knowledge and always do extra reading beyond course requirements, but I also consider the social life of the University very important for my general development".

Description D: "Although I always attempt to keep up with set work, I think the social life of the University is rather more important than the academic, as it provides an excellent opportunity to mix, meet people and develop important social skills".

13. Has your experience of University so far lived up to your expectations?

YES []
NO []

The next four questions are "open" questions:

14. What have you found brings you most satisfaction in being a University student?

15. What have you found brings you least satisfaction in being a University student?

37

16. Please write a few sentences giving your description of the character of this University.

38

17. Please indicate what has led you to describe the University in the way you have done above.

39

18. Would you please now assess on the five point scale provided the following aspects of your course, and library and University facilities? Please select the appropriate rating for each aspect as follows:

- 1 = very poor
- 2 = poor
- 3 = adequate
- 4 = good
- 5 = very good

(1) The Academic Course content					
(a) Introduction to Sociology	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Social Analysis (Combined Honours only)	1	2	3	4	5

40

41

18. Continued:

(2) Structure of Course (Ordering of material)						
(a) Introduction to Sociology	1	2	3	4	5	42
(b) Social Analysis (Combined Honours only)	1	2	3	4	5	43
(3) Teaching Methods						
(a) Lectures	1	2	3	4	5	44
(b) Tutorials/Seminars	1	2	3	4	5	45
(4) Assessment Procedures used						
(a) Continuous Assessment (Essays)	1	2	3	4	5	46
(b) Examinations	1	2	3	4	5	47
(5) Staff/Student Relationships						
(a) On academic matters	1	2	3	4	5	48
(b) General, Social	1	2	3	4	5	49
(6) Stock of Books in Library	1	2	3	4	5	50
(7) Ease of obtaining books from Library	1	2	3	4	5	51
(8) Seating/Studying arrangements in Library	1	2	3	4	5	52
(9) Administration of Library	1	2	3	4	5	53
(10) Opening Hours of Library	1	2	3	4	5	54
(11) Common Rooms	1	2	3	4	5	55
(12) Refectories/Dining Facilities	1	2	3	4	5	56
(13) Bars	1	2	3	4	5	57
(14) Sports Facilities	1	2	3	4	5	58

19. Are you a member of any University clubs or societies?

NO

YES (please specify)

20. As you are now a University student you probably have some idea about the characteristics you feel are important with regard to your conceptions of a "good" University student, a "good" academic staff member and an "ideal" University. The next few questions ask about these conceptions. For each item please indicate how important or essential you feel each item is. In each case circle the most appropriate number for each item as follows:

- 1 = absolutely essential
 2 = important but not essential
 3 = moderately important
 4 = not very important
 5 = not important at all

<u>The "Good" University Student:</u>						
Makes friends easily	1	2	3	4	5	61
Is able to work hard and study alone	1	2	3	4	5	62
Is able to mix with all sorts of people	1	2	3	4	5	63
Keeps up with the work	1	2	3	4	5	64
Takes part in a number of University societies	1	2	3	4	5	65
Has an interest in his subject	1	2	3	4	5	66
Is active in sporting and recreational events	1	2	3	4	5	67
Attends all lectures and tutorials	1	2	3	4	5	68
Enjoys the course	1	2	3	4	5	69
Takes an active part in tutorials	1	2	3	4	5	70
Is able to get on well with members of staff	1	2	3	4	5	71
Balances study and leisure	1	2	3	4	5	72
<u>The "Good" Academic Staff Member:</u>						
Has an interesting and stimulating lecture technique	1	2	3	4	5	73
Is very knowledgeable in their subject ("Knows their stuff")	1	2	3	4	5	74
Is always available to help students	1	2	3	4	5	75

20. Continued:

Is well qualified academically	1	2	3	4	5	76
Understands students and their way of life	1	2	3	4	5	77
Is engaged in research in their subject	1	2	3	4	5	78
Looks on students as equal adults	1	2	3	4	5	79
Gets students through examinations	1	2	3	4	5	80
Has written articles or published books	1	2	3	4	5	81
<u>The "Ideal" University:</u>						
Allows easy informal contact with staff	1	2	3	4	5	82
Gives ample opportunities to work and study alone	1	2	3	4	5	83
Has distinguished staff members known for their research	1	2	3	4	5	84
Provides opportunities to meet people of different backgrounds	1	2	3	4	5	85
Is concerned with learning for its own sake, without regard for its practical application	1	2	3	4	5	86
Must prepare people for some career or vocation	1	2	3	4	5	87
Provides opportunities for improving students social skills and confidence	1	2	3	4	5	88
Allows students to pursue their own interests without following a set syllabus	1	2	3	4	5	89

SECTION THREE

21. Into what kind of employment do you hope to enter when you graduate?

90

22. How happy are you with the career prospects your course seems to offer you?

HAPPY

UNHAPPY

NOT AT ALL WORRIED ABOUT
JOBS AT THE MOMENT

91

23. How closely related would you say are the subjects you are now studying to your hopes for future employment?

VERY MUCH

A LITTLE

NOT AT ALL

92

SECTION FOUR

24. Please list the choices of University and course as you made them on your UCCA form.

	UNIVERSITY	COURSE
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

93 98

94 99

95 100

96 101

97 102

(187)

25. Were these UCCA choices: in order of preference?
of equal preference?

103

26. How would you say your parents supported your desire to get into University?

- WHOLEHEARTEDLY
- PASSIVELY
- INDIFFERENTLY
- NEGATIVELY

104

27. What is your opinion about University academic entry standards?

THAT ALL UNIVERSITIES HAVE EQUAL STANDARDS OF ENTRY?

THAT SOME MAKE LOWER ACADEMIC DEMANDS OF THEIR CANDIDATES FOR ENTRY?

105

28. Which Universities, if any, do you believe have the higher academic standards of entry?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____

106

107

108

109

110

111

29. Which Universities, if any, do you believe have the lower academic standards of entry?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____

112

113

114

115

116

117

30. Were any of your UCCA University choices guided by your specific hope for a low conditional offer upon which you could fall back in the event of other offers being too high?

NO

YES (please specify)

118

119

31. Did you seriously consider any alternatives to University? Please indicate below those alternatives you considered (you may tick more than one box).

ONLY UNIVERSITIES

POLYTECHNICS

TEACHER'S TRAINING COLLEGES

OTHER FURTHER EDUCATION

EMPLOYMENT

120

32. As far as you can recall please indicate the responses you received from Universities via UCCA following your applications. Please circle as appropriate in the table below:

R = Rejection

UC = Unconditional

C = Conditional upon the grades as indicated.

	UNIVERSITY (As Q.24)	RESPONSES VIA UCCA			
		1	2	3	GRADES
1		R	UC	C	
2		R	UC	C	
3		R	UC	C	
4		R	UC	C	
5		R	UC	C	

121 126

122 127

123 128

124 129

125 130

33. Which of your offers did you retain? Please complete the table below as before.

	UNIVERSITY	OFFERS		
		2	3	GRADES
1		UC	C	
2		UC	C	

131 133

132 134

34. If you eventually arrived at Aston via the "Clearing" system please tick the box.

135

35. Which of the following reasons influenced your decision to come to University at all? Please circle appropriately for each item as follows:

1 = very much

2 = a little

3 = not at all

(1) To obtain a qualification for its own sake	1	2	3	136
(2) To obtain a vocational qualification	1	2	3	137
(3) To pursue an interest in the subject	1	2	3	138
(4) In order to undergo a general education	1	2	3	139
(5) To postpone any career decisions	1	2	3	140
(6) Because parents/school expected it	1	2	3	141
(7) Other (please specify)	1	2	3	142

36. Please indicate the reasons for your UCCA University choices? Please circle appropriately for each item as follows:

1 = very much

2 = a little

3 = not at all

(1) The prospectus with details of the course	1	2	3	143
(2) The prospectus with general information about the University	1	2	3	144
(3) Discussion with friends at school	1	2	3	145
(4) Advice given at school	1	2	3	146
(5) Parental advice	1	2	3	147
(6) Discussion with friends already at University	1	2	3	148
(7) The location of the University	1	2	3	149
(8) Other Reasons (please specify)	1	2	3	150

37. Could you also please indicate the reasons for your first choice of course. Please circle appropriately a response for each item as follows:

- 1 = very much
- 2 = a little
- 3 = not at all

(1) Continuation from favourite school subjects	1	2	3	151
(2) Details of course from University prospectus	1	2	3	152
(3) Qualification for a specific career	1	2	3	153
(4) Preparation for a general career area	1	2	3	154
(5) Continuation of an area of interest outside school subjects	1	2	3	155
(6) Appeal of the University offering the course	1	2	3	156
(7) Completely new subjects which seemed interesting	1	2	3	157
(8) Advice of parents	1	2	3	158
(9) Advice of school	1	2	3	159
(10) Discussion with friends	1	2	3	160
(11) Other reasons (please specify)	1	2	3	161

38. If you applied to the University of Aston in Birmingham on your UCCA form, could you please indicate the reasons for this. Please circle appropriately a response for each item as follows:

- 1 = very much
- 2 = a little
- 3 = not much

(1) The prospectus, details of the particular course	1	2	3	161
(2) The prospectus, general information about the University	1	2	3	162

38. Continued:

(3) A preference for a technological University	1	2	3	16
(4) Discussion with friends already at Aston	1	2	3	16
(5) Desire for a City Centre University	1	2	3	16
(6) Other reasons (please specify)	1	2	3	16

SECTION FIVE

In this section of the questionnaire you are asked for a few facts about yourself. As indicated at the beginning of the questionnaire, all the information is strictly confidential and will be analysed in aggregate form only. Please answer all questions.

39. Name _____

40. Sex

MALE	<input type="checkbox"/>
FEMALE	<input type="checkbox"/>

41. Marital Status

SINGLE	<input type="checkbox"/>
MARRIED	<input type="checkbox"/>
OTHER	<input type="checkbox"/>

42. Nationality

BRITISH	<input type="checkbox"/>
OTHER (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>

43. Father's Occupation _____

Description of actual job _____

44. Educational Institution last attended

- COMPREHENSIVE
- GRAMMAR
- SECONDARY TECHNICAL
- SECONDARY MODERN
- PUBLIC, INDEPENDENT .
- DIRECT GRANT
- COLLEGE FE/TECHNICAL
- OTHER (Please specify)

172

45. Entry Qualifications

- A LEVELS
- ONC/OND
- HNC/HND
- OTHER (Please specify)

173

46. Advanced level subjects studied

	Grades Achieved
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

174 179

175 180

176 181

177 182

178 183

(188)

47. Were the grades you achieved on the whole

- BETTER THAN EXPECTED?
- LOWER THEN EXPECTED?
- JUST AS EXPECTED?

184

48. Age when you left your last attended educational institution

185

49. Age when you began your course at Aston

186

APPENDIX IV : THE SCHOOL QUESTIONNAIRE

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR SOCIOLOGY LESSONS

TRY TO ANSWER EVERY QUESTION: THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS
YOU SHOULD ANSWER EACH QUESTION AS FULLY AS YOU CAN.

Thankyou.

1. Why did you choose Sociology?
What did you expect the subject to be like?
2. Has it turned out to be what you expected?
How is it similar/different from your expectations?
3. How is the subject like other subject you take?
How is the subject different from your other subjects?
4. Some people (for example, members of the public) think Sociology can be upsetting and disturbing, perhaps because it talks about people and society.
 - a) has Sociology upset or disturbed you in any way?
 - b) if so, which particular ideas or topics did this?
5. In your lessons so far, which ideas have you found to be ...
 - a) the most interesting?
 - b) the most difficult to understand?
 - c) the most boring or least interesting?
6. Think now not only about the subject of Sociology but the actual class periods you have and the way the subject is taught ..
 - a) what do you like most about Sociology lessons?
 - b) what do you like least about Sociology lessons?
7. If you could decide how Sociology was to be taught in this school, what changes would you make to lessons now?
8. Finally, if you could decide what topics to study about about in Sociology, what topics would you particularly choose?

+ + + + + + + +

APPENDIX V : CONFERENCE PAPERS AND PUBLICATIONS

APPENDIX V (a) : "THE ACADEMIC ROLE OF THE SOCIOLOGY STUDENT"

Paper presented to the British Sociological Association Industrial Sociology Study Group Meeting "Crisis in Sociology and Industrial Sociology Teaching : Some Ways of Comprehending and Coping" held at Aston University, March 5th, 1977.

The original intention of the research was to elicit the student's expectations of the academic role of the university student, with special reference to the teaching and learning of sociology.

In what follows, I shall outline the theoretical, methodological and practical considerations bearing upon my own research, and then go on to present some comments of students collected recently during a series of group interviews.

Attempts to conceptualise the research problem wholly in terms of role theory, however, were not successful, due both to the nature of the student role and the nature of the research problem.

In terms of Gross' (1966) language for role analysis for example, the student's role is neither relationally nor situationally specific. The "academic segment of the student role" has no counterpart in Gross' formulation. I do not want to restrict myself to a consideration of the student's relationship with the academic staff, as Gross' notion of role segmentation would suggest. This is not to imply that the student's relationship with academic staff is unimportant or non-problematic, there is reason to believe otherwise on both counts, it is to recognise that the important features of "the academic role of the student" are not played out in the face-to-face interaction of that relationship.

Relationships other than staff relationships, of course, can have significance for academic effort and performance, notably perhaps, peer group relationships, as witnessed in studies of student culture. It was equally difficult to "situationally specify" the student's role since the bulk of important academic work is completed not in tutorials, seminars or even lectures but in other diverse situations not so easily specified and perhaps in isolation, in the library or bed-sitting room.

It is of course difficult to accurately and objectively observe and/or measure important or productive academic work (Child, 1970) but the

point remains the same. It is essential to get beyond the minimum role requirements of appearance at lectures and tutorials to something more significant. This is not to suggest that role theory is completely inappropriate to a study of students nor that the formulation of Gross is the only or the best one, it is to say I did not find role theory the most fruitful approach to the formulation of my own research problems. There are other formulations of role theory of course (Biddle et al, 1966) and the concept of role has previously been used successfully to study students (Toomey (1971)).

The collective setting in which teaching and learning occurs has been conceptualised by Wheeler (1966) as a "collective-serial socialisation setting". Wheeler's fourfold typology of socialisation settings are arranged by the extent to which others can help the new "recruit" arrive at a workable definition of his situation.

Wheeler's typology was constructed by dichotomising two aspects of the interpersonal settings of organisations. Firstly, whether the "recruit" was facing the setting alone or in the company of others. The "recruit" may thus have an individual or a collective status. Secondly, the "recruit" may or may not be preceded by others who have been through the same process and who can teach him about the setting. This might be referred to as a "serial" pattern of socialisation, to distinguish it from "disjunctive" patterns where the "recruits" are not following in the footsteps of predecessors. The potential importance to the "recruits" definition of his situation of the collective and serial nature of the interpersonal socialisation setting at college is best exemplified by the work of Becker on student culture (1961; 1968). The weakness of the conceptualisation of the research problem in terms of role theory is overcome here. Rather than formulating the problem in terms of "the student's expectations of the academic role of the university student, with special reference to the teaching and learning

of sociology", I shall approach the process of the teaching and learning of sociology in terms of the student's definition of his situation or, (to use Becker's term,) his "perspectives" upon it.

Becker (1961) suggests that student culture is a response to problems students face as students, and the "perspectives" which make up student culture account for a great deal of what students experience and do while at college. The concept of "perspective" refers simply to "a person's ordinary way of thinking and feeling about and acting in a problematic situation" (Becker, 1961) or, put another way, "it constitutes the matrix through which one perceives one's environment" (Shibutani, 1955).

Clark and Trow also used the concept of "student culture" but in a different way to that of Becker. They suggested different sub-cultures emerged from a combination of two variables - the degree to which students are involved with ideas and the extent to which students identify with their college. Dichotomising these two variables leads to a fourfold typology of student sub-cultures which Clark and Trow designate "the academic", "the collegiate", "the non-conformist" and "the vocational". The defining elements of the Clark and Trow student sub-cultures are the orientations they embody towards a college or university education. However, in the way in which the Clark and Trow typology has been operationalised by researchers it ceases to be a measure of sub-cultures and becomes, rather, a result of role-orientations.

Researchers using the typology usually simply present to their subjects four brief statements describing the major characteristics of each orientation and ask subjects to classify themselves, (Gottlieb and Hodgkins, 1963), for example. Used properly the concept of sub-culture implies that the attitudes and values held by students in the

college setting are learned from the communication network perpetuating the sub-culture (Bolton and Kammeyer, 1967). The concept of role-orientation does not carry such an implication, and neither does the Clark and Trow typology make provision for it. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it cannot be assumed that the "sub-cultures" of Clark and Trow are contingent upon groups of persistently interacting persons, and as I have previously observed it is the perspectives and definitions which emerge from student interactions which are important. For this reason, then, I favour Becker's conceptualisation of "student culture" and the associated concept of "perspective".

Previous research on students in higher education has been largely descriptive, (Biggs, 1975). It has been shown, for example, that social scientists are more inclined than either physical scientists or engineers to mention intellectual satisfactions, and are least inclined to mention instrumental satisfactions, such as careers references or gaining qualifications, when asked to list the qualities of a good student (Toomey, 1969). Social scientists are also found to be significantly more inclined to attach high value to the opinions of parents and fellow students, and lower values to the opinions of people holding senior posts in the career they hope to follow, when asked whose judgement of their abilities they value the most (Musgrove and Child, 1969). Students in arts and social science also differ significantly from applied scientists and engineers in not attaching great weight to earning good money and being able to look forward to a stable secure future (Smithers, 1969). These and similar findings, however, might possibly be explained with reference to the student's "perspectives". If, for example, a student of sociology does not define sociology as a vocational subject, then career-derived reference groups and "instrumental satisfactions" are not available to him. I am suggesting that an understanding of the

"perspectives" students bring to their college life and the ways in which they differentially define their subject is of importance to any study of students and the teaching-learning process. The perspective of the student must remain central to the analysis of teaching and learning if the analysis is to avoid triviality, and such responses as are elicited from students must be evaluated in the context of this kind of more comprehensive understanding.

Neither can it be assumed that the content of a student's course is irrelevant to the shaping of his perspectives, and there are indications that this is particularly the case for students of sociology. While Becker's medical students negotiated the level and direction of their academic effort with reference to the needs of medical practice it may be that, with no such clear criterion to guide them, the similar negotiations of sociology students are more complex. Clarke (1973) notes that without a clear definition of sociology, students may have high expectations for it, each having projected his own interests upon it: "Some seek solutions to social problems as social workers or social reformers, some a political programme, some a humanistic faith, some simply a degree as a meal ticket, some a solution to problems of identity; certainly only a very few come in a spirit of detached intellectual inquiry" (Clarke, 1973). Even in cases where sociology is taught as a subsidiary course it is unlikely that students will allow the unilateral definition of the subject by its teaching staff.

In a very useful article on teaching and learning in higher education Brennan and Percy (1975) make the practical suggestion that lecturers need to be aware of who their students really are and what kind of life they lead outside the seminar room. A realistic assessment of college life suggests that the totality of the student's experience is what is valuable to him, not the academic side alone. The values of the society

outside the university may have more continuity with the values of the student population than with the lecturers' values. Put crudely, Brennan and Percy go on to say, it could be the lecturers who are deviants. An approach to the processes of teaching and learning in terms of the student's perspectives, therefore, will avoid these dangers of academic ethnocentricity.

The reformulation of the research problem is not, of course, without more far-reaching theoretical and methodological implications. Research on substantive problems cannot be divorced from the wider issues of sociological theory and method, and research methodology is not atheoretical. In reformulating the research problem in this way, I have moved from one "paradigm" (Kuhn, 1962) with its "structural conception" of social interaction, to another with its conception of social interaction as an "interpretive process", (Blumer, 1966). The methodological implications of this are outlined by Blumer (1966). The approach I am proposing to take "is in contrast to the so-called objective approach so dominant today, namely, that of viewing the actor and his action from the perspective of an outside, detached observer". The reformulation of the problem of the teaching and learning processes in sociology education in terms of the student (actor's) "perspectives" is to recognise the importance of "symbolic interaction". Blumer (1966) further suggests:

"It is unnecessary to add that the actor acts towards his world on the basis of how he sees it and not on the basis of how that world appears to the outside observer."

Research in education is too often divorced from practice. One of my aims for my research is that it should retain an important relevance for the practical concerns of teaching and learning sociology. The "illuminative approach", described by Miller and Parlett (1974), aims to "explore, describe, elucidate, and portray - in other words to

illuminate - problems in their natural setting" and my research will broadly fall into this emerging tradition, attempting to illuminate the processes of the teaching and learning of sociology. In adopting a symbolic interactionist perspective I shall emphasise the more conscious aspects of human behaviour and their relation to the individual's participation in group life. My research proposal is an in-depth case-study of the processes of teaching and learning sociology as they occur here at Aston.

The organisation of sociology teaching at Aston is such that no students pursue sociology as a single honours course, nor, more importantly, do any students begin their course having already chosen sociology as a major course. Such a choice, if it is made at all, is made at the end of the first year, for the second and third years of the student's course. Sociology is taught in many diverse types of course, as a subsidiary course in Management, Education and Applied Psychology, and as a potentially specialist option in the Behavioural Science and Combined Honours degree.

Then why at Aston? Aston, of course, is a technological university. Student's choice of university is dependent upon many things, not least their choice of subject and the reputation of a particular university for teaching facilities in that subject area (Cohen, 1970).

There is further evidence to suggest that students who enter technological universities are pre-disposed to place a high value on studies which are concerned with "the relevance of learning to the real world" and which involves practical training in industry or other organisations (Musgrove, 1968). Students choosing to study sociology at Aston therefore immediately present an interesting case. While the peculiarity of Aston in this respect will limit the generalisations I might immediately make from its study, the same peculiarity may,

at the same time, throw into relief more readily the problematic nature of the relevant teaching and learning processes. Further to this, my own undergraduate education was completed here, and while I do not think I was a typical Aston Behavioural Science undergraduate, the ready familiarity with "the field" represents a major task already accomplished, (Geer, 1964). And while the use of personal knowledge (Phillips, 1971) and introspection (Bakan, 1967) need defending, it provides a useful and rich source of data that, as Gouldner suggests, "may lead to truth no less than to falsehood" (Gouldner, 1970).

Further to this, however, Becker (1971) adds that:

"Since the subject matter of sociology is the social life in which we are all involved, the ability to make imaginative use of personal experience ... will be an important contribution to one's technical skill."

Although I realise that, even if introspection and personal involvement are allowed as sources of sociological data, as ways of achieving 'understanding', there will still remain the problem of how other sociologists will recognise that such 'understanding' has been achieved (Hughes, 1976). The 'qualitative method', to label it, should be more than "an act of faith" (Fletcher, 1974).

The necessary 'contacts' with staff are already established and practical problems of access, while not removed, are greatly facilitated. Given that I am executing a case-study of Aston from a base at Aston, there is also opportunity for methodological innovation and experimentation, or at the least for the use of multiple methodologies and a strategy of 'triangulation' (Denzin, 1970), not afforded if the research site were set at a distance. I am at present, for example, piloting the use of diaries in a number of different forms. These have been used before, of course, quite extensively in management studies (Stewart, 1967). It may also be possible to enlist more sociological sophisticated informants

than the 'research assistants' Lacey used in his study of Hightown Grammar (1971). Giving them an insight into the purposes of his research, Lacey reports he used participants in the situation "almost as research assistants". Participant observation, as well as interviews, could provide a large proportion of the data.

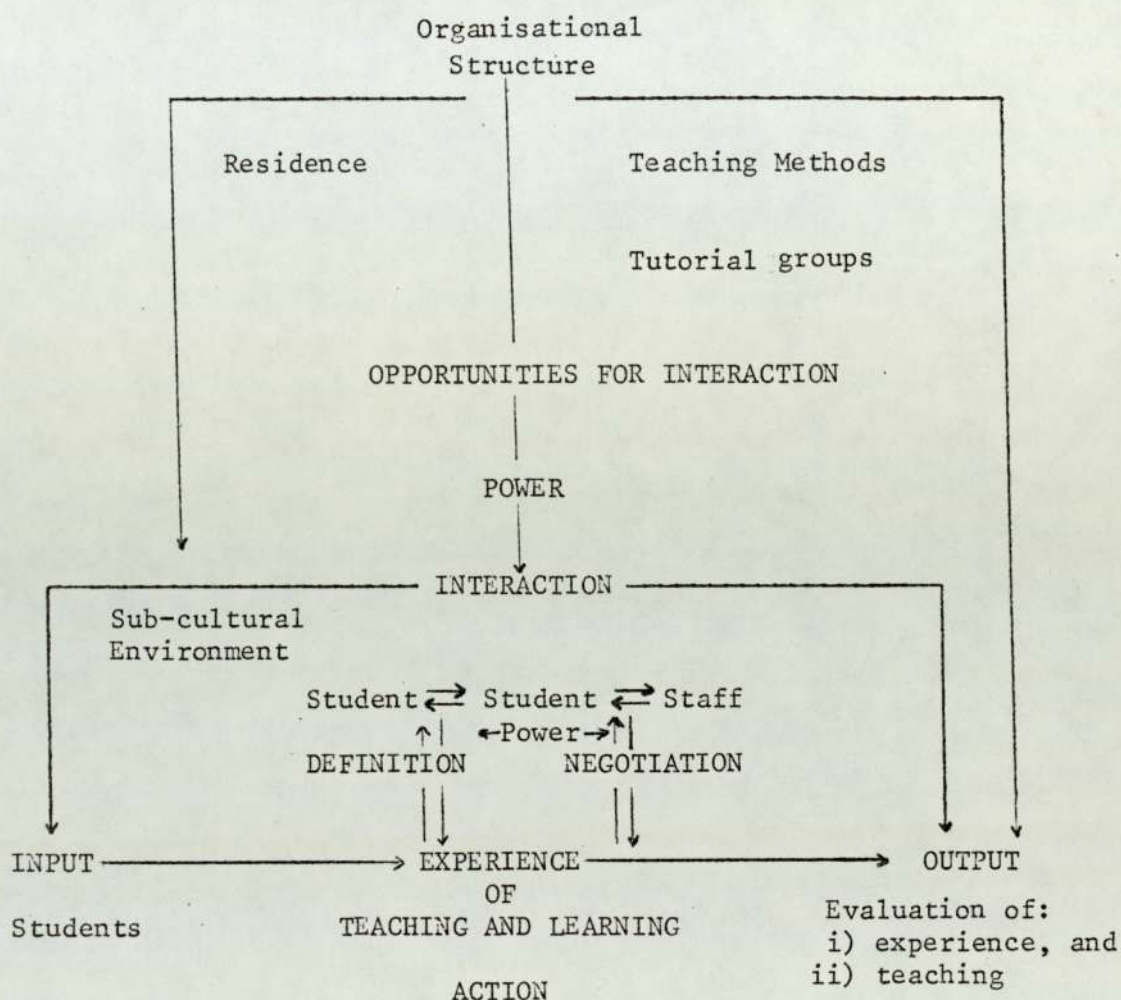
There will of course be certain unique problems. Gans (1968) has already observed the difficulties associated with 'total involvement' in a field study; "for example" he says "he (the sociologist) could not study the department of sociology of which he himself is a member". Gans locates two problems in this connection saying that the sociologist cannot easily study fellow sociologists because, firstly, they may be unwilling to treat him as a researcher rather than a colleague or someone known in another capacity, and secondly, it could be difficult for the researcher - sociologist to be objective about people, in this case other sociologists, he knows. Phillips (1971) further suggests that the sociologist cannot easily study his own department because of, what he describes as, the "professional dependence" of sociologists. Sociologists, he says, are dependent upon other sociologists for their professional existence: "... the sociologist who writes about other sociologists ... is dependent upon the acceptance and good feelings of those about whom he writes. Should his fellow sociologists find his work improper and biased" says Phillips "he may pay a considerable price". Essentially this is to say that a case-study of my own department invites personal and political as well as the usual theoretical and methodological problems.

These problems, however, are not insurmountable; indeed initial approaches have indicated they may well not be problems at all. The advantages of the situation as I have described them, will, I hope outweigh the difficulties and disadvantages.

Asking not only why, or how, students came to Aston to study sociology and what it is they intend to do when they leave, the research will attempt to reveal some aspects of what it is like to study sociology at Aston. How do students evaluate that experience? Upon what factors is that evaluation contingent, and upon what factors rest explanations for changes in that evaluation? Student evaluation will be seen as a reflection of the effects and outcomes of the experience and the teaching as the students experience them.

Given that the model guiding my research holds a place of central importance for processes of interaction and negotiation in teaching and learning my first approach to "the field ", apart from participation as participant and participant observation, was through a series of group interviews. Group interviews present distinct and, in this context, desirable features not presented by interviews with individuals. This is not the place to go into the vast literature on the theory of interviews, interviewing and interviewers. Suffice it to say that group interviews can reflect more accurately the collective agreement and culture of a group than individual interviews. The implicit group pressures remain a feature of the interview situation and the comments of the respondents will reflect this. Although I, myself, have not, as yet, made comparisons between group and individual interview responses, the point is illustrated well in Becker's study of medical students (1961). In individual interviews he found the students were not as cynical as they appeared and purported to be when they were with their colleagues. What follows are first attempts at analysis of these group interviews, illustrated with direct quotations from the students as appropriate.

The model guiding my research may be diagrammatically represented as follows :



The interview material was collected over a four week period during student tutorials. Four groups in all were interviewed, each as a group, and the discussions and responses were tape-recorded and later transcribed for analysis. The students interviewed here were all following a Combined Honours degree course consisting of three subjects, with students specialising in only two subjects after their first year.

In the interviews, I began by asking the students why it was they had come to university at all, why and how they had come particularly to Aston and what factors governed their choice of sociology within their own particular Combined Honours scheme. I then asked them what they had expected of university and what it was they had actually found, and this included discussions on staff-student relationships, lectures and tutorials, the amount of set readings given and other topics as they emerged in discussions. Following this I focussed the interviews on sociology as a subject, and then on the student's particular sociology course. Seven points emerged which summarise the bulk of what was said during the interviews.

Firstly, the students exhibited only a low commitment to, and appreciation of, the formal teaching and learning situations of lectures and tutorials.

- the first thing is to turn up, and the second thing is to worry about having done any reading to it.

- they could put all the 9 o'clock lectures back to 10 o'clock so that we don't have to get up.

While this, in itself, may be nothing new, it became apparent that this attitude was not unconnected with the students' orientations towards, and understanding of, sociology as a subject:

- You can get by on sociology by 'woffling' anyway, so you might as well do that. And if you get stuck, you just say, well, I don't really see what sociology is about anyway and you'll spend the rest of the tutorial on that.

Secondly, students missed the informal contact with staff they had looked forward to before they came:

- You come to university thinking this will be more informal, staff-student relationships, but in fact it seems to be more formal than it was in school. Perhaps it was just the school I came from.

Although students wanted this informal contact they did not want to be the initiators of it:

- In (another) department, you see the same people and you find yourself getting into normal discussion with lecturers, everybody, and so you find it much easier to tell them what's wrong or what you're having difficulty with. (Here) you literally have to go to someone and knock on their door and say can I see you for a bit and then go in, whereas in an easier situation you might just bump into a person, and raise these things just in the course of normal conversation.

Thirdly, students found the 'set work' excessive and in conflict with their expressed desire to do extra reading.

- If you did all the reading you were expected to do, there wouldn't be much time for reading. You just can't do extra reading.

- If you're in the library and you're looking for a certain book and you see another book which attracts you more, and you want to sit there and read it but you cannot because you've got to do the reading that's set.

It might be that such comments, upon which there was general agreement, do no more than reflect student rationalisations for doing no extra reading in a subject, sociology, in which they feel they ought.

Turning, however, to their more specific comments on sociology, it became apparent that the students I was interviewing were not all committed to sociology:

- It was either sociology or ergonomics for me, and all I knew about ergonomics was bicycle pedals and everybody thinks they know what Sociology is.

Clarke (1973) noted a number of different student responses to the difficulties of coping with social science:

- i) Apathy - "it's all rubbish, and doesn't tell us anything, it's just jargon, over-intellectualized, etc.
- ii) Drop-out knowingness - in which there is a basic grasp of the organized nature of society and its power structure, but, apart from this, intellectual investigation is rejected in favour of experience.

- iii) Social Work Blues - in which the complaint is that 'real people' are left out and only models and abstractions considered.
- iv) Statistical hard-headedness - the direct opposite of Social Work Blues in which the objection is that the subject is insufficiently precise and short on exact knowledge, and
- v) Over-identification with the lecturer - the guru problem where the lecturer is seen as imparting a way of life.

In an attempt to summarize the responses of the students I interviewed I noted the importance to the students of both the legitimacy of sociology and its relevance to them personally. To observe that a subject is 'difficult' or 'abstract,' or even 'boring,' is implicitly to accept the legitimacy of the content of the subject if to disavow interest in it.

However, it was the legitimacy of sociology which was so often challenged by some students:

- I think sociology is an enjoyable subject but it still seems to be just pointing out what most people already know - making it a bit more complex with the language, that's all.

- It's only when you start doing it you realize there's nothing there really.

For others, however, sociology was clearly not "just another subject" but carried a relevance for their own personal interpretations of social reality:

- I think it's got tremendous relevance to your own understanding of how the world around you works. It sharpens your powers of observation of what goes on around you.

- I've found I've been able to look back over incidents that have occurred previously to my being able to explain them, and understand better why things happened, as a result of what I've learned in sociology.

It appeared then, fourthly, that students generally either discovered

a personal relevance for sociology or were disappointed and disillusioned by it. However, in the Combined Honours context in which the interviews were conducted I found, fifthly, that students often chose sociology as a good general 'interesting' subject in their Combined Honours scheme - it was seen as a suitable 'third' subject if one was needed.

Sixthly, students often referred to their own personal experience in their attempts to understand sociological theories and concepts.

Lastly, and this will come as no surprise, students generally had no clear expectations for sociology apart from expecting it to be interesting.

These interviews were conducted as very early explorations into the field and cannot therefore be expected to fulfil the promise of my theoretical perspective. As they stand they represent more the backdrop against which further research may be set. Remaining is my commitment to the theoretical perspectives and methodological strategies outlined earlier in my paper, focusing on the student's perspectives to teaching and learning, in the belief that these are prior, and more fundamental, areas than pedagogy.

At this stage, then, to conclude, I cannot suggest ways of coping with, the problems of teaching and learning sociology, but I hope I can, at least, contribute to ways of comprehension.

APPENDIX V (b) : "SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND
AND THE PERFORMANCE OF BEHAVIOURAL
SCIENCE STUDENTS"

with Podmore, D., and Yeomans, K.

The University of Aston Management Centre

Working Paper Series 135 (March, 1979).

THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON MANAGEMENT CENTRE

March 1979

Working Paper Series

Number 135

SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND
AND THE PERFORMANCE OF BEHAVIOURAL
SCIENCE STUDENTS

David Podmore, Roger Fielding and
Keith Yeomans

Lecturer in Sociology
Sociology Group, University of Aston

Research Student
Sociology Group, University of Aston

Senior Lecturer in Statistics
University of Aston Management Centre

Abstract:

This paper is a postscript to Working Paper Number 70 and describes the association of social and educational background factors and performance in examinations during their University careers of 158 social science undergraduates who entered the University in 1971, 1972 and 1973. The results - as in similar studies of students elsewhere - were inconclusive.

It is concluded that new research methods, for example using interviews and observation, are needed to provide a better understanding of the processes involved in student success and failure.

This Working Paper is not to be quoted without due acknowledgement.

Introduction:

In an earlier paper (Podmore and Yeomans, 1977) research was described in which data were collected on the social and educational background of 110 university students and related to their performance in first year examinations. The students were all studying social science at the University of Aston and entered the University in 1971 and 1972. It was hoped that this research would provide the admissions tutors with simple diagnostic tools to help them select candidates with the best chance of success and also high-light those students most 'at risk' amongst those entering the University. Three variables were found to have good predictive power with regard to performance in first-year examinations: a good performance at GCE "Advanced" level, a lower middle-class home background, application by means of "sponsorship" (i.e., by an employer) or an internal transfer from another course within the University (however, the number of cases in this category was small).

This paper represents a postscript to the earlier report and describes the extension of the research to include a further group of students who entered the University in 1973 and discusses the association of performance at the University in years subsequent to the first with social and educational background factors.

Method:

Data were collected on the social and educational background and performance during their university careers of 158 undergraduate students who began to study BSc Behavioural Science at the University of Aston in 1971, 1972 and 1973. Behavioural Science is a four-year "thick sandwich" course in which the main subjects are Economics, Psychology and Sociology. Students specialise in one of these areas

after the first year; the third year of the course is spent out of the University in appropriate employment in industry, commerce, the social services, and so on.

Two sets of data were collected: on social and educational background factors ("pre-entry" variables) and on performance in University examinations ("performance" variables). Eleven "pre-entry" variables and nine "performance" variables were used and these are listed below:

"Pre-entry" variables	"Performance" variables
1. Sex	1. Mean marks in end of first-year examinations
2. Father's occupation (a measure of social class)	2. Number of subjects failed in the first attempt at end of first-year examinations
3. Whether the student had pre-university work experience of at least one year	3. Student's progress on from the first year
4. Number of GCE "Ordinary" level passes	4. Mean marks in the end of second-year examinations
5. Combination of GCE "Advanced" level subjects (Arts and Social Science, Science, or Mixed)	5. Number of subjects failed in the first attempt at end of second-year examinations
6. Nature of entry qualifications (GCE "Advanced" levels, OND/HND, foreign qualifications)	6. Student's progress on from the second year
7. Number of GCE "Advanced" level points (where "A" grade = 5 points; "B" = 4 points, etc.)	7. Mean marks for the project work based on third year employment
8. Score in the AH5 "High Grade Intelligence" test	8. Mean marks in the end of fourth-year examinations
9. Type of application (through the "normal" UCCA scheme, or the UCCA "clearing" scheme, or sponsorship by an employer/internal transfer)	9. Classification of Final Degree
10. Whether Behavioural Science at Aston was first choice course on the UCCA form	
11. Nature of first choice course on the UCCA form (single Honours social science, mixed social science, not social science)	

"Pre-entry" variables:

Of the 158 students, 49 entered the University in 1971, 61 in 1972, and 48 in 1973. Two-thirds were male (107; 67.7 percent) and one-third female (51; 32.3 percent). Twenty-one (13.3 percent) had fathers in professional and managerial occupations (which were categorised as "upper middle class"); 97 (61.4 percent) of fathers were in lower managerial and white collar jobs ("lower middle-class") and 33 (31.0 percent) of fathers were in manual occupations ("working class"). In the remaining cases the subjects' fathers were retired or deceased. One-fifth of the students (34; 21.5 percent) had worked for at least one year prior to their coming to the University.

Looking at educational background, 49 (31.0 percent) of the subjects had passed in nine or more CSE "Ordinary" level subjects and 95 (53.8 percent) in between six and eight subjects. Most of the students (144; 91.1 percent) offered GCE "Advanced" level qualifications for entry and of these slightly more than half (76; 52.8 percent) had achieved between four and six points at "Advanced" level, equivalent to between two "D" and two "C" grades. Forty-nine (34.0 percent) achieved between seven and nine points (i.e., between CCD and CCC grades); only 12 (8.3 percent) had gained ten points (BCC) or better. Over half (92; 58.2 percent) of the students had university entry qualifications in Arts and Social Science subjects 23 (14.6 percent) had studied Science subjects and 43 (27.2 percent) had taken a mixture of the two.

For a number of years it was the practice to interview candidates applying for admission to the Behavioural Science course. The opportunity was taken to administer to all interviewees the AH5 "High Grade Intelligence" test (Heim, 1968). Subjects are graded into five categories A to E according to the score achieved by the top ten percent of the university student population on which the test was standardised,

category B refers to the score achieved by the next twenty percent, C to the middle forty percent, D to the next twenty percent and E to the bottom ten percent. One hundred and forty-eight (93.7 percent) of the students took the test and their scores are shown in Table 1. It will be noted that the distribution is skewed compared with that of the University population as a whole, with low proportions in both the highest and lowest intelligence groups.

Table 1 Performance of students on the AH5 "High Grade Intelligence" test

Category	Number	Per cent of total
A	7	4.7
B	43	29.1
C	70	47.3
D	26	17.6
E	2	1.4
Total	148	100.0

Data were collected on the method by which students made their applications to the University. Two-thirds (107; 67.7 percent) had made a "normal" application through the UCCA scheme during the preceding September to March and a further 44 (27.8 percent) had been recruited via the "clearing" scheme in August and September immediately before the academic year began. Two (1.3 percent) students were sponsored by their employers and the remaining five (3.2 percent) had transferred to Behavioural Science from other courses within the University. For 43 (27.2 percent) students Behavioural Science was first choice course on their UCCA applications form and in all 98 (62.0 percent) had opted for

Behavioural Science or a similar combined social science course as their first choice. Forty-nine (31.0 percent) had made a single honours social science course their first choice and 10 (6.3 percent) - although they eventually joined the Behavioural Science course - had chosen an area other than social science as the area of first choice on their UCCA application forms. There was missing data in one case.

"Performance" variables:

The "performance" variables were derived from students' performance in the first, second and fourth year examinations and from the mark awarded for the project written as a result of their third year work experience. The final degree classification was also used as an indicator, since this summarises performance over the second, third and fourth years of the course (the weighting which was used in assessing degree classification being 20 percent, 15 percent and 65 percent for the respective years).

Eighty-four (53.2 percent) of the 158 subjects moved straight into the second year of the course following the first-year examinations. These were categorised as "very successful" students. Thirty-eight (24.1 percent) passed referred examinations before entering the second year of the course ("successful" students) and the remaining 36 (22.8 percent) either withdrew from the University voluntarily, were asked to withdraw or repeat the year, or transferred to other courses ("unsuccessful" students). The number of students entering the second year in the minimum time was thus 122 (77.2 percent) of those beginning the course.

Students began to specialise in the second year, whilst continuing to study other subjects as "minors". Sixteen (13.1 percent) of the 122 specialised in Economics, 66 (54.1 percent) in Psychology and 37 (30.3

percent) in Sociology. Three (2.5 percent) students followed the more general "pass degree" course. As a result of the examinations at the end of the second year 108 (88.5 percent) of the 122 students proceeded to the third year. Eight-eight (72.1 percent) moved straight into the third year ("very successful"), 20 (16.4 percent) passed referred examinations before moving into the third year ("successful") and the remaining 14 (11.5 percent) withdrew voluntarily or were asked to withdraw or repeat the second year ("unsuccessful") of the course.

All 108 students who entered the third year subsequently moved into the final year of the course. At the time at which the data analysis was carried out, 104 had graduated, 65.8 percent of the 158 students who originally enrolled. A further 4 (2.5 percent), having repeated a year, were still at the University completing their degrees. Fifty (31.6 percent) students had left without completing their studies. The classifications of the 104 degrees awarded are shown in Table 2.

The mean marks of all students in the three years' examinations and for the third year project are shown in Table 3.

"Pre-entry" variables related to "Performance" variables:

In this section, the "pre-entry" and "performance" variables listed on page 2 are related to each other.

1. Sex

There was no relationships between sex and any of the nine "performance" variables.

2. Social class

Students from lower middle-class homes were somewhat more likely to progress straight on from the first to the second year of the course (i.e., to be "very successful") than other students ($\chi^2 = 6.33$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$) but there was no similar association for performance in subsequent years.

Table 2 Classification of degrees awarded

Classification	Number	Per cent of total
First	1	1.0
Upper Second	28	26.9
Lower Second	57	54.8
Third	15	14.4
Pass/Ordinary	3	2.9
Total	104	100.0

Table 3 Mean marks for first, second and fourth year examinations and for the third year project

Year	Mean Mark
First	50.3 %
Second	54.2 %
Third	60.9 %
Fourth	56.7 %

3. Pre-university work experience

There were no significant associations between this variable and any of the "performance" variables.

4. Number of GCE "Ordinary" level passes

There was a positive association between the number of "Ordinary" level passes and "very successful" progress from the second year ($\chi^2 = 11.43$, $df = 3$, $p < 0.01$). The reason for this relationship, which was not found with any other of the performance variables, is not clear.

5. Combination of GCE "Advanced" level subjects

and

6. Nature of entry qualifications

For these two items there were no significant differences for any of the "performance" variables.

7. Number of GCE "Advanced" level points

The number of GCE "Advanced" level points was very weakly associated with students' marks in the first year ($r = 0.1563$, $p < 0.01$), but not with any of the "performance" variables in later years.

8. Score on AH5 "High Grade Intelligence" tests

There was a positive relationship with one "performance" variable, "very satisfactory" progress from the first year ($F = 2.54$, $p < 0.05$), but not with performance in later years.

9. Type of application

and

10. Whether Behavioural Science at Aston was first choice course on the UCCA form

and

11. Nature of first choice course on the UCCA form

For these three items there were no significant differences for any of the "performance" variables.

Discussion:

These results reveal few associations between "performance" and "pre-entry" variables, in particular with regard to a student's performance in years after the first year at university.

Summarising, first-year performance was positively associated with GCE "Advanced" level grades (this was not unexpected, however - see the discussion in the earlier paper, Podmore and Yeomans, (1977:11). Performance in the first year was also positively associated with a student's performance in the "High Grade Intelligence" test. Beyond these two findings, little was discovered from the association of "pre-entry" variables with "performance" variables.

Further analysis did reveal that students' performance in the first year was closely associated with their performance in the second ($r = 0.4882$, $p = 0.001$), third ($r = 0.3196$, $p = 0.001$) and final ($r = 0.3903$, $p = 0.001$) years. These data are, clearly, not a great deal of help to admissions tutors.

A recent study (Tinkler, 1978), not dissimilar to the present study, found that "predictor" (what we have called "pre-entry") variables accounted for only 30 percent of student performance in first-year examinations and a similar (slightly higher) percentage of performance in final examinations. Although Tinkler found that formal entry qualifications (GCE "Advanced" levels or ONC/OND) were the most important factors in performance prediction, he concluded that 70 percent of student performance was still accounted for by factors at present undetermined. Although many other studies similarly suggest that secondary school examination performance is the best predictor of performance at university, the correlations obtained have not been high (Entwistle and Wilson, 1977: 18-20).

The area of uncertainty thus remains large; it may be that the factors affecting success or failure in higher education are not merely indeterminate but indeterminable. However, Entwistle and Wilson thought that there might be methodological weaknesses in the traditional approach to prediction studies in higher education. These authors used statistical techniques which differed from the methods conventionally employed, involving cluster analysis and automatic interaction detection (AID). These techniques did provide further insights in the attempts to understand the complex variables involved in academic performance. In particular, Entwistle and Wilson's method avoided the "one dimensional" approach found in most studies of academic performance - that is, the assumption that all "successful" students arrive at "success" via the same route - and allowed for different "types" of students being "successful" in different ways. However, their study nevertheless found that previous scholastic attainment was still the best predictor of subsequent academic performance. Entwistle and Wilson's results also confirmed our finding (and that of Tinkler) that first-year examination results showed the closest association with degree classification - but this information does not help in discriminating between students applying to university!

In their conclusion Entwistle and Wilson suggested that the pendulum of educational research methodology might usefully shift from the present "psychometric approach" to methods which will allow a greater understanding of the complex processes involved in student success and failure. Such methods would utilize various forms of interview and observation and would necessitate " ... a redefinition, in more generous terms, of what is accepted as a scientific approach" (1977: p 167). Our own inconclusive results, in this and in the earlier study, support this suggestion. Although the eventual "pay-off" in terms of assistance for admissions tutors will be longer in coming and directions for guidance in student selection will not be precise, it will be no less valuable for that.

APPENDIX V (c) : "TOWARDS DEMOCRATIC TEACHING AND LEARNING"

with RUTHERFORD, D., MEIGHAN, R., and SPARKES, J.
Paper presented to the Fifth International
Conference on "Improving University Teaching"
held at The City University, London, July 4-7th,
1979 in "Improving University Teaching: Fifth
International Conference", University of Maryland
and City University, Maryland, U.S.A.,
(pp 333-344).

"TOWARDS DEMOCRATIC TEACHING AND LEARNING"

Desmond Rutherford, Roger Fielding, Roland Meighan
and Joy Sparkes,

University of Birmingham

Paper presented to :

The Fifth International Conference on
Improving University Teaching

sponsored by University of Maryland, U.S.A.

July 4th-7th, 1979 at City University, London

TOWARDS DEMOCRATIC TEACHING AND LEARNING?

Desmond Rutherford,
Roger Fielding, Roland Meighan and Joy Sparkes

University of Birmingham

ABSTRACT:

What choices in teaching and learning methods - conventional and radical - can students be offered? What are their reactions to these? This case study describes such a situation and reports on the resulting course. For those tutors who wish to move towards more radical forms of teaching and learning, suggestions concerning the preparation of students for their more effective engagement in 'open learning' situations and the role of the tutor in facilitating such new approaches are made.

INTRODUCTION:

For graduates wishing to teach in British secondary schools a Post-graduate Certificate in Education is a compulsory requirement. The structure of the PGCE course at the University of Birmingham consists of the following components:

1. Autumn Term - One week Introductory Course, three week School Experience, and seven weeks of course work including a Methods Course to introduce the students to teaching their chosen discipline.
2. Spring Term - Supervised Teaching Practice in schools.
3. Summer Term - Three week period including a final phase of the Methods Course and a Special Study.

About ten thousand graduates pursue such a course each year. In the main, these students will have experienced conventional approaches to teaching during their first degrees. While there is evidence to

suggest that PGCE courses do not differ from this pattern (Bartholomew, 1978) at least twelve students at the University of Birmingham were offered a choice of four ways of proceeding with their Methods Course in the Social Sciences, including conventional and more radical alternatives, as follows:

Option 1: A conventional tutor directed course.

Option 2: A course that begins with tutor direction and then gradually hands over decision making to the group.

Option 3: A Democratic Learning Co-operative that from the start decides its programme using the tutor as a resource rather than as a course director.

Option 4: An autonomous study programme where individuals make up their own study programme using the resources and study folders available and meet in groups only as and when this serves a function for such a programme.

At interview, the tutor had informed each prospective student that this choice would have to be made before the Methods Course began and he confirmed this later in writing. In previous years he had had experience of organising the Methods Course according to each of the four alternatives and had concluded that although each gave rise to a course with a distinctive flavour the final result of producing 'trained teachers' was equally satisfactory. He was critical of conventional courses in which tutors controlled the curriculum and students had an essentially dependent and passive role to play. Nevertheless he was unwilling to propound an alternative dogma - a Democratic Learning Co-operative. He argued that since teaching was primarily a decision-making activity, teacher-training courses should focus on making decisions and that an appropriate vehicle for such a training was one in which students

made decisions about their own course of study. In other words, the process of choosing between the four alternatives and of an on-going evaluation of the success or failure of that decision was, potentially, the most important component of the Methods Course.

THE EVALUATION PROCEDURE:

The progress of the Methods Course was evaluated both by an independent observer drawing on the principles of 'illuminative evaluation' (Parlett and Hamilton, 1978) and by the tutor and student participants of the group with particular emphasis on:

1. Students' reactions to each of the four alternatives as elicited by questionnaire before the course started.
2. The deliberations of the group leading to their choice of a way of proceeding.
3. The development of the group both in terms of an increased awareness of group processes and as an effective learning unit.
4. Students' final reactions to the Methods Course and the evaluation study as elicited by questionnaire at the end of the Autumn Term.

The twelve students first met as a group during the Introductory Course when the tutor aimed to provide them with a 'survival kit' to cope with the School Experience to follow. They also met on Friday afternoons during this three week period to report progress and share experiences. All three meetings were attended by the observer who also talked with small groups of students after the first two meetings. On the following week the Methods Course began with a discussion on how to proceed. The observer also attended a further class and a review of the course at the half-way point.

THE FIRST QUESTIONNAIRE:

Nine of the twelve students completed and returned the questionnaire before the course started. They were asked for their reactions to each of the four alternatives and to indicate their preference.

Option 1: A conventional tutor directed course.

Only two students favoured this option: their reasons included a desire to make the best use of the tutor's knowledge and experience and their own feelings of ignorance. However, the remainder of the students were hostile to this possibility. They considered that the course would be too formal and rigid and that their own suggestions would not be taken due account of. As a consequence a number wrote that their motivation would inevitably suffer. Some also felt that they had had enough of this particular method of teaching during their undergraduate career, and that a change was needed. Initiative and flexibility, it was argued, were qualities needed in school teaching that Option 1 would do little to develop.

Option 2: A course that begins with tutor direction and then gradually hands over decision making to the group.

This was regarded as the 'safe' choice by most of the students: the tutor's expertise would be maximised and it would be possible to respond to the students' own needs and interests. There would be ample opportunity for the students to get to know each other and develop a group identity, and so be able to accept more responsibility as the course progressed. Many students claimed they had much to learn from each other. The two students who favoured Option 1 argued that since the course was so short, there was no time for experimental approaches and they also questioned the students' competence to plan the course.

Option 3: A Democratic Learning Co-operative that from the start decides its own programme using the tutor as a resource rather than as a course director.

Students regarded this possibility with caution although it seemed to cater for individual interests yet also maximise the learning potential of the group. Much seemed to depend on how they got on with other members of the group when they met and so they were reluctant to commit themselves before the course actually began. There were worries about using the tutor effectively and that 'power struggles' within the group would become the focus of activity.

Option 4: An autonomous study programme where individuals make up their own study programme using the resources and study folders available and meet in groups only as and when this serves a function to such a programme.

This possibility was rejected by all of the students. Some said they had experienced something similar in their undergraduate work and were not keen for more. The approach, it was claimed, bred isolation, competitiveness and anxiety about exactly what and how much others were doing. They felt that the group would provide much-needed inspiration and motivation and that they had much to learn from each other. On a more philosophical level, one student argued that since school teaching was a social activity then their course should reflect this.

THE SCHOOL EXPERIENCE:

The tutor and students met together on Friday afternoons throughout the three week period. The aim was to share experiences of their work in schools. There was also an opportunity to ask questions about the PGCE course. At the first meeting the tutor's role was that of a conventional seminar leader, exercising firm control of the agenda and the speakers. A great deal of time was spent discussing the difficulties

encountered by one student: this may have reflected the tutor's rather than the student's anxieties. The tutor was almost completely passive during the second meeting and made little attempt either to control the agenda or to facilitate discussion. The third meeting consisted, for the most part, of a series of dialogues between the tutor and individual students who reported on their experiences in schools or asked questions about the PGCE course as a whole (particularly referring to assessment). One student, who had not contributed a great deal previously, questioned the tutor closely on the viability of Option 3 - which she did not care for.

HOW TO PROCEED:

The students had the task of deciding which of the four alternative ways of organising the Methods Course to choose. Documents were circulated to clarify some of the issues, in particular a 'contract' from the previous Democratic Learning Co-operative which listed points of principle and procedure. In the absence of the tutor they nominated one of their number as chairman. The following discussion was intense (natural opportunities - short periods of silence - to enable the less forward members of the group to participate were infrequent) but inconclusive. Argument focused on the viability of the four options and the effectiveness of the group as a learning unit. The fact that the discussion was being dominated by a few members and that others had made little contribution became an issue of controversy. There was considerable confusion as to the differences, if any, between the four options and a feeling that these were points on a continuum rather than quite different approaches. The tutor was invited to join the group in order to clarify this point. He was able to assure the students that each alternative would produce a course with a distinctive flavour. He then pointed out

that all four options produced results since in the past students had been trained, apparently successfully, using each of these methods. There was no one 'right way' of training to be a teacher: much depended on the interests and motivations of the students. Written feedback from previous courses was available but was not called on by the group.

A clear distinction could be drawn between those who saw the course principally as an exercise in teacher training and those who were more orientated towards personal growth and development and philosophical debate. At one level this resolved into a discussion of a practically orientated course (i.e. what do we teach and how can we teach it?) as opposed to one which allowed for a wider discussion of educational and personal issues. The more practically orientated students favoured Option 1 or 2 whereas Option 3 was favoured by the others.

During the discussion the political issue of whether schools should veer more towards being less authoritarian and more democratic in their teaching methods was discussed and a parallel was drawn with the choice now confronting the group.

Eventually the majority opted for Option 2 thinking that this would ensure that they 'got the best' out of the tutor while still ensuring that there were ample opportunities to learn from each other (no-one favoured Option 4 for this reason). About one-third of the students would have preferred Option 3, but they realised the current strength of feeling against this way of proceeding. A vote was taken to confirm the decision. The students' preferences did not appear to have changed from those expressed in the first questionnaire.

OPTION 2 IN ACTION:

The theme for the particular class that the observer attended was Teaching Race Relations. Discussion was prefaced by a short introduction

from one of the students. The topic was one on which many members of the group appeared to feel deeply and the pace of the discussion was very fast with a multitude of ideas being expressed. However, the impression was that the members of the group were voicing their own deeply held convictions rather than listening and responding to the contributions of others. Indeed close attention to the discussion showed that it was dominated by a minority of the students with the remainder, including the tutor, making or being able to make very few contributions. In addition it seemed that the great majority of contributions could be classified as 'giving information, interpretation, criticism or advice'; very few contributions were noted which supported what others had said or which encouraged others to develop a line of thought. At a superficial level the discussion seemed to go well. Members spoke eloquently with conviction and there were no embarrassing silences. Yet the analysis showed that the majority of the group were effectively 'shut out' of the discussion. No-one was taking the roles of chairman and secretary; no-one was taking notes for distribution later.

REVIEW:

The purpose of the meeting was to assess the students' satisfaction with the method of proceeding and to receive, debate and reach a consensus on plans for the remainder of the Methods Course. The tutor opened the discussion by inviting each of the students in turn to comment on how he or she felt the course had gone so far. There was general satisfaction with Option 2; no-one suggested changing. However it quickly became apparent that most students felt they were not learning as much from the discussions as they wished and in particular that the discussions lacked direction and needed focusing and summarising. Also,

while some students complained that "people were not forthcoming enough" another argued that "it was difficult to get into the discussion ". Agreement was reached on the need to appoint a Chairman to guide the group through an agenda and to encourage all to contribute, and a Secretary to take notes, which would be distributed later, of the key points that were discussed and agreements reached. It was further decided that these roles should rotate among members of the group.

The group quickly reached agreement. All members contributed and the discussion was not dominated by a minority of the students. In particular members who had been vociferous in previous meetings contributed no more than average.

THE FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE:

This questionnaire was administered at the end of the Autumn Term. The students were asked to give their opinions on the Methods Course and, in the light of hindsight, on the feasibility of the four options. All twelve questionnaires were completed and returned.

An underlying problem which had been noticed earlier was again apparent in the replies to the questionnaire; this was the differing needs of the students. At one extreme some wanted a 'learning to teach' course, whereas others were more interested in developing their own autonomy and exploring the wider issues of teaching and of themselves as teachers. Nevertheless the majority of the students were extremely satisfied with how the Methods Course had gone and a number of reasons were advanced for this: a relaxed and friendly atmosphere; a broad programme which had been negotiated and mutually agreed; lively discussions which allowed for exchange of ideas and information; a respected and admired tutor.

When asked to note particular weaknesses three students mentioned the lack of clarity and purpose in the discussions. Another student

claimed that the tutor, despite his intentions to the contrary, had dominated the course because of his charismatic personality, wider experience and knowledge etc., and that the students had been happy with this dependant relationship.

However, the overall satisfaction with the course can be gauged by the fact that most did not wish that the course had been organised according to one of the other options and wanted to continue along the same lines in the Summer Term. In fact one claimed that the group dynamics would have produced the same result for Options 1, 2 and 3.

The experience of the Autumn Term had encouraged more students than before to support the idea of a Democratic Learning Co-operative but they were of the opinions that this would need the unanimous approval of the group. A suggestion was made that students should be asked to enroll for the course knowing that this approach would operate. In addition, some training in group discussion methods would be helpful.

A change of opinion was reflected in the number of students who were willing to consider Option 4 - Individual Study Programme - as a serious alternative. Previously no-one had supported this alternative because of their belief in the value of group discussion. With experience, two students said they would prefer a mixture of Options 3 and 4 with the idea that different methods of learning were suitable for different topics. Another would have chosen Option 4 if the majority wished to proceed with a Democratic Learning Co-operative.

CONCLUSIONS:

The tutor had three main aims which were: a) that the students should make an informed choice between the four ways of proceeding; b) recognise the significance of the experience in decision-making in terms of their future roles as teachers; c) consider the implications either in

discussion or practice of a Democratic Learning Co-operative.

This case study suggests that if further progress is to be made in order to meet these aims then the following suggestions merit careful consideration:

1. The tutor must be more explicit about his aims and in particular his concept of the Methods Course as being a vehicle for the students to gain experience in decision-making about their own learning as a means of training in methods of teaching. This aim did not become clear to many of the students until a fairly late stage in the course.
2. Because of their generally restricted experience of teaching methods, students need much more detailed information describing what each of the alternatives might entail. It may even be helpful to provide a 'taste' of each before the choice has to be made. Students' preferences, notably an increased willingness to contemplate a Democratic Learning Co-operative, only changed with the experiences of the flexible Option 2 which operated during the course.
3. Only those students who are willing to consider the four options with a relatively open mind should be enrolled. Some have very fixed ideas about what they want from a course and are fundamentally unsympathetic to the tutor's aims. The resultant conflict of interests and needs will continue until some form of contract is agreed between the tutor and prospective students. On the other hand, if the process of deciding between the four alternatives is to have any real value for the students it is essential that they are not all of the same mind at the outset.
4. The role of the tutor needs to be clarified and needs to be consistent. This was particularly apparent during the meetings which took place during the School Experience. Some of the students contributed very

little to these discussions and interaction among them was low. As a consequence it is doubtful whether these three meetings provided the students with an adequate preparation for engaging in a Democratic Learning Co-operative. In addition, the tutor needs to be clear whether his role in more democratic teaching situations is primarily either that of a facilitator of student learning or that of a fellow learner. Students too need to be made aware of this important distinction.

5. An increased awareness of group processes (Heron, 1976 and Ruddock, 1978) is essential if the potential of Option 2 and, particularly, Option 3 is to be realised. The previous experience of this group of students did not equip them with the necessary skills for learning together in a co-operative manner. However, the effectiveness of the group as a learning unit did improve considerably as the course progressed. About half way through the Autumn Term the group had reached a point where they were able to diagnose their problems and suggest sensible solutions. The less extrovert members were becoming able to articulate dissatisfactions which may not have been apparent to other members of the group.

This case study provides one lesson above all: the effective engagement of both tutor and students in 'open learning' situations demands preparation and training for all participants. A comparison can be made with a previous evaluation of a more conventional tutor-director Methods Course in Geography (Boardman and Rutherford, 1978) where there was a greater emphasis on precisely what could be taught in schools and how this could be done.

APPENDIX V (d) : "THE LEARNER AND SOCIAL EDUCATION:
SOME UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF
THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM"

Paper presented to the Social Science Education Consortium Inc., International Conference on "International Perspectives on Social/Political Education" held at Surrey University, July 6th-11th, 1980.

THE LEARNER AND SOCIAL EDUCATION:
SOME UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF
THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

Paper presented to :

"International Perspectives on Social/Political Education"

Conference sponsored by :

Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., (U.S.A.)
The Association for the Teaching of the Social Sciences, (Britain), and,
Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung (Germany).

University of Surrey, Guildford, England, July 6th - 11th, 1980

THE LEARNER AND SOCIAL EDUCATION: SOME UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF THE
HIDDEN CURRICULUM*

INTRODUCTION: THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To date, most research into learners in Britain has been based within a traditional positivistic paradigm. In psychology it has explored learning theory, personality and attainment and, occasionally, attitudes to learning. For decades the sociology of education in Britain has been obsessed with the relationship between social class and learner's attainment. This has led to a view of some learners as "deprived" and in need of "compensatory education":

"The concept 'compensatory education' serves to direct attention away from the internal organisation and the educational context of the school and focus our attention on the families and the children."

(Bernstein, 1970, p 345)

The last decade, in Britain, has seen a shift in emphasis both in sociology and in social psychology towards an interactionist or phenomenological "paradigm" in which attention is focused much more on the processes experienced by learners and on the learners' perceptions and interpretations of these processes. This shift in emphasis was expressed in what became known as the "new" sociology of education. While more recent developments in the sociology of education criticise the "new directions" from a more structuralist stance, the notion of a hidden curriculum, with its both structural and interactionist conceptualisations has been important in recent analyses of education, and seems to prompt the need to consider linkages between both macro

* The author wishes to acknowledge the help of Roland Meighan during the development of the research project reported here, and Charles Townley for helpful comments made during the preparation of this paper.

and micro perspectives in sociology. It has been described (Meighan, 1977) as one of de Bono's (1972) "porridge words", deliberately vague and imprecise. In illustrating the past and present utility of this notion in the introduction to this paper, no attempt to impose too precise a definition upon it, and thus rob the term of its consequent versatility as such a "valuable thinking device" will be made.

At its simplest, the notion of hidden curriculum refers to the various unintended consequences of the ways in which teachers organise learning (Meighan, 1973). The rich diversity of the insights the notion is able to provide stem from the quite surprisingly wide variety of such unintended consequences of the organisation of learning, as it might conventionally be understood. I shall begin by illustrating the hidden curriculum's more obvious (and perhaps more easily recognised and accepted) relationship to assessment and examinations.

For Snyder (1971) the hidden curriculum referred essentially to

"messages associated with the means that students find they must use in order to attain high grades and other academic rewards."

(Snyder, 1971)

The formal, or 'visible,' curriculum is 'translated' by the students into discrete and manageable tasks to be mastered. The syllabus of the hidden curriculum therefore becomes the tasks which students need to complete in order to get the highest possible grades with the least possible effort. Snyder notes students initially get to grips in practical terms with the formal curriculum - their option schemes, the rules with regard to essay writing and "handing-in" dates, and so on. The next stage is to narrow down their focus onto the actual tasks which will form the basis of assessment - the essays to

be written, the examinations to be sat, the "coverage" of the syllabus which might be needed, the books, or chapters to be read for class, and so on. It is at this stage that the students will initially experience the dissonance between the "formal" curriculum and the hidden curriculum, with its "latent, covert tasks inferred as the basis for reward in that particular setting", (Snyder, 1971). Students will "translate" the understanding of physics, English or sociology to the mastery of a set of tasks which may have "very little to do with learning or even with real knowledge". The central task of the behaviour are "tribally or institutionally" sanctioned. The "tribal" sanctioning here refers to the potentially significant role of student culture in the articulation, development and maintenance of certain aspects of the hidden curriculum. In summary, for Snyder, the hidden curriculum essentially involves the "selective negligence" of non-examinable or unassessable aspects of the formal curriculum.

Becker (1968) implicitly employed something of this notion of hidden curriculum (he did not articulate it as such) in his study of medical students. His main focus was on the role of "student culture" as a mode of accommodation to what students found was expected of them at medical school. While it was student culture which provided the social rapport that allowed or facilitated a re-assessment of faculty statements or demands, it was some notion of Snyder's hidden curriculum which provided the rationale behind the restrictions of level and direction of effort (albeit in the case of Becker's medical students the constraint of examinations was coupled with the perceived requirements of medical practice).

A notion of hidden curriculum similar to that of Snyder's was used by Miller and Parlett (1974), in their study of the examination

system. A question prompted by both Snyder and Becker's study - differential learner recognition of the hidden curriculum - was the issue addressed by Miller and Parlett. Students were found to be differentially "deaf" or conscious of examination "cues" given by their teachers. "Cue-conscious" students, or their more active colleagues the "cue-seekers", explicitly "played the exam. game" or "worked the system". Such notions, as these latter ones, recognise the existence of a hidden curriculum and suggest that some students are aware of it, while others may not be - some "work the system", others just work hard. Miller and Parlett suggest:

"Different types of students, while sharing the same visible curriculum, had varying hidden curricula. Moreover, the different hidden curricula they followed were associated with disparate amounts of success in examination terms."

(Miller and Parlett, 1974)

This reinforces the essential relationship between assessment procedures and examinations, and notions of a hidden curriculum. However, if the notion of hidden curriculum is restricted solely to its relationship to assessment and examination (important though the relationship may be) it loses a lot of its potency for a more radical analysis of education. The hidden curriculum, in a wider sense, is not limited to conveying messages as to what is, or what is not, examinable, it clearly carries many, many other messages as well. Indeed the powerful criticisms of "schooling", and the ideas of the 'de-schoolers', at root hinge on the idea of the hidden curriculum of contemporary schools. While the "official" curriculum is "education", the wider consequences of the hidden curriculum is "schooling", and all that term has come to convey.

Illich (1971) claims that:

"To understand what it means to de-school society we must focus on the hidden curriculum of schooling to call attention to the fact that the ceremonial or ritual of schooling itself constitutes such a hidden curriculum."

(Illich, 1971)

At least one, but only one, aspect of Illich's hidden curriculum is similar to Snyder's more conservative conception and that relates to Illich's "myth of measurement of values". Illich suggests that schools initiate young people into a world where everything can be measured. People who have been thus "schooled down to size", Illich suggests will let "unmeasured experience slip out of their hands ". Illich's suggestion here that this particular aspect of the hidden curriculum will in fact serve to inform the pupils' world-view - a world where everything can be measured - is clearly an advance on Snyder and furnishes a more more radical insight. In summary, for Illich the hidden curriculum refers essentially to "the structure of schooling as opposed to what happens in school".

Woods and Hammersley (1977) make the similar point that the hidden curriculum refers to what is learned by pupils from the structure rather than the content of interaction.

Some of the broader messages of the hidden curriculum are listed by Lister (1972) as follows:

- "
- 1) Schooling and education are the same thing,
 - 2) Education ends when schooling ends,
 - 3) Learning is the result of teaching,
 - 4) Learning is the mastery of the curriculum. The curriculum is a commodity,
 - 5) Knowledge is divided into packages (subjects/topics)

- 6) Learning is linear - knowledge comes in sequential curricula and graded exercises,
- 7) Specialist knowledge is the kind which is most highly esteemed,
- 8) Economically esteemed knowledge is the result of professional teaching "

(Lister, 1972)

Postman and Weingartner (1969) similarly present a list of messages communicated by the structure of the classroom itself - messages not listed among the official aims of teachers:

- 1) Passive acceptance is a more desirable response to ideas than active criticism,
- 2) Discovering knowledge is beyond the power of students and is, in any case, none of their business,
- 3) Recall is the highest form of intellectual achievement, and the collection of unrelated 'facts' is the goal of education,
- 4) The voice of authority is to be trusted and valued more than independent judgement,
- 5) One's own ideas and those of one's classmates are inconsequential,
- 6) Feelings are irrelevant in education,
- 7) There is always a single, unambiguous Right Answer to a question

(Postman and Weingartner, 1969)

Postman and Weingartner go on to posit, albeit light-heartedly termed, a "vaccination theory of education" which they suggest is similarly communicated by the structure of schooling. This theory suggests that a subject is something you "take", and when you have "taken" it, you have "had" it, and if you have "had" it, you are immune and need not take it again.

Eggleston (1977) drawing on Jackson (1968) also lists seven items

he considers to be central to the notion of a hidden curriculum , as follows:

- "
- 1) Learning to 'live in crowds' involving the postponement or even the denial of personal desires
 - 2) Learning to use or lose time, tolerating boredom and passivity as an inevitable component of being in the classroom
 - 3) Learning to accept assessment by others, not only by teachers but also by fellow pupils,
 - 4) Learning how to compete to please both teachers and fellow students in order to obtain their praise, reward and esteem by appropriate behaviour
 - 5) Learning how to live in a hierarchical society and to be differentiated in the process, developing a capacity to live with and to tolerate social differentiation is a widely evident consequence of the hidden curriculum,
 - 6) Learning ways, with one's fellow students, to control the speed and progress of what the teacher presents in the official curriculum, and
 - 7) The learning of shared meanings with the aid of an established shorthand or restricted code of language allowing teachers and students to affirm to each other that they know and understand the procedures in which they are both involved"

(Eggleston, 1977, 111-112)

The notion that the hidden curriculum is somehow communicated through the "structure" of schooling or the classroom perhaps needs more attention: Postman and Weingartner suggest that the message is communicated through:

"the role of the teacher, the role of the student, the rules of their verbal game, the rights that are assigned, the arrangements made for communication, the 'doings' that are praised or censured"

Meighan (1977) notes that Jackson (1971) uses the term to describe the unofficial three R's - Rules, Routines and Regulations - that pupils

learn to survive comfortably and effectively in schools. He goes on to note that:-

".... other aspects (of the hidden curriculum) include the messages learnt from school buildings (Kohl, 1970) (Postman and Weingartner, 1969); the influence of teachers' expectations (Rosenthal, 1968); the knowledge structures implied by teaching techniques (Holt, 1964); the effects of different usages of language, (Barnes et. al., 1969) ... "

The idea of a hidden curriculum thus has more power in analysis than just highlighting the 'selective negligence' it might induce in students with regard to the assessment of their official curriculum - its source, its messages and its implications are much more pervasive than this relatively simple notion might suggest.

A wider debate to which I wish to return relates to the very issue of the relative 'strengths' of the messages conveyed both by the 'structure of schooling' and 'what happens in school'. Even given the "porridge" nature of the notion of a hidden curriculum Illich suggests it refers essentially to the former's (not the latter's) messages. Woods and Hammersley appear to agree also. Illich suggests that:-

"the hidden curriculum does all this (as above) in spite of contrary efforts undertaken by teachers and no matter what ideology prevails ... In other words, schools are fundamentally alike in all countries, be they fascist, democratic or socialist, big or small, rich or poor".

(Illich, 1971)

In simple terms, this debate might ask "which can shout the loudest, the teacher or the school?" Illich's answer, of course, would be that the school, through its hidden curriculum, can shout down anything the teacher might say (verbalise) in the classroom. This is essentially a pessimistic message for the individual teacher in his classroom. Further

to this, the main thrust of Whitty and Young's recent collection of readings (1976) is that the "'struggles' of the classroom teachers cannot remain separate from the wider politics of capitalist society itself". This is to confirm the belief that attempts to develop more radical syllabuses within schools (i.e. to attempt to change what happens in schools) must be accompanied by a questioning of the whole educational system (i.e. a questioning of the 'structure of schooling'. For Bowles and Gintis too, for further example, what is important is not the content of education or what is taught, but rather the form of education, or the way it is taught (Bowles and Gintis, 1976).

Bowles and Gintis (1976) attempt to demonstrate a "correspondence principle", in which they suggest a relationship between American education and the capitalist economy:

"As we have seen, the latest levels in the hierarchy of the enterprise emphasise rule-following, middle-levels, dependability and the capability to operate without direct and continuous supervision while the higher levels stress the internalisation of the norms of the enterprise. Similarly, in education, lower levels.. tend to severely limit and channel the activities of students .. higher up the educational ladder .. allow(s) more independent activity and less overall supervision. At the top ... colleges emphasise social relations comparable with the higher levels in the production hierarchy."

(Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p 132)

In a recent paper, Dale (1977) considered the implications of the rediscovery of the hidden curriculum for the sociology of teaching, and he used a conception of the hidden curriculum which saw it as the central means by which the social relations of schooling reproduce the social relations of production. That is to say, Dale also referred to the hidden curriculum of the structure of schooling, again taking

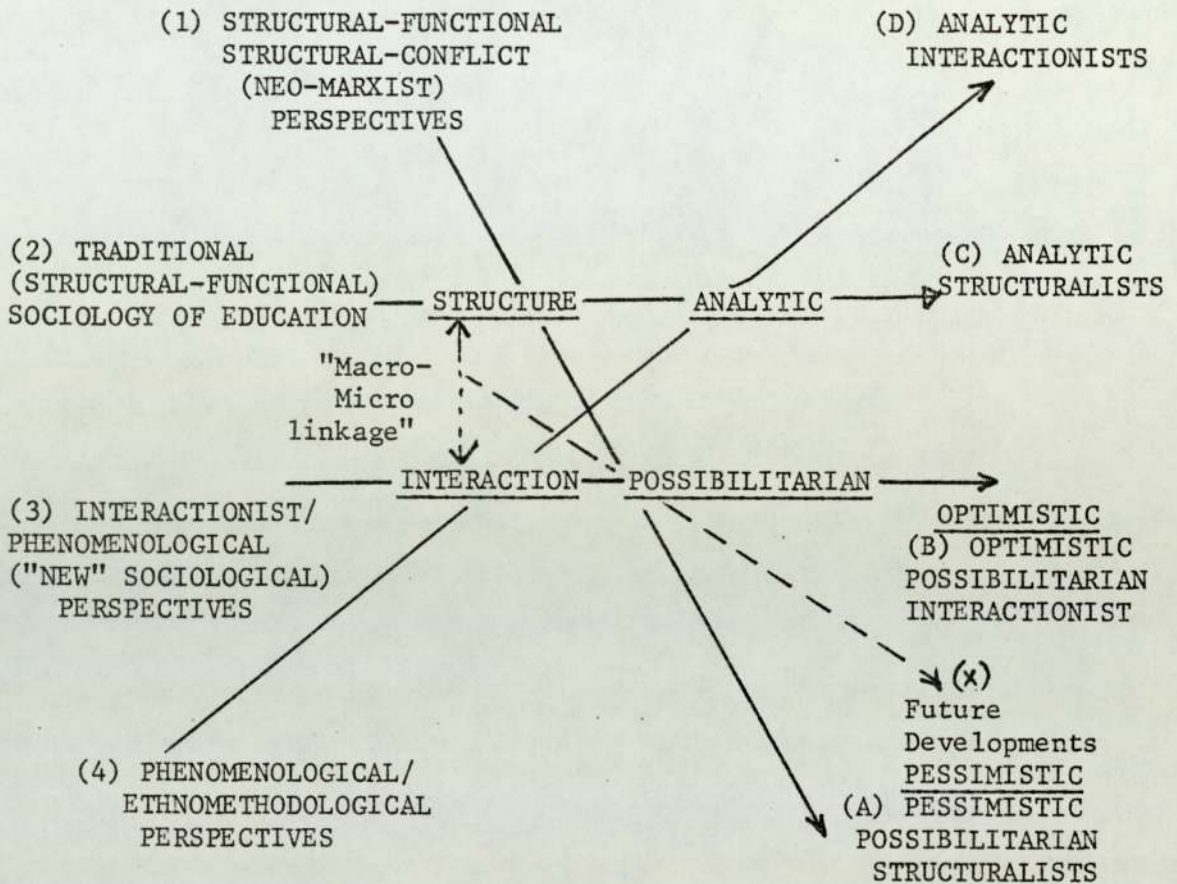
a lead from Bowles and Gintis (1976).

The essential pessimism of these and other similar analyses of the possibilities (or limits) of educational change (away from the messages of the present hidden curriculum) is predicated upon their theoretical stance. The pessimism of such neo-Marxist (structural-conflict) perspectives may be contrasted with the optimism of the "new" (phenomenological) analyses of education more prevalent in the early 1970's. These studies, of the "new" sociology of education, placed stress on the ability of participants to actively construct, and hence change, their realities. Clearly both stances may be, and have been, criticised for their several weaknesses and short-falls, but it seems to me that the notion of hidden curriculum prompts with some greater urgency than has previously been the case the importance of constructively addressing the problematic relation between these seemingly alternative ('structural' and 'interactionist') analyses of education.

In order, then, to go some way at least to beginning the task of addressing this relationship, (and to place my analysis of sociology teaching in some wider perspectives) I present below a diagrammatic representation indicating something of the available stances within the sociology of education, a subfield of sociology which has seen considerable theoretical development since the early 1970's. (See for example, Barton and Meighan, 1978; Barton and Walker, 1978; Bernbaum, 1977 etc.).

Whitty (1977) characterised the "analytic stance" as one which does not seek to challenge the mundane experience of the everyday world, and the possibilitarian stance as one which sees in sociology the possibility of transcending just those experienced realities, and

ALTERNATIVE STANCES WITHIN THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION,
A DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION:



hence actively contributing towards change. Optimistic and pessimistic stances are contingent upon a prior possibilitarian stance as they would make no sense within a purely analytic framework.

Dale's and Bowles and Gintis' structural-conflict stance, although "possibilitarian", is essentially pessimistic due to their focus on broader 'macro' structural considerations. Such a perspective (pessimistic possibilitarian structuralist) arose in reaction to the "new" sociology of education and its interactionist optimistic stance with its claims to "fulfill the promise of education for all" (Gorbutt, 1972). It was against this background that I became curious about my own teaching and began an investigation of the hidden curriculum

within one particular area within social education, namely sociology teaching. It was not from within the perhaps over-optimistic perspective I wished to cast my analysis of sociology teaching but clearly to conduct an analysis from a structuralist perspective alone would be to fail to engage fully with the problem of my classroom teaching. Therefore, while utilising some of the insights afforded from a conception of the hidden curriculum of the structure of schooling, my study of the hidden curriculum of sociology teaching places primary emphasis on the content of schooling.

Assuming then that an optimistic stance (one which allows constructive and effective change from within the context of the classroom alone) is not too hopeless, in what ways might the notion of a hidden curriculum be of importance? Clearly there will be messages from the wider hidden curriculum of the structure of schooling invading the classroom - those aspects of the hidden curriculum which were listed previously. The question here, however, is addressed only to features of this wider hidden curriculum which may be specifically pertinent to the concerns of the classroom, and to the, perhaps more neglected, aspects of another hidden curriculum which may be specific to teaching within the area of social education and particularly to the teaching of sociology, arguably the core of social education. This research, therefore, should be directly relevant to all who are engaged in social and political education due to its specific reference to this area.

Perhaps an easily recognised illustration of the idea of a hidden curriculum specifically related to a sociology classroom is the popular notion that sociology is "subversive" in some way. While

sometimes the popular suggestion might be that sociology is deliberately taught in a way which might subvert, a popular suspicion is that, however it is taught, it will be subversive. While the former suggestion, of deliberate subversion, may in some cases be near the truth - and therefore in no way a part of a hidden curriculum - the latter suspicion - of subversion being an unintended consequence of sociology teaching - strikes me as at least a starting point for consideration of any hidden curriculum specific to a sociology classroom. Meighan (1973) notes several reasons why sociology might be inevitably "disturbing". Among these reasons he lists:

- " (1) ... it casts doubts upon the notion of individual accountability for actions and suggests an alternative insight into the complex, collective social nature of human actions ...
- (2) ... sociologists ... refuse to take situations at their face value and are neither able to accept official definitions of situations uncritically nor those of the participants ... everyone and everything is open to suspicion ...
- (3) ... sociology (intends) to improve on 'common-sense' (and) this threatens the taken-for-granted aspects of social behaviour and exposes some of the folk interpretations on which behaviour is based, as false or distorted ...
- (4) ... the discipline takes on a relative, non-ethnocentric viewpoint. Comparative studies ... (thus) ... expose the accepted and familiar ways of behaving to comparisons which may be interpreted as unfavourable. This approach allows one to be part of one's own culture yet at the same time out of it ... "

(Meighan, 1973, p 165)

Perhaps one of the most noticeable confirming features of sociology's problematic status as "normal school" is the almost unanimity with which pupils claimed immunity to any disturbing features within the sociologi-

cal perspectives presented to them:

"Sociology has not upset me and I don't see why it should".

Meighan suggested a number of reasons why sociology may be "disturbing" or "upsetting" and these have been listed previously. It is not impossible, therefore, that the students in this case may have found sociology "upsetting" or "disturbing" in the way it discusses, for example, social class. The location of the school of this study is a primarily working class area, indeed the school qualifies for a Social Priority Allowance, and many students have reacted, for example, against the notion of the differential educational achievement of the social classes. The need to ameliorate feelings of fatalistic determinism in students provoked in such discussions of social class has been referred to elsewhere by the authors (Fielding and Anderson, 1979), and this is just one example of the possibly disturbing effect sociology might have on its students. Another example would be the resistance teenage girls have shown to the notion that their approach to gender roles is shaped by the process of socialisation. They have been disturbed that their behaviour in this respect is not "natural" (biologically that is) but rather is socially determined. Students can find sociology "disturbing" even though this study did not find this to be the case.

Meighan (1973), however, notes Berger's (1971) argument that sociology can be both simultaneously radical and conservative:

"Sociology, (Berger) concludes, is only subversive in a specific way through its liberating effects on consciousness but in this process it also points up the social limits of freedom, and the importance of triviality and mere routine as necessary conditions for both individual and collective sanity".

(Meighan, 1973, p 166)

Townley (1979) reviewed "MAN: A Course of Study" (M.A.C.O.S.), an integrated social studies course designed for 10-12 year olds, and described it as "perhaps the most complex and the most sophisticated piece of curriculum development which has ever been undertaken in the fields of social studies or humanities" (Townley, 1979, p 183). He reported, however, a duality in the response the course provoked from those who had used it:

"... criticisms came from both 'left' and 'right'. In the United States there was a furore because it was felt by many to be too radical while, in Britain, there was a feeling that it is too conservative! ... there is a view, in Britain, that the course is written within a functionalist perspective; that there is too great an emphasis on order, harmony and co-operation and consensus".

(Townley, 1979, p 187)

Meighan (1973), Berger (1966, 1971) and Townley (1979) all seem to indicate not only something of the hidden curriculum of the sociology classroom but also the need to look more specifically at the "hidden curricula" of differing theoretical perspectives within sociology. As Townley (1979) suggests, an unproblematic structural-functional perspective, far from promoting "subversion" may well promote both conformity and conservation.

Reeves (1976), argues that the hidden curricular messages from the social structuring of the classroom will, however, serve to negate the hidden messages of sociology whether they be ideological or subversive:

"The sociologist is expected to view himself as a detached observer of society, and in order to do this, he will be in the habit of studying others, rather than himself ... in sociology teaching there is a considerable resistance to allow the student to apply the theoretical perspectives that he acquires from sociology to his own immediate situation ..."

(Reeves, 1976, p 13)

Under these conditions, whatever the message of sociology teaching, it will be a "commodity" to be received with other packages of "knowledge" within the context of "normal school". Only when there is a congruence between the hidden curriculum of the structure of schooling and the messages of sociology as taught in the classroom, will teaching be facilitated.

"To put the matter colloquially, is the teacher ... practising what he preaches? ... occasionally the following kind of exchange will take place in a classroom discussion ...

"Sir, do you believe in democracy?"

"Yes, of course".

"Then why don't you let us take a vote on whether we can smoke in your lesson?"

"That isn't a relevant argument ..."

"Why not? You let us vote on which subject we were going to talk about this term. It's because you know you'll be out-voted".

"If the combined message of the sociology syllabus and the social context is to be effective, it must reflect the students' experience in other social institutions and he must be able to internalise the material".

(Reeves, 1976, p 14)

It may be that Reeves is more considering the invasion of the wider hidden curriculum on the sociology classroom, whereas my earlier considerations were more related to a hidden curriculum specific to sociology and its teaching. However, both these concerns, as I indicated earlier, are important and related, and their distinction is perhaps of more analytic than immediately practical value as both, to some (perhaps differential) extent, may be combated in the classroom.

Perhaps one of the central questions then prompted by such a hidden curriculum approach to sociology teaching would be to ask

to what extent does sociology in a school provide either an "oppositional" curriculum or simply become part of "normal school" for its pupils, not noticeably different from other subjects and not noticeably more relevant to the world outside the classroom.

An "oppositional" curriculum would be one which leads inevitably to challenges to the taken-for-granted common-sense assumptions about the relationships between teachers and pupils, criteria of high and low ability, designations of success and failure and so on. In the case of sociology Vulliamy (1973) has suggested that teachers and taught should "do sociology" together. This is something made possible by the phenomenological critique of positivism, relativising the status of sociological investigations and thus militating against the simple unproblematic presentation of "sociological facts" to the student. The sociology curriculum instead would become one which attempts to interpret the sociological assumptions which both teachers and taught are continually making during everyday discussion and interaction. Vulliamy suggests it is only when we have developed such a questioning attitude that the students will become aware of the possibility of actually shaping their world, as opposed to being shaped by it. Whitty (1976) however suggests that such new directions in sociology have been treated rather more like incremental additions to existing content in sociology courses - either generating new "facts" about everyday life or new perspectives to be learnt about along with all the others. None of these approaches, Whitty argues, have radically challenged the status quo in the way Vulliamy proposes, and thus none is likely to lead teachers into conflict situations in either school or society. Sociology will

be perceived as just more "normal school" until it actually and effectively challenges the existing social relations of school knowledge. My questioning, therefore, of sociology's provision of an "oppositional" curriculum, or simply its integration into "normal school", seems to address as problematic both the structure and the content of sociology lessons in schools, and to address as problematic the more pertinent features of its hidden curriculum.

Some of these issues were practically addressed during the Joint Matriculation Board and University of Birmingham Project for Advanced Level Syllabuses and Examinations (J.P.A.L.S.E.) by the Study Group preparing a scheme for an Integrated Social Science "A" Level Course. The course eventually advocated by this group had the three linked features: a student-centred approach, the use of practical experience, and a network approach to content (Meighan, 1976). These features seem to go some way towards operationalising our imperative that students and teachers should "do sociology" together, and contrast with the present practice of sociology "A" level teaching (and, indeed, social science "A" level teaching in general) which is mainly teacher-centred, based on third or fourth-hand experience (often codified in a textbook) and based on a linear or hierarchical approach to content, (Meighan, 1976). The alternative features of the Integrated Social Science "A" level proposed would also serve to guard against the pitfall, warned of by Whitty, that new directions in sociology might simply be treated as incremental additions to existing content. Certainly such a course would serve to challenge existing social relations of school knowledge in a number of ways:

- a) the practical outcome of the student-centred approach advocated would involve a series of discussions and negotiations with students at the start of a course on what to start learning, how to learn it, how to organise it, and how learning might be evaluated. The role of the teacher in this course would therefore contrast with the traditional role of teacher as instructor, (Meighan, 1976)
- b) the use of practical experiences, in conjunction with the student-centred approach, also challenges the rigid, absolutist view of knowledge represented in existing syllabuses, which has in the past effectively ensured teacher-centred, instructional approaches. The network approach which represents a more relativist theory of knowledge allows the flexibility needed to accommodate the decision-making of students and the increased use of first-hand experiences. (Meighan, 1976)

Meighan concludes a report of the study group, (Meighan, 1976) with the suggestion that such proposals as the above do serve to reflect some of the ideas of Postman and Weingartner (1969) that students should become "meaning makers". These proposals certainly provide the starting point for a truly "oppositional" curriculum which could avoid all the hidden curricula implications of "normal school". A case-study of one particular school follows and the data is used to address the question of the problematic provision of an "oppositional" curriculum.

THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

Each sociology or social studies pupil in each of the fourth, fifth and sixth years was given a copy of the questionnaire (See Appendix I) entitled: "Some Questions about your Sociology Lessons".

These questionnaires were distributed at the beginning of the lesson period and the students were given the lesson period to respond to them. It was stressed to the students that there were no right or wrong answers to any of these questions. The questions were introduced with the idea that not many teachers asked their pupils about their lessons and how they might be improved, so here was a chance for the pupils to say something, at least, about their sociology lessons. The point was also made that no-one would "get into trouble" if they said anything the teacher might not like. This threat was further reduced by suggesting that the replies might be anonymous - no name was required on the answer sheet. Some students commented (quite correctly) that their handwriting was obviously recognisable, although this did not seem to worry them too much. In the event, a number of students did put their name on the paper.

I set out below a summary of the students' responses to the questionnaire (see Appendix I). These responses are reported more fully, and with full and numerous quotations where appropriate, in Appendix II to this paper.

1. Students chose sociology for a combination of two main reasons - either 'by default' because they didn't like other possible and more familiar options, or because sociology was "new" and "different and promised to be "interesting" in some way.
2. Students who had thus chosen sociology had no clear expectations for it - except that it would be "interesting" in some way.

3. Students generally felt sociology to be different from their other subjects only in terms of the topics it included. A few students, however, noted that it might differ in approach as well as content.
4. Students were generally not upset or disturbed by sociology in any way. Only a few students indicated some engagement of sociology with their wider concerns.
5. Students generally did not agree of what was the most interesting, most difficult, or most boring topics within their sociology courses.
6. Students were most noticeably divided in their preference for, or dislike of, discussions in lessons. Other aspects of lessons passed without either positive or negative comment.
7. Students generally would make few changes to the way lessons are presently conducted, and are generally happy with the syllabus they were given.

While many students chose sociology because they thought it would be "interesting", (see Appendix II) unfortunately there is no way we can tell from the presently available data in what more specific way the students thought sociology would be "interesting", nor whether they might view other subjects with similar curiosity. It is at least possible that even at this early state - at the stage of initially choosing sociology - students have some, albeit unclearly formed, notion that sociology will be "interesting" because it will be different. The nature of students' initial interests in sociology and their vague notions as to what it might offer, are clearly areas upon which future studies could throw more light. Further, students who eventually find sociology either "interesting" or "boring" might be questioned as to what they mean by "interesting" and "boring". Again, it is at least possible that students who consider sociology in the event to be "boring" are saying nothing more than that it is the same as "normal school". It is not, then, that sociology has

turned out to be more boring than other subjects, but that it has turned out to be, contrary to expectations, no more interesting.

Students who suggest sociology is different from other subjects simply in terms of the topics covered also seem to be suggesting in effect that sociology is the same as other subjects in terms of its being just another bundle of, albeit different, topics. Sociology for these students is just more "normal school". Some students, however, did note differences of sociology from other subjects, both in terms of the form the sociology teaching took and the nature of the content of the subject:

"The subject is not like other subjects I take. It is different from other subjects because it is taught different from other subjects and there is more discussion subjects".

"(the subject) looks inside instead of other subjects which seem to look at things from the outside".

One student engaged directly, but unwittingly, with Postman and Weingartner's "Right Answerism" (1969) by suggesting that sociology was:

"... different than other subjects, it's not just right answers it's often people's own opinions".

Something of this seemed to come across to one of the sixth form students who contrasted the perhaps less problematic more positivistic nature of economics as taught at "A" level with their sociology lessons:

"Sociology deals with sociologists and many people who had studied, whereas economics deals more with economics and less with economists".

This idea could usefully be explored further in a more permissive interview situation. However, for one sociology student, sociology was altogether too much like other subjects:

"It's like other subjects we take because we have to do homework still, and we have to do the work that is set for us".

However, while one student certainly misunderstood the question it remains possible that other students too misunderstood the question's reference.

For example, few students found sociology upsetting because they really could not understand what the teacher was saying, nor because it provided them with an impossible amount of homework - but, of course, it was not these areas or concerns the question was designed to probe. It remains possible, too, that sociology might have been "upsetting" or "disturbing" to students (in the manner asked in the question) but that pupil culture effectively ruled out any expression of this - both at the time of its occurrence and subsequently at the time of this study. A future study, again, could more effectively probe the validity of this suggestion by the use of more permissive interviews.

Finally, the students' ambiguous responses to the question of discussions in class seems to reflect their ambiguous responses and orientations towards their sociology lessons. Some students find discussions enjoyable and, indeed, find them to be one distinguishing feature of sociology lessons as against others, perhaps more conventional, lessons, while other students "don't like going to the front of the class to talk" and "like the written work best". In other words, some students like the chance to participate in their sociology lessons in a relatively permissive manner while others prefer to be told what to do, and then, importantly, left to get on with it.

Two further illustrations derived from participant observation also might contribute to this analysis. They illustrate, in addition, the not unsurprising difficulty teachers might experience in attempting

to deviate from the hidden curriculum of the status quo. In one lesson, sixth formers showed marked confusion when asked to take notes from certain chapters of a textbook, when further told it would not be required that these notes be "handed in". Their confusion over the status of these notes filtered back to the writer via their comments to other staff members. The implied but hidden message to these students of the fact they need not "hand in" these notes was that these notes were not, therefore, sufficiently important to be looked at. A teacher's "approval" of notes it seemed invested those same notes with greater quality. The hidden curriculum was thus claiming superior knowledge for the teacher and devaluing the pupils' own efforts. (This dilemma was resolved by a collection of the notes and their redistribution a few days later).

On another occasion in the same sixth form the suggestion was put to the students that they should "mark" each others recently completed essays. (At least to comment upon each other's essays and note similarities to and differences from their own). This appeared to be a new idea and was greeted with the suggestion that the teacher had been training for they-didn't-know-how-long and they couldn't be expected to comment on any essays after having been doing the subject only for one term. Again, here, the implied authority position of the teacher vested with knowledge and expertise is contrasted with the devalued opinion of the students themselves.

CONCLUSION

In summary then, for most students, sociology formed part of their "normal school" and did not exhibit noticeably more relevance to the world outside the classroom. The hidden curriculum still claimed

superior knowledge for the teachers and a devaluation of pupils' own opinions and consequently a high status for knowledge defined as such by the teacher, and a low status for pupils' own experiences, and experientially-based knowledge. The sociology courses, therefore, in this particular case seemed to consist essentially of non-radical content taught in a basically non-radical way.

In conclusion, some of the implications of this study may be best summed up as a number of questions to be faced about our own teaching. These questions would include the following:

- 1) What is the place of relevance in social and political education?
- 2) How do we identify what is 'meaningful' to students?
- 3) What kind of contribution are our students allowed to make to lessons?
- 4) What kind of contribution can students make to our lessons as we presently structure them?
- 5) Do we value the students own experiences of the social world as a learning resource?
- 6) What would a "student-eye view" of our lessons look like? (How far short of our aims does it fall?)
- 7) Finally, to what extent do the unspoken "hidden" but none-the-less effective messages of our classrooms contradict the aims we take to the classroom? (And is there anything within the parameters of possible change we can do to ease that contradiction?)

Teachers may like to use the pupil questionnaire (following in Appendix I to this paper) as a way of initially approaching some of these questions and evaluating their own lessons from the perspectives of the learners.

APPENDIX I

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR SOCIOLOGY LESSONS

TRY TO ANSWER EVERY QUESTION: THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

YOU SHOULD ANSWER EACH QUESTION AS FULLY AS YOU CAN.

Thankyou.

1. Why did you choose Sociology?
What did you expect the subject to be like?
2. Has it turned out to be what you expected?
How is it similar/different from your expectations?
3. How is the subject like other subjects you take?
How is the subject different from your other subjects?
4. Some people (for example, members of the public) think Sociology can be upsetting and disturbing, perhaps because it talks about people and society.
 - a) has Sociology upset or disturbed you in any way?
 - b) if so, which particular ideas or topics did this?
5. In your lessons so far, which ideas have you found to be
 - a) the most interesting?
 - b) the most difficult to understand?
 - c) the most boring or least interesting?
6. Think now not only about the subject of Sociology but the actual class periods you have and the way the subjects is taught
 - a) what do you like most about Sociology lessons?
 - b) what do you like least about Sociology lessons?
7. If you could decide how Sociology was to be taught in this school, what changes would you make to lessons now?
8. Finally, if you could decide what topics to study about in Sociology what topics would you particularly choose?

APPENDIX II

ALL YEARS' RESPONSES: AN ANALYSIS

Responses to each question in turn analysed giving quotations where appropriate.

WHY DID YOU CHOOSE SOCIOLOGY?

In the fourth and fifth years there were predominantly two main reasons given for choosing sociology. The first was almost by default and is perhaps an inevitable result of the option scheme operating after the third year:

"I chose sociology because I didn't like any other subject in the column".

"I chose sociology because it was the only thing I liked in the column".

This is not necessarily to criticise the column system of option choice as it operates at the school - with any system such an outcome would be difficult to avoid. Unfortunately the data cannot indicate the extent of "choice by default" for other subjects. It may or may not be that sociology is particularly open to this.

The second reason given by a great number of students is perhaps more positive, and this was their belief that sociology would be "interesting"; this was often coupled with its unfamiliarity to students:

"I thought it would be interesting and it was a new subject to me".

"I chose sociology because I had never heard it before and I thought it would be interesting".

A couple of students thought sociology would teach them how to "socialise with people" and a couple more thought it would teach them about "community and social backgrounds" and about "the environment".

One girl chose sociology because "sociology is truth"!

While none of the fourth and fifth years chose Sociology because they thought it was a "soft option" students did seem a little more aware of "playing the system" in the sixth form:

"Someone who had taken sociology said it was one of the easiest "A" levels and the most interesting".

"It was an "A" level which I thought I could pass"

However, for the sixth form students too, Sociology was still generally a "new" subject which most felt would be "interesting". One student wanted to "learn about people" and one student wanted to "fill in my timetable".

WHAT DID YOU EXPECT THE SUBJECT TO BE LIKE?

Given their reasons for choosing sociology in the first place, not surprisingly most students expected it to be "interesting". A few expected it to be boring and yet others expected it to be "difficult" or even "complicated". Those students who gave more specific answers relating to the expected content of sociology listed topics such as education, the family, law, poverty, "what is going on in the world today" and on to "people who are not as lucky as us, e.g. invalids, spastics, etc." A number of sixth formers "didn't really know what to expect" and one or two expected it to be similar to the "O" level except "harder and in more detail".

HAS IT TURNED OUT TO BE WHAT YOU EXPECTED?

HOW IS IT SIMILAR/DIFFERENT FROM YOUR EXPECTATIONS?

For some of those students with the broad general expectation that sociology would be "interesting", there was disappointment. They had not found sociology to be interesting all the time:

"No. It is sometimes boring" .

"No. It is differing from my expectations.
It is boring".

"Not quite, it's a little bit boring".

For others, sociology had lived up to its promise.. These students expected sociology to be, and actually found it to be, "interesting":

"Yes it had turned out to be what I expected.
It is similar to my expectations because I find it interesting".

"Yes, it is very interesting".

One student found it different from his expectations in that "we study things I didn't think of such as population". Another found it different because "(I thought) it would be just education and the family". For most of the sixth form, although they "didn't really know what to expect" the subject did not turn out to be radically different from anything they might have foreseen.

HOW IS THE SUBJECT LIKE OTHER SUBJECTS YOU TAKE?

HOW IS IT DIFFERENT FROM YOUR OTHER SUBJECTS?

For most students this question meant a comparison of syllabuses thus typical responses were:

"The subject isn't like any of my others. Everything we do in sociology we don't do anything like it in other lessons".

"It is not like any other subject: It is different because we learn different things altogether".

Other students, still those comparing syllabuses however did find similarities:

"It isn't really like other subjects except my history lessons which tend to do the same topics sometimes e.g. education".

"It is a bit like history, studying population and about different people. And Religious Education when we study about people and their attitudes".

Some students went beyond comparing the topics within their different subjects and suggested other perhaps more interesting similarities and differences:

"It's different than other subjects it's not just right answers, it's often people's own opinions"

"The subject is not like other subjects I take. It is different from other subjects because it is taught different from other subjects and there is more discussion subjects".

"It isn't like other subjects you just have to sit and work, but this subject you feel more choose (choice)".

"It's like other subjects we take because we have to do homework, still, and we have to do work that is set for us".

For the sixth form too, who mostly studied either economics or history with sociology, the main similarities noted were in terms of the topics studied.

However, one student noted:

"Sociology, to me is a subject on its own - different in most ways".

Unfortunately, this was not elaborated upon. Another student seemed to go a little further than most by suggesting sociology

".... is more concerned with people and society and looks inside instead of other subjects which seem to look at things from the outside".

However, this again, unfortunately, was not elaborated upon.

HAS SOCIOLOGY UPSET OR DISTURBED YOU IN ANY WAY?

IF SO, WHAT PARTICULAR TOPICS DID THIS?

If sociology does have any radicalising potential it is certainly lost on most of these students. The fourth year were unanimous in

their opinion that "sociology is not upsetting or disturbing", and only one fifth former was disturbed by sociology but this was because "I don't like it and don't think it's interesting", (which is to misunderstand the question). The picture is largely the same for the sixth formers:

"Sociology has not upset me in any way, I don't see why it should".

However, there were one or two rather different responses indicating that, at least for these students, sociology engaged with some of their wider extra-curricular concerns, and in some way, therefore, might be thought of as having had some of its radical potential fulfilled:

"It has not upset or disturbed me in any way, it has simply made me think more".

"No, it has just made me think about things more than previously when I took most of them for granted".

"No, the ideas have enlightened me upon basic ideas which I already had".

WHICH TOPICS/IDEAS HAVE YOU FOUND MOST INTERESTING?

For most students the most interesting "idea" meant the most interesting "topic", thus their responses do not tell us as much as they might otherwise have done. However, for the fifth year the "mass media" was most frequently mentioned (five times) followed by the "family" and "slums" (four times each). For the fourth year the "family" was the most frequent choice (five times) with no close rivals. ("Roles" and "population" were in fact second choice with two choices each). "Deviance" was mentioned by three of the sixth formers, although two had found "most of it" or "all of it" equally interesting. One said:

"there is nothing which has sent me mad with interest!"

WHICH IDEAS HAVE YOU FOUND TO BE THE MOST DIFFICULT?

While a number of fourth year students found "none of them" most difficult to understand, others suggested their "extended essays" (on any topic) were most difficult. There was no consensus regarding difficult topics amongst the fifth formers. A number of sixth formers found their first look at sociological theory their most difficult topic so far.

WHICH IDEAS HAVE YOU FOUND THE MOST BORING?

No consensus emerged for any of the years with regard to the "most boring" topic although a number of the fourth year noted that extended essays were "boring" as well as "difficult".

WHAT DO YOU LIKE LEAST ABOUT SOCIOLOGY LESSONS?

WHAT DO YOU LIKE MOST ABOUT SOCIOLOGY LESSONS?

Students are divided in their preferences for, or dislike of, "discussions" in class:

"I like the periods when we talk and discuss certain topics, in this way we can understand more".

"I like discussions in the lessons".

"I don't like having discussions".

"I don't like going to the front of the class to talk".

"I think discussions are boring, so are filmstrips".

Apart from this more noticeable difference, the fourth years agreed they disliked essays, particularly the "extended essay". The fifth years, on the other hand, all seemed to notice, and appreciate, the freedom they were given in class:

"You can sit by your friends and discuss the work, and also the essays".

"In the work you feel more free to work because you can talk when you like. I don't".

"I like picking your own topic to write about because its something you have picked yourself".

"I think the most think I like about sociology is that we weren't told what in an essay we could choose what we wanted to do".

WHAT CHANGES WOULD YOU MAKE TO SOCIOLOGY LESSONS?

The fourth year would prefer "less writing" and "more visits".

The fifth year generally thought they would "leave it how it is".

"No changes would be made as it is already a well set course".

The sixth form as a whole were not sure what changes they would make, although some would like lesson time used for private study.

One sixth former commented:

"Basically the same idea of teaching should be kept, just a slight change in how discussions are held, e.g. more pupils' ideas".

WHAT TOPICS WOULD YOU CHOOSE?

Again, there was no real consensus on the kind of topics students wanted to study. A number of fourth year students would just "carry on as we are working now" while another said:

"I don't know really, I would do anything as long as it is interesting".

One student suggested "population", but then commented "I don't know any more (topics)". This lack of awareness of the possibilities might have been a problem for most students, whose suggested topics were largely only those topics which they had already covered in their existing course.

REFERENCES

- ABBOTT, J., (1971)
"Student Life in a Class Society"
Oxford, Pergamon
- ALTHUSSER, L., (1972)
"Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses"
in COSIN, B.R., (Ed) 1972)
- ANDERSON, J., et al (1968)
"How Clinical Students Spend their Time"
in British Journal of Medical Education
Vol. 2, No. 1, pp 4-10.
- APPLE, M., (1979)
"Ideology and Curriculum"
Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- ATKINSON, M., (1977)
"Coroners and the Categorisation of Deaths as
Suicides: Changes in Perspective as Features
of the Research Process"
in BELL, C., and NEWBY, H., (Ed.s) (1977)
- BAKAN, D., (1967)
"On Method"
Jossey-Bass, San Francisco
- BANKS, O., (1974)
"The 'New' Sociology of Education"
in Forum (Autumn) pp 4-7
- BARNES, D., BRITTON, J., and ROSEN, H., (1969)
"Language, The Learner and The School"
Penguin
- BARTHOLOMEW, J., (1976)
"Schooling teachers: the myth of the liberal college"
in WHITTY, G., and YOUNG, M., (Eds) (1976)

- BARTON, L., and WALKER, S., (1978)
 "Sociology of Education at the Crossroads"
 Paper given at The Sociologists in Polytechnics
 Conference held at Newcastle Polytechnic,
 22nd March 1978.
 (Reprinted in Educational Review, (1978) Vol.30,
 No. 3).
- BATES, R.J., (1973)
 "On the Teaching of Sociology and Education"
 in Australian and New Zealand Journal of
 Sociology, Vol. 9, Feb.
- BECK, H.P., (1947)
 "Men Who Control Our Universities"
 King's Crown Press, New York.
- BECKER, H.S., (1964)
 "Personal Change in Adult Life"
 'Sociometry', March, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp 40-53
 also in COSIN, et al (1971)
- BECKER, H.S., (Ed) (1968)
 "Institutions and the Person"
 Aldine, Chicago.
- BECKER, H.S., (1971)
 "Sociological Work: Method and Substance"
 Allen Lane, London.
- BECKER, H.S., and GEER, B., (1958)
 "Student Culture in Medical School"
 in Harvard Education Review, Vol. 28.
- BECKER, H.S., GEER, B., and HUGHES, E., (1968)
 "Making the Grade: The Academic Side of College Life"
 John Wiley and Sons, Inc.; New York.
- BECKER, H.S., GEER, B., HUGHES, E.C., and STRAUSS, A.L., (1961)
 "Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School"
 University of Chicago Press, U.S.A.

- BELL, C., and NEWBY, H., (Ed.s) (1977)
 "Doing Sociological Research"
 George Allen & Unwin, London.
- BELLABY, P., (1975)
 "Sociology without a Syllabus: The Keele
 Workshop Experiments"
in Network; Journal of the British Sociological
 Association.
- BENTHALL, J., (1977)
 "The Menace of Sociology"
Spectator 19th November.
- BERGER, P.L., and PULLBERG, (1966)
 "Reification and the Social Critique of Consciousness"
New Left Review.
- BERGER, P.L., (1971)
 "Sociology and Freedom"
The American Sociologist, Vol. 6, (Feb)
- BERNBAUM, G., (1977)
 "Knowledge and Ideology in the Sociology of
 Education"
 The Macmillan Press Ltd., London.
- BERNSTEIN, B., (1974)
 "Sociology and the Sociology of Education: A
 Brief Account"
in REX, J., (Ed) (1974)
- BERNSTEIN, B., (1977 (a))
 "Class, Codes and Control; Volume 3"
 Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- BERNSTEIN, B., (1977 (b))
 "Aspects of the Relations between Education and
 Production"
in BERNSTEIN, B., (1977 (a))

- BIDDLE, B.J., and THOMAS, E.J., (1966)
 "Role Theory: Concepts and Research"
 John Wiley and Sons, London.
- BIGGS, D.A., (1976)
 "Recent Research on British Students: a brief
 analysis"
in Research in Education, No. 15 (May)
- BLUMER, M., (1966)
 "Sociological Implications of the Thought of
 George Herbert Mead"
in American Journal of Sociology, Vol.71.
- BOARDMAN, D.J., and RUTHERFORD, R.J.D., (1978)
 "Evaluation of a Postgraduate Certificate in
 Education course component"
in British Journal of Teacher Education
 Vol. 4 pp 137-142.
- BOLTON, L.D., and KAMMEYER, K.C.W., (1972)
 "Campus Cultures, Role Orientations, and
 Social Types"
in FELDMAN, K.A. (Ed.) (1972)
- BOLTON, C.D., and KAMMEYER, K.C.W., (1967)
 "The University Student"
 College and University Press, Connecticut.
- BONO de, E., (1972)
 "About Think"
 Cape
- BOURDIEU, P., and PASSERON, J.C., (1977)
 "Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture"
 Sage, London.
- BOWLES, S., and GINTIS, H., (1976)
 "Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform
 and the Contradictions of Economic Life"
 Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

- BRENNAN, J., (1975)
 "Graduates and Society - some implications of 'labelling theory'."
 Paper presented to 3rd International Conference of Higher Education, Working Party on Credentialism and the Labour Market, Lancaster University, 1975.
- BRENNAN, J., (1977)
 "The Socialisation Effects of Higher Education: Towards a Comparative approach"
 Paper presented to Society for Research into Higher Education Conference, Surrey University, December, 1977.
- BRENNAN, J., (1978)
 "Secular Sisters: An Assessment of polytechnic education in the context of recent theoretical developments in the Sociology of Education"
 Paper presented to "Sociologists in Polytechnics" Annual Conference, Newcastle Polytechnic, March 1978.
- BRENNAN, J., and PERCY, K., (1975)
 "Sociological Perspectives on Teaching and Learning in Higher Education"
 in Higher Education Bulletin, Vol. 3., No. 2.
- BRENNAN, J.L., and PERCY, K.A., (1976)
 "What Do Students Want? An Analysis of Staff and Student perceptions in British Higher Education"
 Paper presented to the 1976 Conference of the European Association for Research and Development in Higher Education, Belgium.
- BRIM, O.G., and WHEELER, S., (Ed.s) (1966)
 "Socialisation after Childhood: two essays"
 John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York.
- BROTHERS, J., and HATCH, S., (1971)
 "Residence and Student Life"
 Tavistock Publications, London.
- BUCHANAN, R.A. (1966)
 "The technological universities"
Universities Quarterly, (December).

- BUCHANAN, B.A., (1969)
 "History at the technological universities"
Universities Quarterly, Vol. 24, Part 1.
- BURGESS, T., and PRATT, J., (1970)
 "Policy and Practice: the Colleges of Advanced
 Technology"
 Allen Lane, The Penguin Press.
- CAPLON, T., and McGEE, R.J., (1958)
 "The Academic Marketplace"
 Basic Books, New York.
- CHILD, D., (1970)
 "Some Aspects of Study Habits in Higher Education"
 in International Journal of Educational Science
 Vol. 4, No. 1, pp 11-20.
- CICOUREL, A.V., (1964)
 "Method and Measurement in Sociology"
 Free Press, U.S.A.
- CLARK, R., (1973)
 "Development of the Sociology of Higher Education"
Sociology of Education, Vol. 46 (Winter) pp 2-14.
- CLARK, B.R., and TROW, M., (1966)
 "The Organisational Context"
 in NEWCOMB, T.M., and WILSON, E.K., (Ed.s) (1966)
- CLARKE, M., (1973)
 "Sociology or Social Science? Some Teaching
 Difficulties "
 Discussion (occasional) papers series E,
 number 20, University of Birmingham, Faculty
 of Commerce.
- CLARKE, M., (1976)
 "First Year Sociology Courses :
 A Report of a Survey"
 in Sociology Vol.10. pp 81-99.

- CLOWARD, R.A., and OHLIN, L.E., (1961)
 "Delinquency and Opportunity"
 Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- CLOWARD, R., and OHLIN, L.E. (1966)
 "Norms of Delinquent Sub-cultures"
in BIDDLE, B.J. and THOMAS, E.J., (Ed.s) (1966)
- COHEN, A.K., (1955)
 "Delinquent Boys: the culture of the gang"
 Free Press, N.Y. (Collier MacMillan, London).
- COHEN, L., (1970)
 "Sixth Formers and their views of Higher Education"
in Journal of Curriculum Studies.
- COHEN, L., and TOOMEY, B., (1973)
 "Role Orientations and sub-cultures among
 undergraduate students"
Research in Education No.10(Nov.)
 Manchester University Press.
- COOLEY, C.H., (1956)
 "Two Major Works: Social Organisation and Human
 Nature and the Social Order"
 The Free Press, Gelcoe, Illinois (orig.pub.1909/1902).
- COSIN, B.R., (Ed) (1972)
 "Education: Structure and Society"
 Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.
- COSIN, B.R., DALE, I.R., ESLAND, G.M., and SWIFT, D.F. (Ed.s) (1971)
 "School and Society: A Sociological Reader"
 Open University. School and Society Course Reader.
 Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- COUPER, M., (1965)
 "Why Some Prefer C.A.T.s"
New Society, Feb.4th, pp 12-13.

- CROWTHER REPORT (1959)
in MACLURE, J.S., (Ed) (1965)
- DALE, R., (1977)
 "Implications of the Rediscovery of the Hidden Curriculum for the Sociology of Teaching"
in GLEESON, D., (Ed) (1977)
- DALE, R., ESLAND, G., and MACDONALD, M., (Ed.s) (1976)
 "Schooling and Capitalism: A sociological reader"
 The Open University Press/Routledge and Keegan Paul, London.
- DAVIES, L., (1973)
 "The Contribution of the Secondary School to the Sex-Typing of Girls"
 M. Ed. Thesis, Birmingham.
- DAVIES, L., and MEIGHAN, R., (1975)
 "A Review of Schooling and Sex Roles"
in MEIGHAN, R., and DOHERTY, J., (Ed.s) (1975)
- DENSCOMBE, M., (1980)
 "'Keeping 'em Quiet': the Significance of Noise for the Practical Activity of Teaching"
in WOODS, P., (Ed) (1980)
- DENZIN, J.K., (1970)
 "The Research Act in Sociology"
 Butterworth Co. Ltd., London.
- DOUGLAS, J.D., (1967)
 "The Social Meanings of Suicide"
 Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.
- DURKHEIM, E., (1922)
 "Education and Society" Translated by Sherwood D. Fox
 The Free Press, Glencoe Illinois (1956)
- EGGLESTON, S.J., (1973)
 "Knowledge and the School Curriculum"
in Education for Teaching, No. 19, pp 12-18.

- EGGLESTON, S.J., (Ed) (1974)
 "Contemporary Research in the Sociology of Education"
 Methuen, London.
- EGGLESTON, S.J., (1975)
 "Conflicting Curriculum Decisions"
 in Educational Studies, Vol.1, No.1.
- EGGLESTON, S.J., (1977)
 "The Sociology of the School Curriculum"
 Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- EGGLESTON, S.J., (Ed) (1979)
 "Teacher Decision-Making in the Classroom"
 Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- ENTWISTLE, N.J., and WILSON, J.D., (1977)
 "Degrees of Excellence: the Academic Achievement Game"
 Hodder and Stoughton, London.
- ESLAND, G. M., (1971)
 "Teaching and Learning as the Organisation of Knowledge"
 in YOUNG, M.F.D., (Ed) (1971)
- FELDMAN, K.A., (Ed) (1972)
 "College and Student: Selected Readings in the Social Psychology of Higher Education"
 Pergaman, New York.
- FIELDING, R., (1979)
 "Teaching and Learning Sociology"
 Paper presented to the British Sociological Association Industrial Sociology Study Group Meeting "Crises in Sociology and Industrial Sociology Teaching: Some ways of Comprehending and Coping"
 Aston University, March 5th, 1977.

- FIELDING, R., and ANDERSON, V.M., (1979)
 "Autobiography: A Look at Social Class Inequalities
 through Simulation"
in The Social Science Teacher Vol.9, No. 1
 October, 1979.
- FIELDING, R., (1980)
 "The Learner and Social Education: Some Unintended
 Consequences of the Hidden Curriculum"
 Paper presented to the Social Science Education
 Consortium, Inc., (U.S.A.) Annual Conference
 "International Perspectives on Social/Political
 Education", University of Surrey, England,
 July 6th-11th, 1980.
- FLETCHER, C., (1974)
 "Beneath the Surface"
 Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- FLOUD, J., and HALSEY, A.H., (1958)
 "The Sociology of Education: A trend report and
 Bibliography"
in Current Sociology: Vol. 7, No.3.
- FLUDE, M., (1974)
 "Sociological Accounts of Differential
 Educational Attainment"
in FLUDE, M., and AHIER, J., (Ed.s) (1974)
- FLUDE, M., and AHIER, J., (Ed.s) (1974)
 "Educability, Schools and Ideology"
 Croom Helm, London.
- FREIRE, P., (1972)
 "Pedagogy of the Oppressed"
 Penguin, London.
- GANS, H.J., (1968)
 "The Participant Observer as a Human Being"
in BECKER, H.S., (Ed) (1968)

- GEER, B., (1964)
 "First Days in the Field"
in HAMMOND, P., (Ed) (1964)
- GETZELS, J.W., and THELEN, H.A., (1960)
 "The Classroom Group as a Unique Social System"
in HENRY, B., (Ed) (1960)
 and
in MORRISON, A., and MCINTYRE, D., (Ed.s) (1972)
- GIBSON, D.R., (1973)
 "A Study of the professional socialisation of student
 teachers in a College of Education"
 Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of London.
- GIBSON, D.R., (1976)
 "The Effect of School Practice"
in British Journal of Teacher Education
 Vol.2, No.3.
- GLEESON, D., (Ed) (1977)
 "Identity and Structure: Issues in the Sociology
 of Education"
 Nafferton Books, England.
- GLEESON, D., (1977)
 "Editorial Introduction: Society, education and
 identity: towards a redefinition"
in GLEESON, D., (Ed) (1977)
- GLEESON, D., and WHITTY, G., (1976)
 "Developments in Social Studies Teaching"
 Open Books, London.
- GLEESON, D., and WHITTY, G., (1980)
 "The Sociological Imagination and the Reality
 of Schooling"
 Paper presented to the British Sociological Association
 Annual Conference "Development and Diversity in
 Sociology, 1950-1980", University of Lancaster
 8th-11th April, 1980.

- GORBUTT, D., (1972)
 "The New Sociology of Education"
in Education for Teaching No.89, pp 3-11.
- GOTTLIEB, D., and HODGKINS, B., (1973)
 "College Student Sub-cultures: their Structure
 and Characteristics in Relation to Student
 Attitude Change"
'School Review', Vol.71, No.3.
- GOULD, J., (1977)
 "The Attack on Higher Education - Marxist
 and Radical Penetration"
 Institute for the Study of Conflict, London.
- GOULDNER, A.W., (1970)
 "The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology"
 Heinemann, London.
- GREENE, M., (1971)
 "Curriculum and Consciousness"
Teachers College Record, Dec., Vol.73., No.2.
- GROSS, N., WARD, S.M., and McEACHERN, A.W., (1966)
 "Explorations in Role Analysis"
 John Wiley and Co., London.
- HAMMERSLEY, M., (1980)
 "On Interactionist Empiricism"
in WOODS, P., (Ed) (1980 (b))
- HAMMERSLEY, M., and WOODS, P., (Ed.s) (1976)
 "The Process of Schooling"
 Routledge and Kegan Paul, Open University, London.
- HAMMOND, P., (1964)
 "Sociologists at Work"
 Basic Books, New York.

- HARGREAVES, A., (1978)
 "The Significance of Classroom Coping Strategies"
in BARTON and MEIGHAN (1978)
- HARGREAVES, A., (1979)
 "Strategies, Decisions and Control: Interaction
 in a Middle School Classroom"
in EGGLESTON, J., (Ed) (1979)
- HARGREAVES, A., (1980)
 "Synthesis and the Study of Strategies: A Project
 for the Sociological Imagination"
in WOODS, P., (Ed) (1980 (b))
- HARGREAVES, D.H., (1967)
 "Social Relations in a Secondary School"
 Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- HARGREAVES, D.H., (1978 (a))
 "The Two Curricula and the Community"
Westminster Studies in Education, Vol.1.
- HARGREAVES, D.H., (1978 (b))
 "Whatever Happened to Symbolic Interactionism?"
in BARTON and MEIGHAN (1978)
- HARRIS, D., and HOLMES, J., (1976)
 "Open-ness and control in higher education:
 towards a critique of the Open University"
in DALE, R., ESLAND, G., and MACDONALD, D.,
 (Ed.s) (1976)
- HASWELL, E., (1977)
 "Teaching the New Sociology of Education - An
 Impossible Commitment"
 Unpublished Paper, Sunderland Polytechnic, Faculty
 of Education.
- HATCH, S., (1971)
 "Student Culture and the Impact of Institutions"
in BROTHERS, J., and HATCH, S., (Ed.s) (1971)

- HEIM, A., (1968)
 "AH5 Group Test of High Grade Intelligence: Manual"
 N.F.E.R., Windsor, Berks., (revised edition).
- HENRY, B., (Ed) (1960)
 "The Dynamics of Instructional Groups"
 59th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education.
- HENRY, J., (1963)
 "Culture Against Man"
 Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- HERON, J., (1976)
 "A six-category intervention analysis"
in British Journal of Guidance and Counselling.
 Vol. 4, pp 143-155.
- HEYWOOD, J., (1969)
 "An Evaluation of certain post-war developments in higher technological education."
 unpublished M.Litt. thesis, University of Lancaster.
- HOLT, J., (1974)
 "How Children Fail"
 Penguin, England.
- HUGHES, E.C., BECKER, H.S., and GEER, B., (1958)
 "Student Culture and Academic Effort"
in Harvard Educational Review, Vol.28
 (Winter) also in COSIN, B.R., et al (Ed.s)
 (1971)
- HUGHES, J.A., (1976)
 "Sociological Analysis: Methods of Discovery"
 Nelson and Sons, G.B.
- HURN, C. J., (1976)
 "Essay Review: Recent Trends in the Sociology of Education in Britain"
in Harvard Educational Review, Vol.46, No.1 (Feb)

- ILLICH, I., (1971)
 "Deschooling Society"
 Penguin Hamondsworth.
- JACKSON, P.W., (1968)
 "Life in Classrooms"
 Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- JACKSON, P.W., (1971)
 "The Student's World"
in SILBERMAN, M.L., (Ed) (1971)
- JAHODA, M., (1958)
 "Current Concepts of Mental Health"
 Basic Books, U.S.A.
- JARY, D.W., (1969)
 "General and Vocational Courses in Polytechnics
 with special reference to sociology"
Universities Quarterly, Vol.24, Part 1, (Winter).
- JARY, D.W., (1978)
 "The Development of Sociology in the Polytechnics"
 Paper presented to the Conference of the
 Organisation of Sociologists in Polytechnics
 and Cognate Institutions, Newcastle Polytechnic,
 March, 1978.
- KAPLAN, A., (1964)
 "The Conduct of Inquiry"
 Chandler, San Francisco.
- KARABEL, J., and HALSEY, A.H., (Ed.s) (1976)
 "Power and Ideology in Education"
 Oxford University Press, England.
- KARABEL, J., and HALSAY, A.H., (1976)
 "The New Sociology of Education"
Theory and Society 3, pp 529-552.

- KEDDIE, N., (1971)
 "Classroom knowledge"
in YOUNG, M.F.D., (Ed) (1971)
- KEYLOCK, B., (1975)
 "A Week in the Life ... of a University Undergraduate"
in Higher Education Bulletin, Vol.3. No.2
 pp 86-92.
- KOHL, H., (1976)
 "The Open Classroom"
 Methuen, London.
- KOUNIN, J.A., (1970)
 "Discipline and Group Management in Classrooms"
 Holt, Rinehart and Winston, U.S.A.
- KOUNIN, J.A., and GUMP, P.V., (1961)
 "The Comparative Influence of Punitive and Non-
 Punitive Teachers upon Children's Conceptions
 of School Misconduct"
in Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol.52.
- KOUNIN, J.S., GUMP, P.V., and RYAN, J., (1961)
 "Explorations in Classroom Management"
in Journal of Teacher Education, Vol.12.
- KUHN, T. S., (1962)
 "The Structure of Scientific Revolutions"
 University of Chicago Press, U.S.A.
- LACEY, C., (1971)
 "Hightown Grammar"
 Manchester University Press
- LAWTON, D., and DUFOUR, B., (1973)
 "The New Social Studies"
 Heineman, London.

- LEWIN, K., LIPPET, R., and WHITE, R.K., (1939)
 "Patterns of Aggressive Behaviour in Experimentally
 created 'Social Climates' "
in Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 10.
- LEWIS, I., and VULLIAMY, G., (1978)
 "I Heard it through the Grapevine. An Investigation
 of a unit based undergraduate Education Course at
 the University of York"
 Department of Education, University of York.
- LISTER, I., (1972)
 "The Whole Curriculum and the hidden curriculum"
 Discussion document presented to the Schools
 Council Project on the "Whole Curriculum" in
 June 1972 in LISTER, I., (1975)
- LISTER, I., (1975)
 "Deschooling"
 Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- LITTLE, G., (1970)
 "The University Experience: An Australian
 Study"
 Melbourne University Press, Australia.
- MACDONALD, M., (1977)
 "The Curriculum and Cultural Reproduction:
 E202: Units 18, 19 and 20."
 The Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- MACLURE, J.S., (Ed) (1965)
 "Educational Documents England and Wales
 1916-1963"
 Chapman and Hall, London.
- MARDLE, G., and WALKER, M., (1980)
 "Strategies and Structure: Some Critical notes
 on Teacher Socialisation"
in WOODS, P., (Ed) (1980)

- MARRIS, P., (1964)
 "The Experience of Higher Education"
 Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- MEAD, G. H., (1939)
 "The Philosophy of the Act"
 University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- MEIGHAN, R., (Ed) (1973)
 "Sociology and Teaching"
 Being Vol.25, No.3, (June) issue of Educational Review.
- MEIGHAN, R., (1973)
 "Sociology and Teaching: A Reappraisal in the Light
 of Current Trends in the Sociology of Education"
in MEIGHAN, R., (Ed) (1973)
- MEIGHAN, R., (1976)
 "The Joint Matriculation Board and the University
 of Birmingham Joint Project Proposals for a
 Social Science A Level: Is an Integrate Social
 Science A Level Possible?"
in WHITTY, G., and GLEESON, D., (Ed.s) (1976)
- MEIGHAN, R., (1977)
 "The Pupil as Client: The Learner's Experience of
 Schooling"
in Educational Review, Vol.29, No.2.
- MEIGHAN, R., and DOHERTY, J., (Ed.s) (1975)
 "Education and Sex Roles"
 Being Vol.27, No.3 issue of Educational Review.
- MERTON, R.K., (1957)
 "Social Theory and Social Structure"
 Free Press, New York.
- MEYER, J. W., (1972)
 "The Effects of the Institutionalisation of Colleges
 in Society"
in FELDMAN, K.A., (Ed) (1972)

- MEYER, J.W., (1977)
 "Education as an Institution"
in American Journal of Sociology, Vol.83, No.1
 pp 55-77.
- MILLER, C.M.L., and PARLETT, M., (1974)
 "Up to the Mark: a study of the examination game"
 Society for Research into Higher Education, London.
- MILLER, C.M.L., and PARLETT, M., (1976)
 "Cue Consciousness"
in HAMMERSLEY, M., and WOODS, P., (Ed.s) (1976)
- MILLER, R., and MILLER, R.S., (1976)
 "The Student's Sociological Diary"
in Teaching Sociology Vol. 4, No. 1 (Oct.)
 pp 67-82.
- MILLS, C. W., (1959)
 "The Sociological Imagination"
 Oxford University Press, New York.
- MORRISON, A., and MCINTYRE, D., (Ed.s) (1972)
 "Social Psychology of Teaching"
 Penguin, London.
- MUSGROVE, F., (1968)
 "Educational Values in a Technological University"
in Durham Research Review, Vol. 20.
- MUSGROVE, F., and CHILD, D., (1969)
 "Career Orientations of University Freshmen"
in Educational Review, Vol. 21. (Nov.)
- NASH, R., (1973)
 "Classrooms Observed: Teacher's Perception and
 the Pupil's Performance"
 Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

- NEWCOMB, T.H., and WILSON, E.K. (1966)
 "College Peer Groups: Problems and Prospects for Research"
 Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago.
- PARLETT, M., and DEARDEN, G., (Ed.s) (1977)
 "Introduction to Illuminative Evaluation"
 Pacific Soundings Press; Berkeley, California.
- PARLETT, M., and HAMILTON, D., (1977)
 "Evaluation as Illumination"
in PARLETT, M., and DEARDEN, G., (Ed.s) (1977)
- PARLETT, M., and SIMONS, H., (1976)
 "Learning from Learners: A Study of the Student's Experience of Academic Life"
 The Nuffield Foundation, London.
- PARSONS, T., (1959)
 "The School Class as a Social System"
in Harvard Educational Review, Vol.29 (Fall).
- PERCY Report (1945)
 Higher Technological Education
 Report of a Special Committee appointed in April 1944. (H.M.S.O.)
- PERCY, K. A., (1972)
 "Lecturers' objectives and the college curriculum"
in Education for Teaching, Vol.87, Spring (76-80)
- PERCY, K.A. (1973)
 "Aims and objectives of staff"
 Paper presented to the 2nd International Conference on Higher Education, Lancaster 1972.
- PERCY, K.A., and SALTER, F.W., (1976)
 "Student and Staff Perceptions and 'The Pursuits of Excellence' in British Higher Education"
Higher Education, No. 5, pp 457-473

- PERKINS, H. J., (1969)
 "Innovation in HE : New Universities in the U.K."
 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and
 Development.
- PHILLIPS, D. L., (1971)
 "Knowledge from What?"
 Rand McNally, Chicago.
- PODMORE, D., FIELDING, R., and YEOMANS, K., (1979)
 "Social and Educational Background and the
 Performance of Behavioural Science Students"
 University of Aston Management Centre,
 Working Paper Series No. 135 (March 1979)
- PODMORE, D., and YEOMANS, K.A., (1977)
 "Social and Educational Background and Performance
 in First Year Examinations at University"
 The University of Aston Management Centre Working
 Paper Series, No. 70.
- POLLARD, A., (1980)
 "Teacher Interests and Changing Situations of
 Survival Threat in Primary School Classrooms"
in WOODS, P., (Ed) (1980)
- POSTMAN, N., and WEINGARTNER, C., (1969)
 "Teaching as a Subversive Activity"
 Penguin, London.
- REEVES, F., (1976)
 "Mildly Radical Sociology. The ideological
 potential of school sociology"
in The Social Science Teacher, Vol.5, No.2,
 Feb.
- REX, J., (Ed) (1974)
 "Approaches to Sociology: An Introduction to major
 Trends in British Sociology"
 Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

- REX, J., (1978 (a))
 "Four Threats to Academic Freedom"
New Society 18th May, 1978, pp357-358.
- REX, J., (1978 (b))
 "The Pressures on Sociology Teaching"
New Society 25th May, 1978, pp 414-416.
- ROBBINS Report (1963)
 Committee on Higher Education
 Higher Education: Report of the Committee
 appointed by the P.M. under the Chairmanship
 of Lord Robbins 1961-63. Cmnd 2154 (H.M.S.O.)
 also extracted in MACLURE, J.S. (Ed) (1965)
- ROWE, A., (1976)
 "Loughton College of Further Education Proposals
 for a Mode II-III A Level Sociology "
in WHITTY, G., and GLEESON, D., (1976)
- ROSENTHAL, R., and JACOBSON, L., (1968)
 "Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectation
 and Pupils' Intellectual Development"
 Holt, Reinhart and Winston, U.S.A.
- ROSS, E., (1928)
 "Social Control"
 Macmillan, New York (orig. pub. 1901)
- RUDDOCK, J., (1978)
 "Learning through small group discussion"
 S.R.H.E., Guildford.
- RUTHERFORD, D., FIELDING, R., MEIGHAN, R., and SPARKES, J., (1979)
 "Towards Democratic Teaching and Learning"
 Paper presented to the Fifth International
 Conference on "Improving University Teaching",
 City University, London, July 4th-7th 1979
in "Improving University Teaching: Fifth
 International Conference", University of Maryland
 and City University, Maryland, U.S.A.,
 (pp 333-344).

- SEELEY, J., (1966)
 "The 'Making' and 'Taking' of Problems"
 in 'Social Problems', No. 14.
- SHARP, R., and GREEN, A., (1975)
 "Education and Social Control: A Study in
 Progressive Primary Education"
 Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- SHIBUTANI, T., (1955)
 "Reference Groups as Perspectives", in
American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 60.
- SHELDRAKE, P., and BERRY, S., (1975)
 "Looking at Innovation: Two approaches to
 educational research"
 National Foundation for Educational Research
 Publishing Company Ltd., England.
- SHEPHERD, J., VIRDEW, P., VULLIAMY, G., and WISHART, T., (1977)
 "Whose Music? A Sociology of Musical Languages"
 Latimer Press, England.
- SILBERMAN, M.L., (Ed) (1971)
 "The Experience of Schooling"
 Holt, Rinehart and Winston, U.S.A.
- SIMON, J., (1964)
 "New Direction Sociology and Comprehensive
 Schooling"
 in Forum, Vol. 17, No.1, pp 8-15.
- SIMONS, H., (1975)
 "Negotiating the Curriculum. A Case Study of
 Workshops in Sociology at Keele, 1973-74"
 The Nuffield Foundation, London.
- SMITHERS, A., (1969)
 "Occupational Values of Students"
 in Nature, Vol. 222.

- SNYDER, B.R., (1971)
The Hidden Curriculum
Alfred Knopf, U.S.A.
- STEWART, R., (1965)
"The use of diaries to study managers' jobs"
"The Journal of Management Studies", Vol.2,
No. 2, May, pp 228-35.
- STEWART, R., (1967)
"Managers and their jobs"
Macmillan, London.
- THELENS, W., (1977)
"Undergraduate Definitions of Learning from Teachers"
in Sociology of Education, Vol. 50.
- THODAY, D., (1957)
"How Undergraduates Work"
Universities Quarterly, No. 11, pp 172-181.
- THOMPSON, E. P. (Ed) (1970)
"Warwick University Ltd."
Penguin, Harmondsworth, England.
- TINKLER, G., (1978)
"Polytopics"
Sheffield Polytechnic.
- TOOMEY, D. M., (1971)
"Students' Conceptions of the Student's Role"
in International Journal of Educational
Science, Vol. 4, No. 2.
- TOWNLEY, C.R., (1979)
"Man: A Course of Study"
in The Social Science Teacher, Vol.8, No.5 (June)
- TROW, M., (1972)
"The Mutual Relevance of Research in Schools and
Higher Education"
in Comparative Education Review, Vol.16, No.3,
pp 437-447.

- VEBLEN (1954)
 "The Higher Learning in America"
 Academic Reprints, California (orig.pub.1918).
- VENABLES, P., (1978)
 "Higher Education Development: Technological
 Universities 1956-1976"
 Faber, London.
- VULLIAMY, G., (1973)
 "Teaching Sociology: a new approach"
New Society, Vol. 23, No. 544, pp 527-529.
- VULLIAMY, G., (1976)
 "What Counts as School Music?"
in WHITTY, G., and YOUNG, M., (1976)
- VULLIAMY, G., (1977)
 "Music as a Case Study in the 'New Sociology
 of Education' "
in SHEPHERD, J., VIRDEW, P., VULLIAMY, G.,
 and WISHART, T., (1977)
- VULLIAMY, G., (1978)
 "Culture Clash and School Music: A Sociological
 Analysis"
in BARTON, L., and MEIGHAN, R., (1978)
- WARD, J. P., (1977)
 "Students Taking Undergraduate Courses in Education"
Journal of Further and Higher Education
 Vol. 1, No. 1.
- WARD, L. F., (1906)
 "Applied Psychology"
 Ginn and Co., Boston.
- WEBER, M., (1946)
 "From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology"
 Trans. and Edited by GERTH, H.H., and MILLS, L.W.,
 Oxford, New York.

- WERTHMAN, C., (1971)
 "Delinquents in schools"
in COSIN, B.R., et al (Ed.s) (1971)
- WHEELER, S., (1966)
 "The Structure of Formally Organised Socialisation Settings"
in BRIM, O.G., and WHEELER, S., (Ed.s) (1966)
- WHITTY, G., (1974)
 "Sociology and the Problem of Radical Educational Change: Notes towards a reconceptualisation of the 'New Sociology of Education' "
in FLUDE, M., and AHIER, J., (Ed.s) (1974)
- WHITTY, G., (1976 (a))
 "Studying Society: for Social Change or Social Control"
in WHITTY, G., and YOUNG, M., (Ed.s) (1976)
 (see also an edited version in The Social Science Teacher Vol. 5, No. 3 (April))
- WHITTY, G., (1976 (b))
 "Teachers and examiners"
in WHITTY, G., and YOUNG, M., (Ed.s) (1976)
- WHITTY, G., (1977 (a))
 "School Knowledge and Social Control: E202 Units 14, 15"
 The Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- WHITTY, G., (1977 (b))
 "Experiencing School Knowledge: The Case of Social Studies"
in WOODS, P., and HAMMERSLEY, M., (Ed.s) (1977)
- WHITTY, G., (1978)
 "School Examinations and the Politics of School Knowledge"
in BARTON, L., and MEIGHAN, R., (Ed.s) (1978)

- WHITTY, G., and GLEESON, D., (Ed.s) (1976)
 "Sociology: The Choice at A-Level"
 Nafferton Books, England.
- WHITTY, G., and YOUNG, M., (Ed.s) (1976)
 "Explorations in the Politics of School Knowledge"
 Nafferton Books, England.
- WILLIAMS, R., (1973)
 "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural
 Theory"
 in New Left Review, Vol. 82
 (reprinted in DALE, R., ESLAND, G., and MACDONALD, M.,
 (Ed.s) (1976))
- WILLIAMSON, W., (1974)
 "Continuities and Discontinuities in the Sociology
 of Education"
 in FLUDE, M., and AHIER, J., (Ed.s) (1974)
- WILLIS, P., (1977)
 "Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids get
 Working Class Jobs"
 Saxon House, England.
- WILLMOTT, P., (1966)
 "Adolescent Boys of East London"
 Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- WILSON, L., (1942)
 "The Academic Man: A Study in the Sociology of
 a Profession"
 Oxford, New York.
- WITHALL, J., (1960)
 "Research Tools: Observing and Recording
 Behaviour"
 in Review of Educational Research, Vol.30.
 Part 5.

- WOLFGANG, M.E., and FERRACUTI, F., (1967)
 "The Sub-culture of Violence"
 Tavistock, London.
- WOODS, P., (1977)
 "Teaching for Survival"
in WOODS, P., and HAMMERSLEY, M., (Ed.s) (1977)
- WOODS, P., (1978)
 "Relating to Schoolwork: Some Pupil Perceptions"
in Educational Review, Vol. 30, No. 2.
- WOODS, P., (Ed) (1980 (a))
 "Teacher strategies: Explorations in the
 Sociology of the School"
 Croom Helm, London.
- WOODS, P., (Ed) (1980 (b))
 "Pupil Strategies: Explorations in the Sociology
 of the School"
 Croom Helm, London.
- WOODS, P., (1980 (c))
 "Introduction"
in WOODS, P., (Ed) (1980 (a))
- WOODS, P., (1980 (d))
 "Introduction"
in WOODS, P., (Ed) (1980 (b))
- WOODS, P., (1980 (e))
 "Strategies in Teaching and Learning"
in WOODS, P., (Ed) (1980 (a))
- WOODS, P., and HAMMERSLEY, M., Ed.s) (1977)
 "School Experience"
 Croom Helm, London.
- YINGER, M. J., (1960)
 "Contraculture and Sub-culture"
in American Sociological Review, Vol. 25,
 No.5, Oct.

- YOUNG, M.F.D., (Ed) (1971)
"Knowledge and Control"
Collier-Macmillan, London.
- YOUNG, M.F.D., (1971)
"An Approach to the Study of Curricula as
Socially Organised Knowledge"
in YOUNG, M.F.D., (Ed) (1971)
- YOUNG, M.F.D., (1975)
"Curriculum change: limits and possibilities"
in Educational Studies Vol. 1. No. 2, June.
(reprinted in DALE, R., ESLAND, G., and
MACDONALD, M., (Ed.s) (1976)).
- YOUNG, M., and WHITTY, G., (Ed.s) (1977)
"Society, State and Schooling"
Falmer Press, England.