July 2001

M.A. Minor Thesis

INEQUALITIES IN SCHOOLS:

Socio-Economic Background Or
Culture, Method Of Curriculum Transmission And Language.

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In Partial Fulfillment Of The
Masters degree In Sociology 2001.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Berstein's analysis of the social class assumptions of pedagogic practice is the foundation for linking micro educational processes to the macro sociological levels of structure and class/power relations .Berstein's project seeks to link micro processes (Language transmission and pedagogy) to how cultural and educational codes and the content and the content and the processes of education are related to social class and power relations. It is positioning of indirect relation of education to production and his emphasis on the manner in which the realm of symbolic control does not directly correspond to the economic field and does not directly correspond to the economic field and does not answer his neo-Marxist critics. However this work does continue his attempt to demonstrate the relationships between the Economy , family and the school and how Educational practices reflect complex tensions in these relationships.

The rules of pedagogic practice define how knowledge is relayed / transmitted and how these inter-actional processes reflect essential social class assumptions about the child the teacher , role of the family and the process of learning.

Where do we go from here? We will need to examine the relationship between the social class composition of schools , their pedagogic practices and how and why they relate to social class advantages and disadvantages. Secondly we need to develop a more systematic theory of educational transformation that looks at the radical potential of pedagogic practice.

Sosadovnik pointed out that Berstein's work should be highlighted and brought into the lime light . not necessary to suggest that Berstein should carry out this work but perhaps as important is his work itself is a rich terrain of potential empirical study.

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Although one has to look at how societies institutional, interactional processes of schooling are linked to the micro processes of schooling. I attempt to shed light on this in the next chapter by looking at Goodsons work on internal form.it shifts attention from characterlogical accounts of individual achievements towards a more balanced approach to incorporate the institutional arrangements of schools that generate both success and failure. If we are to understand the structure of inequality, we must continue to examine the interactional mechanisms by which that inequality structure is generated.

Chapter three moves on to look at the evolution of the curriculum and the mentalities I attempt to highlight how the curriculum is avowedly a social construction and question why this construct is treated as a timeless given . The issue of relationship within subject matter has remained unexplored and under-theorized. Within this chapter the question of the internal relations of curriculum is analysed. As Apple (197917) said " For methodological reason's , one does not take for granted that curricula knowledge is neutral instead one looks for social interests embodied in the knowledge form itself".

The concept of mentalities introduces the idea of a close identity between curricular traditions (type of school, grammar , secondary etc) Occupational destinations , and social classes. These polarized mentalities were internalized into the school curriculum. This chapter tries to highlight the emphasize that needs to be put on curriculum.

In the next chapter we delve into past economic and social demands to examine further, social inequality in schools. It is my view that, economic and social demands of capitalism do not fully explain the reproduction of social inequality in schools. Interpretive studies have helped to modulate the economic deterministic tendencies inherent in reproduction theories. Cultural forms have now at last shed their status as passive reflections of structural forces and become active mediators between human action and social structure. If we're to understand the structure of inequality then we must examine the mechanisms by which that structure is generated. Mean attempted to account for social inequality by introducing, cultural elements and human action into highly economic deterministic theories.

Starting in the 1970's, serious questions were raised about macro-sociological approaches status-attainment models were critical for not being able to explain differential academic achievement and for being almost differential academic achievement and for being almost completely silent about the processes that produced stratification and streaming. In to-days ever increasing multi-cultural society, the new focus which we must attach ourselves to is the curriculum, its transmission, culture and language. This will further our understanding of inequalities at school, beyond the social and economic background. I start with Bowles and Gintis who built on Marx's basic point by explaining social inequality in economic terms. They posited a correspondence between the organization of work and the organization of schooling just as Goodson's concept of mentalities did. I build from this by analysing the inherent weaknesses with this "capitalist mode of production theory" (1992). The first problem emerges where the theory exaggerates the degree of integration between the demands of the capitalist elite. Next, the theory does not examine the processes and practices of schooling that reproduce

inequalities (I.Q testing, method of teaching etc) , and it also reduces human actors (students teachers , parents) to passive role players , shaped exclusively by the demands of capital (unable to gain their own cultural capital and social networks as a means of further advancing themselves). It also dismisses the way in which schools devalue the cultural capital of minority groups.

It is Willis case study (1977) of white and black working class males in London that enlightens and demonstrates in my mind that individuals and groups respond to structures of school domination in diverse and individual ways. Allowing my optimistic and some what idealistic view point to surface: to understand school inequalities we must first broaden the theory to include, cultural elements , such as ethnicity , education histories , peer associations and family life. Not all forms of conforming behavior stem from a critique implicit or explicit of school – constructed ideologies and relations of domination. There is another important dimension of connection between human action and social structure that is not covered by a top down sense of cultural mediation. These are the institutional, practices that parallel the constitutive rules of everyday life sometimes the difference in educational opportunity was not a function of genetically endowed intelligence, cognitive styles or socioeconomic backgrounds. Minority children's school failure cannot be blame solely on the characteristics associated with their socioeconomic backgrounds of students such as faulty socialization practices or deficient linguistic codes. As these can be improved by local community groups and school .

Another form of capital I have analyzed in this thesis is social capital, which as a concept moves away from economic deterministic theory. In this thesis I have viewed social capital as

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one of the most significant contributions to an adolescents eventual educational attainment and occupational opportunity. I start my proposing that the process of mainstream institutions is aided when cultural and linguistic capital are converted into instrumental relations with institutional sponsorship. Minority students integration into white-majority schools lead to the accumulation of social capital without compromising their own culture , maybe acculturation would result in ideal terms,   With higher grades , greater social capital and greater social networks .Thus allowing greater educational attainment and an increase of equality of opportunity for minority students.

Chapter 2

Critical multiculturalism : General ideas on Rethinking Education

Max Horkheimer – argued "that through negation we develop a critical consciousness that allows us to get beyond old ossified world views and incorporate our new understanding into a new reflective attitude ". Teachers who employ   these viewpoints become transformative agents who alert the community to its hidden features".

Subjugated perspectives: W.E.B. Dubosis called this double consciousness of the oppressed a form of "second sight, an ability to see oneself through the perception of others".

Schools have played a special role in this right-wing redefinition of the private and public spheres. The public role of schooling as a training ground for democracy and democratic citizenship has been replaced by a private corporate view of the role of education. Schools have come to be seen as commodities subject to the dictate of the market.

Schools he feels are devoid of concerns with contextualization and critical reflection, their programs are designed to produce co-operative workers. Questions of meaning, power and social justice are rarely asked or considered in such educational settings.

As Henry Givoux (1997a) argues," critical multi-culturalists want to engage students and teachers in an analysis of what is involved in becoming a critical citizen capable of governing instead of merely being governed."

In the culture of the Authoritarian school, democratic management and teaching styles are often equated with low quality standards. Quality education in this context, after all, is something done to students (Maher & Rathbone, 1986; Torres, 1993).

Education in the late twentieth century, has become a pawn of powerful groups who attempt to use it as a means of solving problems in a way that serves their own interests. Like all other aspects of the contemporary landscape, thinking has been commodified it's value measured only in terms of the logic of capital.

Class:

In my first chapter I look at the concept of social class , as an attempt at understanding economic deterministic theories , which although I take on board , I really try to take a more positive note, and look at curriculum the way it's taught , language, and culture as means of , over coming inequalities minority children come up against, in the Irish and global educational system

Curriculum:

Black history, has often been represented in the curriculum as a set of isolated events: slaves as bit players in the layer portrayal of the Civil War; brief "personality profiles" of Sojourner Truth , Booker T. Washington as a "credit to his race", Martin Luther King Jr. as the one-dimensional leader of a decontextualised civil rights movement now relegated to the past. We come to realise that people are not just viewed in terms of stereotypes but also in relationship to their power and status (Bowser, 1985). This inequality is not

simply a matter of prejudice, a cultural phenomenon – it is also grounded in the way certain groups are economically and politically located in society. We also have to look at the ways the curriculum is transmitted to different groups , minority and dominant , and realize all kids have different ways of learning and I should say have been taught in different ways .

Educators have to plan and develop a new program, recruit and train bilingual teachers, design a bilingual curriculum and find or develop new teaching materials and methods, while, Maintaining the distinction between race and culture as one of the heredity and environment, care being inherited and culture acquired. Underlying this gradual acceptance of the possibility of bilingual education or at least an attempt at multiculturalism ,is a growing reaction against the Melting Pot Theory of Nationality.

Culture and Language:

One of the most serious and explosive issues is how to meet the educational needs of culturally and linguistically diverse student – inequality that results from differences in educational achievement of children is likely to make social stability doubtful. Concepts which I discuss in great depth through out this thesis.

We must understand how differences in culture and language affect children's learning to help us understand what schools can do to improve outcomes from many of this nation's children. The explanation for differences in school performance lies in the difference in life experiences between groups.

different cultural and socioeconomic groups do not encourage the same beliefs or emphasize the same skills. Examine how different methods of teaching suit some and not others. I.e.; how the teacher transmits this knowledge. Schools, by ignoring these difference limit their own ability to educate these children.

Role of Culture:

A model of development must encompasses both sides of the coin:

- intrinsic characteristics
- cultural characteristics

The capacity to learn, to form inter-personal relationships, these abilities are tempered by a variety of inborn characteristics . In development ,biological and cultural characteristics are inextricably interwoven. Cultural patterns of interaction guide the developing child, but they also become the basis for the definitions of themselves. Risks do not predict development and should not be used to determine developmental status or educational placement.

Misunderstanding cultural differences leads schools inappropriately to place minority children who are developmentally normal into special education and low-ability groups and to expect less from them than from other children.

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Cultural and Linguistic Diversity and School Failure:

Anna Freud (1963) in describing the needs of young children, wrote, "We have to rely upon the capacity of the normal adult to reminder things" to supplement the adults understanding of children. But teachers are also victims of their own past experience. Teachers should only be seen as facilitators . Teachers, like all of us, make generalizations about other people, ideas and events on the basis of their personal construction of reality. Considerable research documents ,that teachers have difficulty incorporating new visions of reality that conflict with their own personal beliefs and experience (Ball, 1989). When confronted with discrepancies, teachers cling to their own "meaning making" theories, forcing contrary evidence to fit their old beliefs. Thus, behaviour that does not fit their preconceived notions is manipulated to confirm to their sense-making hypotheses. By devaluing the culture of minority children, teachers encourage an ominous cultural choice :identify with family and friends and disavow the school, or embrace school culture and face emotional/social isolation. The result is that many young children opt for family and friends and become unwilling participants in school culture. They develop oppositional practices that separate them from the mainstream as a form of group cohesion and support. Bilingual and bicultural classes are attempts to "even the playing field" so that the language and culture of these groups are perceived as equally valued and powerful. When children are not required to renounce their cultural heritage, school achievement improves markedly, Bilingual students of non-English origin are proven to the highest amontn of social capital of all. (Thrall, 1989).

Wishful Thinking: Building Collaborative Cultures Ways to Reshape Schools .

Firstly, what are the components of collaborative cultures? Secondly, one must ask the question how do schools develop collaborative cultures?

Collegial Relationships:

Enhance productivity, staff development and school improvement efforts. Favoring in-depth problem solving and planning.

Process of shaping a collaborative school culture involves ;

- reading the existing culture

- identifying aspects of the underlying norms and assumptions that serve the core mission of the school and the needs of students

- reinforcing and celebrating those aspects that support development of a collaborative culture and changing the norms that destroy collegiality and collaboration (Schein, 1985)

Culture and Structure – the Link

Culture describes how things are and acts as a screen or lens through which the world is viewed. It defines reality for those within a social organization, gives them support and identity and "forms a framework for occupational learning" (Hargreaves, 1994a: 165).

Schools and teachers are being affected more and more by the demands and contingencies of a highly complex and fact-paced post-modern world. Yet their response is often inappropriate or ineffective – leaving intact the systems and structures of the present, or retreating to comforting myths of the past. By confronting culture as a medium through which the world is viewed , will engender in us a broader understanding of how inequalities in schools are reproduced , and reduce economic deterministic theories down to take on board , culture , language and pedagogy.

The Study of Self Concept as a Key to Improving Pupils:

How do we help all the children to learn? Researchers have postulated for years that there is a direct connection between how pupils feel about themselves and their achievement in school. Purvey and Asby (1988) identify five axioms which define how school context impacts a pupils self concept:

- schools that facilitate affective development also facilitate cognitive development
- "inviting practices are related to positive outcomes
- pupils learn more when they see themselves as able, responsible and worthwhile
- pupils learn more when they choose to learn
- people are the most important component of a school
- encouraging parent-teacher interaction.

The simple notion of self-formation lays the groundwork for my analysis of race, class and gender and their relationship to questions of democracy, justice and community. How do we come to view race and racial difference? How do those outside our racial or ethnic group view us? How does our race, class and/or gender shape our access to socio-economic and educational resources? It is within this context that I argue; any education worth its salt should address such issues, as central features in its curriculum. Critical multiculturalism focuses on how racism, sexism and class bias are economically, semiotically, politically, educationally and institutionally produced. The critical multicultural teacher is a scholar who spends a lifetime studying the pedagogical and its concern with the interaction of power, identify and knowledge and gains the ability to delineate the best methods/subjects in which to produce and transmit knowledge to allow for racial integration.

However, debate is rarely without its critics which in this context can be seen in Arthur Schlesinger's argument in his 1991 book "The Disunity of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society". The American synthesis has an inevitable Anglo-Saxon coloration. The multiculturalists, Schlesinger feels, threaten the American way of life.

State Control of Curriculum:

A further problem is that racial integration is something that has to be dealt with at the local level. A clear example of this, is the relationship between the level of State (national or local) control of the curriculum and classroom instruction.

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To begin, on a country by country basis. In the American system you find local politics have control of the curriculum. The administrative mandates as to what teachers should teach are varied and weaker (Rowan, 1990). Since American schools receive local funding and rely upon community support, they are likely to be more responsive to local constituencies, which can all lead to great variability in the content of the curriculum. Teachers in the decentralized American education system have considerable autonomy and discretion in how they handle classroom instruction and learning. A teacher in Georgia is more probable to have a very different interpretation of history in comparison to a teacher of New England origin. While there appears to be emerging official world curricula (Stevenson & Baker) the implementation of curricula in classrooms varies significantly, both across and within national systems of education. Such differences in the patterns of classroom instruction have important implications for the study of curricula, as well as for cross-national studies of academic achievement.

Curriculum Tracking:

Curriculum tracking proved another valuable resource in the search for answers relating to students background and academic achievement. In Lee and Byre's paper "Curriculum Tracking as Mediating the Social Distribution of High School Achievement" they set out to examine the academic experience of a random sample of American students on the differences in curriculum tracking and the enrollment in academic courses in Catholic and public schools.

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They found that disadvantaged students are much more likely to be found in non-academic tracks. In general these writings emphasize the socially limiting effects of placement in a non-academic track. Students who find themselves in the general or vocational programs are destined for a second class citizenship.

This tracking method in public schools, seems to link students level of success to their backgrounds. They found that in private schools students were 46% more likely to be assigned to the academic track than students of public schools (23%) (Lee & Bryce, 1988; 1881).

In summary, their analyses indicates that public high schools are more differentiating than are private schools in the backgrounds that students bring to their schools. Thus the public school can be said to be a social system that tends to amplify the initial difference that students bring to the school. They found a more equitable distribution of achievement in private schools than in public schools.

Their analyses provided strong evidence to support a conclusion of independent school policy effects i.e. disadvantaged and minority students have less access to guidance counseling in their school (Lee & Extern, 1987) i.e. the students who are likely to have access to such advice.

In the most general of terms their results indicated that schools can exert a profound influence on the educational course pursued by their students. Findings agreed with those of Lee & Extern as previously mentioned (Cossack, 1983)

In summary, though this still leaves the integration question as open as ever i.e. they acknowledge that even "effective schools" may not be effective for everyone. It is clear that any single school setting can accommodate all of them.

Ethnicity

In Clifton & Williams paper "The Academic attainment of ethnic groups in Australia: A social psychological model" it seems that the achievement of students is limited at school achievement because of their lack of proficiency in English, but their success is facilitated by their cultural values. Using data from a sample of Australian students of Australian English, Green and Italian backgrounds. They concluded in their study ethnicity on school that there are very important differences between the ethnic groups in relation to academic achievement this is of central importance to this thesis in order to , gain a greater understanding of the role of culture , parental influence etc.

Conclusion:

Throughout this thesis the latter reoccurring themes are discussed and analyzed in great detail in order to come to a further understanding of the diverse range of inequalities minority children in the educational system experience and the ways these can be eliminated.

Chapter 3

Social Class

There exists no straight answer to the question of what is a social class. In fact, two definitions of social class, or rather two broad approaches, are competing with each other. They all have their roots in classical sociology, and mainly in Marx and Weber. For some sociologists, class refers to a category of people who occupy a similar position in the structure of society or who share similar objective features. Marxism holds that capitalist society is composed of social classes, and that its whole structure and dynamic turns around the relations between classes. For Marx, the root of a social class structure as a whole, is found in the **social relations of production.** Marx identified two possible positions in the structure of society, those who sell their labour force (the working class), and those who buy the labour force of workers (the capitalist class).
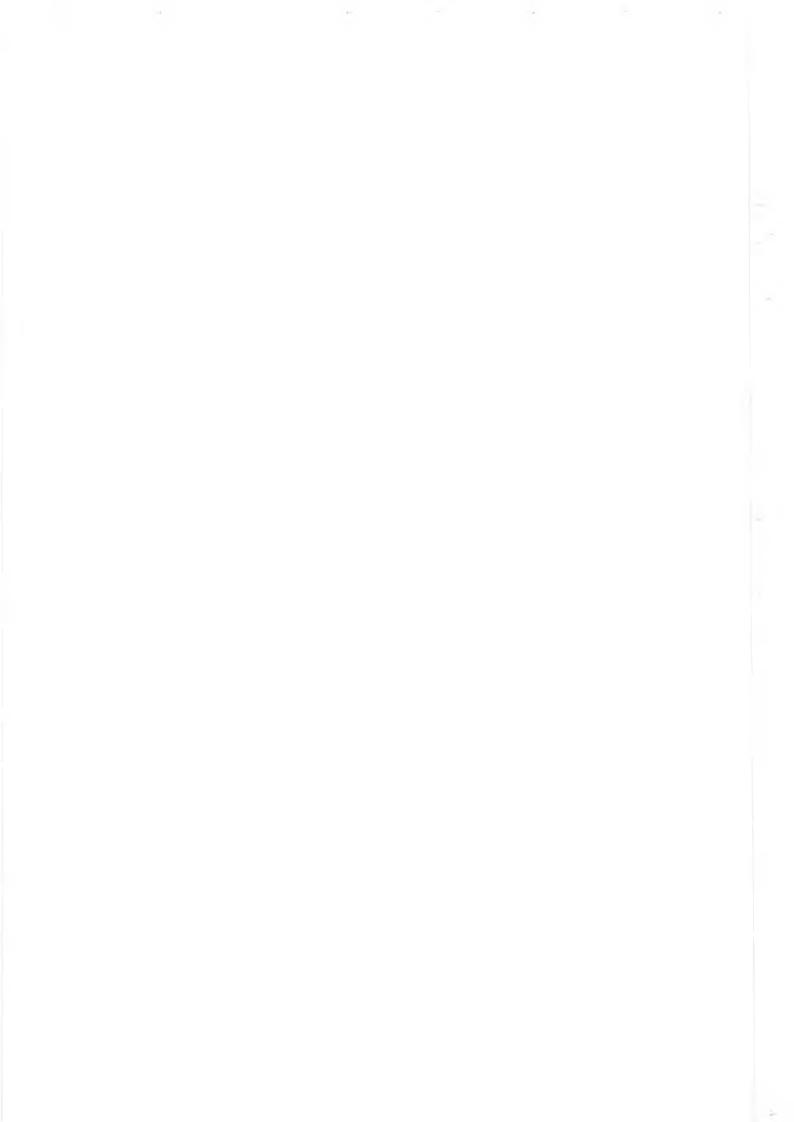
The multi-dimensional approach of Max Weber

Economic inequality refers to the distribution of wealth, income and also social advantages (life-chances). For Weber, a **class** includes all those in the **same class-situation,** with the same chances of gaining economic advantages. Weber, a class does not constitute a real group, but an "aggregate" of people with similar statistical chances regarding material advantages.

Class as subjective reality:

- **Class consciousness**

Marx closely associated the existence of class with the emergence of class consciousness, and it did so mainly in relation to the working class. He further contends that the normal mode of working-class consciousness, and politics, remains evolutionary socialist or reformist rather than revolutionary. It is frequently assumed that the working class will develop a revolutionary class conscious. In fact, the working class has failed to develop, on a sustained basis, this kind of radicalism. Why has it not generated this class conscious and fulfilled the role which was assigned to it.

- **Status (the amount of prestige/status that members of a group/society may enjoy)**

Besides material inequality, Weber also looked at another dimension of social inequality which is strictly speaking social. Status and prestige relate to the "subjective" opinion that people have of each other. Social classes simply signify what Max Weber called status-groups. One of the best examples of this type of analysis is given by L. Warner's *Yankee City*. Although he set out to find social classes (in a town of New England) which would correspond to levels of income, he found that prestige is central to the formation of classes. Prestige is a matter of life-style and of style in general, the use one makes of this money. Weber further contended that status groups are more likely than classes to develop a sense of collective identity.

Conclusion

But a social class is fully formed only when such a group develops a sense of identity and solidarity, when it acquires class-consciousness.

The Relevance of Class and Class Structure

For the "strong theories of class", class is seen as central to the organisation of society and to the functioning of its institutions. Conflicts are rooted in socio-economic relations and societies are changed through the action of classes. The strong theory of class brings together structure and action: through class, the structure of society produces social forces which are engaged in an intense struggle. In such a model, a social class refers to the group of people whoa re located in a similar position in the structure of production.

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For this reason, they share material interests, on the basis of which they acquire a collective identity. They develop rather similar patterns of behavior and are very likely to defend their interests and identity through collection action. Classes provide the main basis for collective action; they form the major forces shaping society.

- **The weakening of stable patters of inequality**

It is frequently argued that the main lines which divided the population in terms of socio-economic positions, and consequently in terms of class, are now blurred. The main class divisions were related to the ownership of property, and particularly ownership of the means of production. Share ownership is said to have changed the picture: many employed people own property in the form not only of their own houses but of shares. Another class division separated manual and non-manual work. But this division has become very ambiguous, with the deskilling of some non-manual work; furthermore, manual work is sometimes difficult to disentangle from occupations which require high credentials.

Clark and Lipset (in Lee and Turner 1996) have contended that the patterns of class inequality are dissolving mainly because of economic growth and affluence, which characterize advanced capitalist societies: affluence undermines hierarchies, they assert. They also advance the view that, in such conditions, social inheritance weakens, that is to say the social background determines one's position in society less and less. This occurs

mainly because of the weakening association between class background and educational attainment.

The other argument in this context concerns the fact that stable patterns of inequality do not necessarily involve socioeconomic positions. Other lines of inequality have acquired prominence: those associated with gender, ethnic and racial groups or even simply cultural groups gathered around particular lifestyles.

- **The decline of occupational identity**

In the first instance, occupational work has lost its importance. Class is usually defined in terms of production; it points to a category of people who share the same position in the process of production. It is roughly equated with a large occupational group. However, in many different ways, the significance of "work" has been downgraded in the contemporary work.

Work, meaning participation to production, has become a secondary aspect of people's life, both in terms of the number of hours spent and in terms of social identity. People define themselves socially more on the basis of consumption than production. An increasing number of people no longer depend on "work" for their livelihood (for

instance, welfare recipients, pensioners, etc.). Generally speaking, material interests have lost a great deal of their significance as a basis for the constitution of communities: the latter are more likely to be based on lifestyle and value commitments. They are rooted in culture rather than in the material structure.

- **The demise of classes as social forces**

It is also contended that social classes have ceased to constitute significant forces in shaping society and social life. People do not define themselves in terms of social class; the latter does not express their spontaneous subjective identity. Gender and ethnic inequalities are immediately perceived, while class differences remain abstract: the idea that one belongs to a "social class" (a group of people who are similarly located in the structure of society) is not immediately experienced. In a general way, class is said to have lost a great deal of its significance for the life and dynamics of society. This occurs for two main reasons:

- The coherence of social classes has been destroyed by socioeconomic development in advanced capitalist societies. For instance, the segmentation of the labor-force between skilled and unskilled, manual and non-manual workers, secure and casual employment, private and public sectors does not foster class identity. Race and gender division has also deepened divisions within the working class. Classes no longer form a stable basis for collective action. The blurring of class divisions and the deep fragmentation of the major industrial

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classes have dissolved the ability of social classes to constitute significant collectivities and act in a coherent way.

- New social forces now operate in the form of social movements rather than of class. The new actors which have emerged on the scene are based on race, gender, ethnic differences. Furthermore, they are less concerned with material issues, such as the distribution of the national wealth than with cultural issues: with upholding lifestyles, protecting the environment, etc. However, a debate has developed concerning the link between social classes and social movements. Klaus Eder (1993), for instance, argues that class provides the basis for the collective action of social movements. He then defines all new social movements, concerned with the environment, cultural issues, gender identities, etc., as "petit bourgeois": he then establishes a closed link between class and movement. It remains that such social movements cannot be understood ,as the direct collective action of a class, for many processes intervene to make the link indirect.

Not all conflicts are class conflicts and the major contradictions within advanced societies are less and less defined in terms of class structure.

- **Class and socio-political process**

The link between class and the main social and political processes has been lost. This happens mainly because class position determines political attitudes and behavior less

than in the past. For instance, contemporary political life is hardly structured according to class: voting less and less reflects class divisions. In most advanced capitalist societies, class-based organizations, such as trade-unions or social-democratic parties, have declined. Even society is no longer perceived in terms of social class: class imagery hardly holds the popular consciousness of advanced societies. It could be even contended that this link has been reversed. Far from political behavior reflecting class divisions, political features now shape the class structure of society. This occurs for instance in relation with access to welfare benefits; a political decision determines in a central way the life-chances of large groups of people.

- **A mosaic of status communities**

All this does not imply that social inequality has disappeared in advanced societies: simply that such inequality is not structured according to classes. Class divisions are replaced by, fluid and various status inequalities. Sharp inequalities may still exist, but they do no lead to the formation of distinct and stable categories of people. Status-based stratification is ephemeral and fragile. It involves social distinctions based on consumer lifestyle and on tastes.

CHAPTER 4

PEDAGOGY

BASIL BERSTEINS PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE.

This next section looks at the curriculum in relation to how it is transmitted. This is a response to the economic determinism of Bowles and Gintis who I discuss in greater length in chapter four (1976) which viewed schooling in direct response to the capitalist relations of production , new sociologists of curriculum and pedagogy sought to understand the degrees of schools , as well as the specific ways that schooling is related to larger social, political and economic conditions.

Bernstein analyzed the significant differences between two generic forms of educational transmission and suggested that the differences in the classification and framing rules of each teaching practice relate to **the social class position of the schools , and the assumptions of the families served by the schools.** This idea of transmission is

intrinsically linked I feel to the integration of minority groups into Irish schools .how something is taught i.e.; a middle class teacher , teaching working class or minority as mentioned in the next chapter is primary to a minority child's level of school success.

How does Berstein approach this ? Firstly he outlined a theory of pedagogic rules , which are specific intrinsic features which constitute the specialized form of communication evident in schools and educational practices. Secondly , He related his theory of pedagogy discourse to a social – class base and applied it to the on going development of different educational practices . thirdly we will raise a number of still unresolved questions to relate it to the overall theory of curriculum and pedagogy , and to demonstrate an area of important applicative value.

The concept of **code** is central to Berstein's structural sociology. Code refers to a " regulative principle which underlies various message systems, especially curriculum and pedagogy " (Atkinson 1985; 136). Curriculum and transmission are considered message systems, and with a third system, evaluation, constitute the structure and processes of school knowledge, transmission and practices. (Berstein 1979). Curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge, pedagogy defines what counts as valid transmission of knowledge, and evaluation defines what counts as a valid realization of the knowledge on the part of the taught".

Thus his theory of curriculum must be understood in terms of the concepts odd classification, framing, and evaluation. Strong classification refers to a curriculum that is highly difference and separated into traditional subjects; weak classification refers to a

curriculum that is integrated and in which the boundaries between subjects are fragile. Thus, Bernstein's work on pedagogic discourse is concerned with the production, distribution, and reproduction of official knowledge and how this knowledge is related to structurally determined power relations. What is critical is that Bernstein is concerned with more that the description of the production and transmission of knowledge; he is concerned with its consequences for different groups. Once again, Bernstein has returned to the manner in which social class and power relations affect pedagogic practice.

Bernstein's analysis of pedagogic practice begins with the distinction between a "pedagogic practice as a cultural relay and a pedagogic practice in terms of what it relays". The theory of pedagogic practice examines a series of rules that define its inner logic and considers both how these rules affect the content to be transmitted and, perhaps more important, how they "act selectively on those who can successfully acquire [it]" (((Berstein 1990b, p.63). From a detailed analysis of these rules, Bernstein examines "the **social class assumptions and consequences of form of pedagogic practice**" (1990b, p. 63). He differentiates between a pedagogic practice that is dependent on the economic, and another that is independent and autonomous of the market . Berstein concludes that both forms, despite their claims   to the contrary , will not eliminate reproduction inequalities .Berstein theorizes how the schools reproduce what they are ideologically committed to eradicating – social class advantages in schooling and society.

The rules of pedagogic practice ,**define how knowledge is relayed /transmitted** , and how these interactional processes reflect essential social-class assumptions about the child , the teacher , the role of the family , and the process of learning. Most importantly

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these rules reflect basic principles of order and power relations .the second set of rules , sequencing and pacing determine both the progression of the transmission and the rate at which the acquirer is expected to learn (pacing).

Bernstein's analysis of the social class assumptions of pedagogic practice is the foundation for linking microeducational processes to the macrosociological levels of social structure and class and power relations. The sequencing and pacing of rules inevitably create the process by which individual students are stratified within the schools and as groups within the society. Secondly, in the development of reading, children who can meet these rules are also more likely to develop the principles of their own discourse and have the potential for understanding the possibilities of exploring new realities that education provide .The sad reality is though that children of the dominated class are more likely to be disadvantaged by the visible sequencing and pacing of rules.

A final aspect of this discussion must include a relationship between pacing and sites of acquisition. To put it quite simply, visible pedagogy with it's emphasis on the academic curriculum , necessitates two sites of acquisition –the school and the home-for it's effective acquisition. The social – class assumption of the middle class family is at the heart of this pedagogic practice and, once again, may set conditions for the failure of poor children. In addition, schools that serve a lower working class or poor community often adopt strategies to deal with this dilemma that affect both the contents and pacing of the pedagogic practice.

" The pacing rule of the transmission acts selectively on those who can acquire that schools dominant pedagogic code and this is a social class principle of selection"

(Berstein 1990:78).

CHAPTER 5

THE CURRICULUM AND MENTALITIES

The curriculum is avowedly a social construction. Why then is this social construct treated as a timeless given in so many studies of schooling. In particular, why have social scientists, who traditionally have been more attuned than most to the ideological and political struggles that underpin social life, largely accepted the 'givenness' of the school curriculum.

It is clearly in evidence; in Britain and Ireland, the givenness of curriculum is being literally enshrined by parliamentary legislation in the form of a national curriculum. Much of the work on curriculum has been carried out in Europe by sociologists of knowledge, particularly Pierre Bourdieu and Basil Bernstein. The latter pointed to underlying principles for the classification and the framing of curriculum, but emphasized the relationship between subject and content. This issue of relationships within subject matter has remained unexplored and under theorized. Within this chapter, the question of the internal relations of curriculum-is analyzed: As Apple (1979;17) said 'For methodological reasons one does not take for granted that curricular knowledge is neutral .Instead , one looks for social interests embodied in the knowledge form itself '

This chapter follows on from Berstein and attempts to further explain and exemplify the external relations and modalities of curriculum.

Conceptions of ''mentalities'', and their link to school subjects:

The key word I wish to use to examine a broader conception of school subject's, is the word 'mentalities' since they provide antecedent assumptions for our contemporary social construction of school knowledge. My objective here is not so much to provide a sustained historical explanation, as to show how antecedent factors could be a factor in contemporary construction and consciousness. The aim is to show how we may pursue a longer time perspective on current events and how in doing so we may provide a re conceptualization of the mode of curriculum study that will allow us connect specific acts of social construction to wider social impulses.

There were three dichotomies, **first** were the sensual and concrete character, of the thought of the lower orders against the intellectual, verbal and abstract qualities of upper class thoughts. The **second** places the simplicity of the lower orders. The **third** central dichotomy, which Goodson writes of concerns the passive response of the lower orders to experience and knowledge compared with the active response of the upper ranks. This spectrum of passivity to activity is perhaps the most crucial part of the conundrum of mentalities when related to the evolution of school knowledge, hence from these early stages, the link between the lower orders and specific, contextualized knowledge was forged. The lower orders did not act upon knowledge or generalize from data. In contrast the upper orders could incorporate their perceptions, institutions, information and knowledge into coherent systems of thought and inference. Therefore as Shapin and Barnes (1976; 236) like to think ' as one moved up into the higher ranks of society , one increasingly encountered more abstract, refined and complex modes of thought.

This is highlighted in the Norwood report[1]. This report, summarized the patterns of curricular differentiation that has emerged through 'the evolution of education. It highlights how ' different Curricula are explicitly linked to different occupational categories'. The academic tradition was for the Grammar school, whereas the more utilitarian curriculum in the technical schools,was for the pupil who was destined to work in ' applied science or applied art'. For the future manual worker the emphasis was on utilitarian and pedagogical curricula[2]. This , close identity between different curricular traditions , occupational destinations (and social classes) was confirmed in Britain , in the 1944 education act .[3]

Polarized patterns of mentalities emerged. In time these polarized mentalities were built into the deep structures of curriculum – they were so to speak internalized. School subjects themselves became, in turn, according to Goodson , the makers of subjectivities. At the time that these constellations of mentalities, curriculum, and cultural capital began to form , a state schooling system . In time therefore these patterns were institutionalized .It was as if the mental/manual 'division of labor' is institutionalized in a division of curriculum.

Similar social groups continued to benefit and as before, others were disadvantaged. Thus the conflicts within the curriculum respond to this internalization of social differentiation. In short to understand the process of schooling one must look inside the curriculum.

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[1] Tutoring teaching.
[2] Curriculum and examinations 1943
[3] Goodson .1992

This chapter has highlighted the important emphasis that needs to be put on Curriculum , as a means of furthering and deepening our awareness and understanding of inequalities in schools especially in reference to minority groups. The chapter has attempted to highlight , the effect the streaming of schools by the government has had indirectly on the streaming of curriculum in schools ' it was as if the mental / manual division of labor is institutionalized in a division of curriculum' Goodson(1992).

The fact that these polarized mentalities were built into the deep structures of curriculum, highlights for us how something can be internalized and treated as the norm unquestionably, this makes one realize matters such as teaching practices and the subject matter of the curriculum itself need to be reviewed and adapted to meet the changing needs of our multi-cultural classrooms.

Chapter 6

STRUCTURE AND CULTURE

Economic and social demands of capitalism do not fully explain the reproduction of social inequality in schools and society in general. Interpretive studies have helped to modulate the economic deterministic tendencies inherent in reproduction theory. Cultural forms and practices shed their status as passive reflections of structural forces and become active mediators between human action and the social structure. If we're to understand the structure of inequality then we must examine the mechanisms by which that structure is generated.

Understanding Inequality in Schools: Structure and Culture

In studies of education the macro includes structural forces, while the micro was always known to include individual or group actions and responses to constraints imposed on social actors. Mehan in his work " Understanding Inequality in Schools " is not content with this distinction because as he says it" perpetuates a false dichotomy, it reifies social structure and relegates social interaction to a residual status"(Sociology Of Education, 1992,vol65 (Jan): 1-20).

As a member of the interpretive tradition Mehan attempted to account for social inequality by. 1. **Cultural elements**, which have been introduced into highly deterministic macro theories. (2) **Human agency** has been interjected into theories accounting for social inequality and (3) **the black box of schooling** has been opened to

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reveal the reflexive relations between institutional practices and students careers. These developments highlight an important point in relation to culture, which is no longer, merely a pale reflection of structural and human action. Schools are not black boxes through which students pass their way to predetermined slots in the capitalist order; they have a vibrant life, composed of processes and practices that respond to competing demands that respond to competing demands that often unwittingly contribute to inequality.

Starting in the mid-1970's, serious questions were raised about macrosociological approaches, status-attainment models were criticized for not being able to explain differential academic achievement (Karabel and Halsey, 1977:44) and for being almost completely silent about the processes that produced stratification. In to-days ever increasing multi-cultural society the new focus, which the new sociology of education has attached itself to is focusing on the content of the curriculum it's transmission , culture and language.

Structure, Culture and Reproduction

One can make a presumptive correlation between minority groups and school success rates, with few exceptions, students from ethnic- minority backgrounds do poorly in school. Why is this so? Two answers to this question have been carefully formulated at the macro level by **Bowles and Gintis** and **Bourdieu** for these social scientists and the reproduction theorists who have followed them, the core of the matter is the

CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION, which produces not only commodities but it also produces and reproduces the capitalist relation itself; on one hand the capitalist, on the other hand the wage labor'' (Marx 1976;724).

Bowles and Gintis built on Marx's basic point by explaining social inequality in economic terms. They posited a correspondence between the organization of work and the organization of schooling that trained a certain type of person, to accept their lower places at the bottom of the class economy. In contrast the sons and daughters of the elite are placed into tracks that encourage them to work at their own pace without supervision. Many problems with this theory have been chronicled. The theory is **1.** economically deterministic **2.** exaggerates the degree of integration between the demands of the capitalist elite .**3.**The theory does not examine the processes and practices of schooling that reproduce inequalities and , **4.**it reduces human actors (students, teachers, parents etc) to passive role players , shaped exclusively by the demands of capital. Bourdieu as I account for, in greater detail later proposed that cultural elements that mediate the relationship between economic structures, schooling , and the lives of people. Distinctive cultural knowledge is transmitted by families of each social class. Students from the dominant class acquire an ease – a familiarity – with the dominant culture that the educational system implicitly requires of its students for academic attainment. Schools and other symbolic institutions contribute to the reproduction of inequality by devising a curriculum that rewards the " cultural capital " of dominant classes   and systematic devalues that of lower classes.

Two problems remain… how does the school devalue the cultural cap of minority groups and lower classes also Bourdieu has been criticized for treating students as bearers of cultural capital.

Mechanisms of social and cultural reproduction

In **Lareau's** work (1989) parent – school relations in a white working class neighborhood with those in an upper class neighborhood were compared. Here the levels and quality of parental involvement were linked to the social and cultural resources that were available to parents in different social class positions / backgrounds teachers in both schools asked parents to get involved in their children's education – to read their children's education, read to their children etc. the results were pretty text book, parents from low income families were inadequate for this task, while parents from middle income families thought that their educational for this task, while the opposite was applicable for the those at the opposite end of the spectrum.

Secondly teachers in both schools asked parents to share concerns with them, the lower – income parents were less likely to see that they had the right and responsibility to raise concerns and criticize their behavior. the attitude of those with higher class jobs matched the polices of the school and facilitated the middle –income parents involvement in schooling . Thus social class positions and class cultures become a form of cultural capital. Furthermore the middle income parents often challenged the school. These practices appear to give middle - class students advantages over their working class counterparts.

Language at School and at Home

Comparisons of language use in middle –income and lower income families suggest that there maybe a discontinuity between the language of the home and the language of the school- especially for students from certain low-income and linguistic minority backgrounds. Laosa complained, that inquiry –based teaching methods in schools are compatible with the parental teaching styles in Anglo but not in Mexican American families. Heath (1982) compared the way White middle-income teachers talked to their black low income students. Like Cazden (1979) she found that teachers relied heavily on questions and language games like Peekaboo and Riddes when they talked to their children at home. Heath reported that the middle income teachers taught their own children to label and name objects and to talk about things and name objects and to talk about things out of context, which were just the skills demanded of students in school. However this mode of language use and language socialization was not prevalent in the homes of low income students . Whereas the teachers would ask question, the minority group parents would use statements, or imperatives. They were not the known information or information seeking questions associated with the classroom.

When teachers employed a style that reflected the taken-for-granted speech patterns of the black community , instruction was the most effective .Foster (1989) complemented this when she found that classroom discussion increased in degree and intensity when teacher –student interaction was more symmetrical (Teachers and students had an equal amount of turns to speak) . This finding parallels a more general one about the value of

cooperative learning for linguistic minority youths. These comparisons of language at home and at school show the interactional operational of certain aspects of cultural capital. Because the language use of middle income parents matches the classroom, middle income children are being equipped with the very skills and techniques that are rewarded in the classroom.

One conclusion that could be drawn from this: Change the cultural capital of the low income family. This would be wrong inference, however because it is based on the tacit assumption that the prevailing language use and socialization practices of linguistic and ethnic minority children are deficient. Work cooperatively with parents and educators to modify the classroom environment in ways that are mutually beneficial for students and society. A model of mutual accommodation in which both students and teachers modify their behavior in the direction of a common goal .it shifts the source of school failure from the characteristics of the failing children , their children , their families and their cultures toward more general societal processes, including schooling(Berstein 1973)

Constitutive Action

The institutional practices of schools parallel the constitutive rules of every day life , institutive practices are constitutive. Our understanding of the reproduction of social inequality will be more complete when we include in our theories the constitutive practices that structure students' educational careers. Sometimes the difference in educational opportunity was not a function of genetically endowed intelligence, cognitive styles, or social class backgrounds. It was rather, an unintended consequence of

institutional arrangements associated with students assignments to classrooms on the bases of I.Q tests .The influence of practical circumstances such as these suggest, that the place to look for educational handicaps is in the institutional arrangements of the school- not solely in the characteristics of individual children.

What have we learnt from all this? School failure cannot be blamed solely on the characteristics associated with the culture of students such as faulty socialization practices or deficient linguistic codes. The idea of I.Q testing, has helped shift attention from characterlogical accounts of individual achievements towards a more balanced approach. To incorporate the institutional arrangements of schools that generate both success and failure. Secondly in relation to the role of language, we must look at the social structure and real life constraints. On the basis of the role of language in social stratification , they argue of changes in that system of domination.

Analyses of gang life and home – school relations show that the economic and social demands of capitalism do not fully explain the reproduction of social inequality. Thirdly If we are to devise an adequate account of inequality , then the notion of social class must be expanded to accommodate cultural elements. If we are to understand the structure of inequality , we must continue to examine the interactional mechanisms by which that inequality structure is generated.

Case Study: Educational Success in Minority groups.

Since the publication of **Equality of Educational Opportunity** (Coleman et al 1966) research in the sociology of education has focused on racial , ethnic ,and class disparities of

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achievement and their possible causes. Having already attempted to account for the considerably lower levels of achievement in the majority of minority groups I now turn to look at research in the past decade which has revealed the exceptional academic achievement of students from Jewish origins , who academically outperform any other racial-ethnic group (Hafner et al.1990).

Naomi Fejgin's study presented here examines the characteristics of this ethnic group in an attempt to understand what affects their academic achievement to that of other groups. As such they have distinct cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds , The latter explains ethnic variations in students educational achievement by parental education and income levels. And the former assumes that parents from certain classes and ethnic groups provide their children with the social and intellectual skills and motivation that boost academic achievement .The Jewish tradition is heavily concentrated on" learning the Torah and other religious scholarly scripts and teaches the young t read these scripts not only while praying , but while celebrating holidays .the centrality of the family , the close ties with other Jews , and the highly organised social institutions of this ethnic group. Probably support the maintenance of central values of the community such as studying and make parents and children invest in academic work to keep up with other members of the group. Also an interesting point to note is Jewish women are less likely to work if they have children under the age of six , no matter what their profession. Coleman et al.1988) viewed this social cohesiveness as a family and group resource that enhances the production of human capital. This view assumes that in ethnic groups , members serve both as a reference group and as a source of power and help each other achieve normatively accepted group and individual goals. Fejgin found that the socioeconomic

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approach , with it's implicit assumptions about the relationship between home background and school performance of racial-ethnic groups. It leaves unexplained the observation that Jewish students perform academically better than do students from similar socioeconomic backgrounds . The analysis suggests that what separates Jewish parents from other white parents of similar income and educational levels is possibly their award system , which is specifically directed toward motivating their children to put effort into school work."Being able to explain the achievement edge of Jewish students using these variables means that ethnic-cultural attitudes still play a role , in determining the educational success of that group" (Fejgin,1995; 28).

To conclude, the findings reported here remind us that racial-ethnic differentials in school performance should not be reduced to class reduced to class differences . Different ethnic groups , even within the white category that we researchers tend to view as unitary , have distinct values and attitudes related to school work and use different socialization patterns to encourage or discourage academic performance. These interactions among race-ethnicity , parents financial and human capital , parents attitudes and actions , and students attitudes and actions are some dimensions of the social capital of families that may enhance the development of human capital. If we can learn more about these dimensions , we may be able to teacher young adults how to use them in their future families for the benefit of future generations.

Chapter 7

SOCIAL CAPITAL ; REPRODUCTION OF INEQUALITY

Aspirations and expectations are conventionally regarded as among , the most significant contributors to an adolescents eventual educational and occupational attainment .The importance normally attributed to self- selection and self elimination. Campbell (1992)suggested that the effect of family origin is mediated much more by peoples access to information about the education system and by their overall perceptions of discrimination.

Porter found that for white majority students , the academic support of significant others was a major force, directly affecting grades , status expectations , and educational attainment , but that for minority groups , such direct effects were negligible. These findings led him to conclude that for white's , support enhanced educational attainment fostered ambition, whereas for minority groups, the effect of significant others was operated by promoting conformity that enhanced educational attainment. As Gibson and Bhachu (1991:78) pointed out

> "To be successful , one has not only to understand the way the
> majority society operates but, in addition, one must gain the social
> skills and personal networks that open doors" , lets investigate.....

Social Capital

From a social network perspective , the importance of institutional agents is framed in terms of social capital. [4] . In Stanton-Salazer and Dornbusch's study of 205 Mexican-origin students from six high schools they examined four propositions firstly:

- Is the level of social capital in the students network positively related to the socioeconomic background of the students family.

- Is the level of social capital positively related to the students proficiency in and use of English.

- Do students wit higher grades have information networks characterised by greater social capital

- Do students with higher educational and occupational expectations also report greater social capital .

We will start with the first , by proposing that the process of mainstream institutions is aided when cultural and linguistic capital are converted into instrumental relations with institutional sponsorship . The acquisition and display of middle-class cultural capital youths is crucial, since it is viewed as evidence of accommodation and conformity.

The second relates to minority students integration into white-majority schools , such incorporation would lead to the accumulation of social capital and to it's benefits. . to the

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[4] Social capital as used here refers to social relationships from which an individual is potentially able to derive institutional is potentially able to derive institutional support.

extent that grades and status attainment correspond to a particular type of consciousness among students.

Thirdly and fourthly higher grades equal greater social capital and greater social networks, for this they looked among minority groups cultural information as an important way of predicting which students are more likely to form supportive relations with institutional agents. interestingly the relation between language traits and social capital is stronger for working class minority students than for middle class minority students.

As Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch point out , status expectations , grades , and language traits are productions of socialisation and serve to facilitate increases in social capital.

Is Social Capital Linked to Socio-Economic Backgrounds

Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch, found that students gained more social capital by incorporating nonfamily weak ties, but higher social and economic status students had an additional advantage by also incorporating their high-status parents. They also found with a reduction in the language barrier (proficiency in English) lead to an increase in social capital. Education in the language barrier also lead to an increase in the percentage , of non-Mexican origin friends, promoting integration both in and out of school.

Grades

Grades failed to register their consistent independent effect on our social capital , grades were dependent on English proficiency. Grade level also had a significant and independent influence on access to adult social capital.

Status Expectations

In this area no specific correlation was found , the result was mixed students with higher status expectation networks were characterised by higher social capital .

Their study has made one rethink the theory hypotheses about the interactive effect of social and economic status and status expectations on social capital . It is now believed that the hypothesized relation between grades , expectations and social capital is less dependent on socioeconomic status than on language and style. A point I have tried to reiterate through out, language and method of transmission is fundamentally important to a student , more especially if he or she is from an ethnic minority background.

Discussion of Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch's Findings

The findings provide for the notion that Mexican-origin high school students with higher grades and higher status expectations , will generally have greater social capital they purposed that grades and expectations and language traits all serve as indicators of students consciousness. They 're results were only   partial , for example the hypothesized effect of family SES[5] in this study was at times attenuated by the language variables. Their findings suggest that as they put it " the lower SES Spanish-dominant students in our sample have yet to acculturate sufficiently " . Because of language and

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[5] Socioeconomic status.

cultural barriers , many immigrants are denied opportunities to acquire valued institutional support.

Finally their findings suggest that highly bilingual students may have an advantage over working – class , English-dominant students, in gaining access to adult social capital. Why remains the question …somewhere along the lines of Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction previously mentioned it can be explained , where bilinguals represent a sector that receives special consideration for institutional sponsorship. They seem to have retained sufficient trust in the system to believe that cultural accommodation will ultimately produce desired returns. This kind of bicultural adaptation appears to lead to increases in social capital , bot by lowering the risks entailed in help seeking and by increasing the likelihood of genuine support from institutional agents [6] . By way of conclusion I wish to remark on the authors attempt to move away from the idea of status attainment as a result of parent encouragement , to use the latter as a partial explanation intertwined with social capital , language proficiency and style.

Social Agents, Culture and Inequality

Case Study: Black and White Working Class Males in London

Bourdieu's economically deterministic theory has been criticised for treating parents teachers and especially students as bearers of cultural capital , two key points have to be made to allow for a more complete understanding in schools. First people actively make choices in life , rather than passively respond to the socioeconomic pressures. Second , the cultural sphere gains relative autonomy from structural constraints.

The latter I am about to justify, ,Take Willis's (1977) study of disaffected white working males in a British secondary schools . he found that their cultural outlook limited their options ; equating manual labor with success and mental labor with success and mental labor with failure ,blind to the connection between schooling and mobility they chose to join their brothers and fathers on the shop floor, a choice apparently made happily and without coercion. This identification of manual labor with masculinity ensures the lads acceptance of their subordinate economic fate and the successful reproduction of the class structure. Agency is different here to Bourdieu or Bowles and Gintis where students simply internalise mainstream values . He cultural attitudes and practices of working-class groups do not reflect and cannot be traced directly to structural influences or dominant ideologies. Macleod studied to groups of secondary school boys in depressed socioeconomic circumstances . despite the similarity of their environments they did not respond evenly to their circumstances .the group of white guys at every opportunity tried to oppose the regimen of the school and resist it's achievement ideology. The fact that two different groups of students reacted differently to objectively similar socioeconomic

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[6] I am not referrring to assimilation or Anglo conformity, it's more "accommodation without assimilation.

circumstances challenges economically and culturally deterministic reproduction theories. These differences in aspirations pose a problem for Macleods analysis as well. We learn that the blacks and whites had different hopes and beliefs , what shaped the differential responses of two groups of students ? the family and their culture being the simple answer the brothers (the black teenagers) believed in equality of educational opportunity, family life mediates ! Ethnicity and family life serve as mediators between social class and attainment , leading to an acceptance of the achievement ideology by the brothers and a rejection of it by the white students (a.k.a. the hall way hangers)

So where does this leave me in my argument so far ? Economically determined forces do not account adequately for different actions taken in similar socioeconomic circumstances. I feel it clearly demonstrates that individuals and groups respond to structures of domination in diverse and unpredictable ways. To understand school inequalities we must first broaden the theory to include ,cultural elements , such as ethnicity , education histories , peer associations , and family life.

Yet we must be sensitive to diversity and variability in subjugated groups in society as in elite groups. Not all forms of nonconforming behavior stem from a critique , implicit or explicit , of school –constructed ideologies and relations of domination. There is another important dimension of the connection between human action and social structure that is not covered by a top down sense of cultural mediation.

CHAPTER 8

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

For the purpose of my research I choose to use qualitative interviewing to generate the data required. The term itself usually implies in depth loosely structured forms of interviewing . A qualitative research , according to Neuman ," analyses data by organising it into categories on the basis of themes , concepts or similar features. He/ she develops new concepts , formulates definitions and examines the relationships among the concepts. Eventually he/ she links concepts to each other as an oppositional set that he or she interweaves into theoretical statements."

The questions in semi-structured interviews are normally specified, but the great advantage of qualitative interviewing is that interviewer is free to probe, beyond the answers in the manner which would often seem prejudicial to the ideals of standardization. Probing allows the interviewer though allows the interviewer to seek clarification and elaboration.

Why carry out research

Basic research as Neuman points out advances fundamental knowledge about the social world . it focuses on refuting or supporting theories that explain how the social world operates , why social relations are a certain way and why society changes. Qualitative semi-structured interviews allow the respondents to answer more on their own terms. It is important for the interviewer to be fully trained to enable him/her to take full advantage of the situation. But it is also important to ensure that the interview does not generate

relevant data . A most important point is questioning ones own assumptions; i.e. sit back and reflect how exactly did you come to this conclusion or these findings.

The sources I used in my research in this study were the people themselves , members of the minority groups , particularly members of the Bosnian and Pakistani Communities living in Ireland. In an ideal interview the interviewer withholds his her own feelings and beliefs , the Interviewer should be so objective and neutral that it should be possible to substitute another interviewer and obtain the same responses. Much of the best work in sociology has been found using qualitative methods without statistical tests. This has been true of research areas ranging from organisation and community studies to micro-studies of face-t-face interaction and macro studies of the world system. Nor should such work be regarded as weak or initial 'exploratory approaches to those topics- Randall Collins 'statistics Vs Worlds'p340.

The questions in semi-structured interviews are normally specified , but the interviews are normally specified, but the interviewer is more free to probe beyond the answers in a manner which would often seem prejudicial to the aims of standardisation and comparability. The ability to probe becomes reduced as the interview becomes more structured . Qualitative information about the topic can then be recorded by the interviewer who can seek clarification and elaboration on the answers given. These types of interviewers are said to allow the respondents t answer more on their own terms. In it's literal sense , the standardised method is assumed to elicit information untainted by the context of the interview (Mason 1996:93) . With qualitative interviewing in the absence

of a predesigned set of questions, it is important for researchers to be able to 'think on their feet' during the interview. It is important to ensure that the interview does generate relevant data. A qualitative interviewer has to be ready to make on the spot decisions about the qualitative interviewer has to be ready to make on the spot decisions about the content and sequence of the interview as it progresses.

It is also necessary for the interviewer to oneself what it is that turns such interviews into data , rather than just chats or conversations. In particular how can the interviewer be sure that he/she is not just simply inventing the data , or getting 'it wrong' (Mason 1996 : 52) .it is very important to record as fully as possible the route by which final interpretations came to be made this involves questionings ones own assumptions. However objective you try to be in your records , you are continually making judgements about what to write down or record, what you have observed , heard and experienced and what you think it means.

Chapter 9

DATA ANALYSIS /DISCUSSION

For the purpose of this analysis I divided my data into four reoccurring sections.

- Curriculum

- Culture

- Parent/teacher support

- Pedagogy ;method of transmission.

Firstly ,Underneath the curriculum heading I looked at the sub headings of content , process, The attempt by the curriculum to adapt and incorporate parts of different cultures amount of time spent with each individual child. Secondly n relation to the parent/teacher section , I looked at the nature and the amount of teacher contact with the child and with the parent. Also the teachers perspective on what he/she is doing , i.e. does he /she see him or herself as a facilitator , does the teacher try to integrate people ?Thirdly I looked at the influence of the home and individual cultures on the educational attainment , I also attempt to analyse the different relationship parents have with teachers (the levels of interaction), which are in direct correlation with social class. Fourth was culture Where I questioned it as a negative or a positive factor. The specific ways it has impacted on their grades, and class relations.

Culture was a larger part to play in the formulating / fostering of inequality than previously recognised. Highlighting how the adopting of multiculturalism is essential .Although culture was an individual effect on each person certain cultures as a whole are more dominant than others i.e.; Asians , Jews in relation to school achievement.

The first person I interviewed was a Dr Abasi who is a member of the Pakistani community in Ireland for the last ten years, The first thing I asked him about was status , about which he replied , 'because of my profession (medicine) I have never been treated like an immigrant , once people find out what you do their initial biased opinions are altered ' Dr Abasi found teachers took him more seriously on discovering his status , took on board his viewpoints in relation to the teaching of the curriculum , in particular his opinions on religion , something he felt very strongly about.

On the subject of curriculum , Dr Abassi was fully happy with the curriculum he felt that it was a narrow approach to schooling particularly the history and geography text books, also the he felt the individual intention was not sufficient Dr Abassi revealed that he would not be happy with any of his children completing their second level education in Ireland he felt it would be incomplete, as a result of this he fully intended to return to Karachi before his second eldest daughter was ten. This raises stronger questions and closely parallels the concerns voiced , about our closed culture and nationalistic stance . This re-emphasised for me Dr Abassi words ' I don't want my children to marry Irish , I don't feel our culture would survive or taken on board seriously enough.

In reference to the transmission of knowledge , he found Irish teaching practices different to what they were used to at home but they counteracted this by finding out how the teachers taught the class and continued a similar style in the home, this though is not is always the case, Toni a Nigerian immigrant who barely completed his Leaving Cert he

found the biggest obstacle was how the knowledge was transmitted , i.e.; as Mehan points out 'inquiry based teaching methods in schools are compatible with the parental teaching styles of some families' .Heath reported that the middle-income teachers taught their own children to label and name objects and to talk out of context , which were just the skills demanded of students in school .they also talked to the students in their classrooms in similar ways; This comparison of language use in middle-income and lower –income families suggest that 'there may be a discontinuity between the language of the home and the language of the school –especially for students from linguistic minority backgrounds '(Cazden 1987) She found that the school mode of language was not prevalent in the homes of low-income and minority students, a point though that is contradicted in terms of culture , one must look at the cultural sphere as an object of critical inquiry , instead of treating parents, teachers, and especially students as bearers of cultural capital (macleod,1987) firstly one must remember people actively make choices in life rather than passively respond to the socioeconomic pressures that bear down on them. Second, the cultural sphere gains relative autonomy from structural constraints.

The cultural attitudes and practices of working class people and minority groups do not reflect and cannot be traced directly to structural influences or dominant ideologies.
Toni as a member of the largest minority group in Ireland; the Nigerians found his skin colour and language the greatest obstacles he had to overcome. As previously mentioned Irish teaching methods are ver y different and so apart from traditional methods Nigerians were used to back home, Toni remembers his parents having very little contact with his teachers while in school his parents felt that the teachers in particular one old

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male teacher , as pointed out by Lareau1987 who compared parent-schooling relations in a white working class neighbourhood with those in a upper middle-class neighbourhood. The schools in both neighbourhoods shared an ideal of family-school partnership and promoted parental involvement , Despite equivalent formal policies , the quality of parental participation varied from school to school. lareuau , noted that the levels and quality of parental involvement were linked to the social and cultural resources that were available to the parents in different class positions. As Toni pointed out himself , his parents felt inadequate , when it came to helping him with him with home work. They felt the teaching methods were so far apart from those in the minimal education they had received that they felt they were not knowledgeable enough to understand or have the confidence. According to Lareau (1987)"parents from low income families thought their educational skills were inadequate for this task". In home - School relations , Lareau found The low-income parents were less likely to see that they has the right and responsibility to raise concerns and critise teachers , even maybe their own language barriers would prevent them from confronting teachers. Where as Lareau found middle-income parents had confidence in their right to monitor teachers and even critise their behaviour. The time and income afforded by higher-class jobs , (in general) , coupled with an attitude that matched the policies of the school , facilitated the middle income parents involvement in schooling , whereas the absence of these resources and definition of the educational situation deflated the low income parents participation.

Thus social class positions and class cultures become a form of cultural capital . Although all parents want their children to succeed in school, middle -class parents seem

to be in the right ' social location' for this to happen. Furthermore , the middle income parents often challenged the school ;if their children had problems , they assumed that the school was responsible. In reference to language style Heath found that when teachers employed a style that reflected the taken -for -granted speech patterns of the black community , instruction was the most effective. The latter highlights on e of the central points I attempt to examine in this thesis , why ulterior methods or teaching are not applied? Some methods simply work better on some and not others Foster (1989) compliments this frame of thought with her analysis of teachers in a predominantly Black community college. She found that classroom discussion increased in degree and intensity when teacher -student interaction was more symmetrical (teachers and students had an equivalent number of turns and cooperative learning groups were formed.)

Actually this finding parallels a more general one according to Mehan , about the value of cooperative learning for linguistic minority youths(kagan1986) . Mehan goes on to say that successful community college teachers also called for active vocal audience responses and descriptions of personal experiences , strategies that act in ways that are similar to performance patterns in the local black community. This would equal out the cultural capital gap between minority groups and say the middle class , as the minority children would now be equipped with skills and techniques ,of learning that are different to the 'norm ' and would I feel result in I feel a sense of variety in the classroom ,every second child depending on how multicultural the class is , should have his or her own way or describing an experience , analysing a play , or reciting a piece of prose.

This would eliminate the whole idea mentioned earlier of 'mentalities', and show how these antecedent factors could be a factor in contemporary construction and consciousness i.e.; the different mentalities were ascribed depending on whether the persons in question came from "the higher orders" or the "lower ranks". The different mentalities were built into the structures of curriculum .In turn the different curricula were linked to different occupational categories. School subjects themselves became the makers of subjectivities. These patterns were initially institutionalised , but now with society becoming increasingly multi-cultural these patterns have to be disregarded to account for for example the success of Asian and Jewish minority groups. A move away from this mental/manual division of labor is essential to discontinue the institiutionisation of a division of curriculum. Thus focus on conflicts within the curriculum and most importantly how it's taught responds to this internalisation of differentiation.

My third interviewee was a very kind Bosnian man called Nico who actually works down on Pearse Street ,in the Bosnian community development project , in comparison too the Nigerians or the Pakistanis , this group as a whole seem to have faired the best of the three , owing to I feel and from what Nico said their European looks and willingness to adapt and accept Irish culture allowed them to integrate on a more genuine level. Take for example the Bosnian community development project , it was actually set up by the minister for social welfare in 1990 , for communities who were experiencing social and economic disadvantage , it's aim was to provide community service and a resource centre. To educate and to equip members of the Bosnian community with the skills necessary to access employment opportunities. To development an infrastructure to allow

the Bosnian community in Ireland to integrate and to assume and economic role in cultural , social and economic life of the wider community through the formation of various groups. My interviews with two members of the Bosnian community highlighted their quest , to advance and integrate the peoples of their minority community.

Nico emphasised how Bosnians try to retain their own strong sense of culture , while making every attempt to integrate them into Irish culture. This is highlighted by courses they run in Dublin accommodate the Irish primary and secondary school curriculum , secondly how these courses are taught and transmitted in a manner which enable them to adapt to the Irish teaching manner at their own pace. So when they start school or college or a back to school course , they are settling in quicker to the Irish school environment , and are not at an immediate disadvantage. I feel the most last impression was made on me when Alfonso told me that their educational attainments in Bosnia were not recognised , I was left in both shock and awe , more especially on discovering , their attempts to both educate their own community, but also to the wider community and finally their remarkable attempts to integrate them and us. Their many noble causes ranged from Bosnian radio programmes on Anna Livia , and now on a Blanchardstown radio station, Internet services are also provided at their Pearse street centre. They also hold football tournaments and multi-cultural dance events, and most importantly Bosnian evenings. They also have summer projects and summer camps which help Bosnian children to learn more quickly in a relaxed environment. Alfonso or Nico did not experience any major difficulties as school goers themselves or Nico as a young parent . They felt their community leaders had made a real attempt to promote learning of the

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English language. As a parent Nico did not feel of a lesser nature while conversing with this daughters teachers. Nico felt , yes the teaching style was slightly different , of course that's what Nico expected ,but having had been a student himself , helped him help his daughter . Nico felt the biggest problem in Ireland with minority groups was , color of skin, language barrier , which is reflected in the minority child's ability to transmit the knowledge facilitated by the teacher. This point can be argued though in reverse by Stanton-Salazer and Dornbusch, who argue that although they found some evidence for the relation between grades and status expectations and measures of social capital , their strongest associations were with language measures, suggesting that bilinguals may have special advantage in acquiring the institutional support necessary for school success and social mobility. Porters studies found (once again harping back to the key concept of culture) , that for whites , the academic support of significant others was a major force , directly affecting grades , status expectations , and educational attainment, but that for blacks such directs were negligible. Porter's studies suggest that 'for minority groups , higher grades become associated with institutional promotion only when grades symbolise outward conformity' , which, in turn, can be seen as an outcome of special socialisation by family and peers. (more recent studies like Farkas et al 1990 have reached similar conclusions).

Furthermore , among whites , the support of significant others usually goes beyond encouragement and modeling and include more- class based and network –oriented forms of support , such as coaching , providing privileged information , and institutional pull (Stanton-Salazer, Mehan 1993) , this enhanced aid may not only come from family members and associates but from school personnel.

For other minority groups, participation in such school networks may instead correspond to regular displays of conformity and accommodation. When family members and associates are unable to act as effective institutional agents , they may attempt to promote the institutional success of their children by instilling – consciously or unconsciously- particular ways of behaving that they can believe will increase their children's chances of receiving support from community-based agents..

Suggestions for the Future

Only very recently attention has been paid to the type of education that young people receive . There has been a move from the traditional idea that children are vessels that need to be filled to the brim with facts to a more child centered approach that values the child as an active learner with specific abilities in a specific environment. (Hayes 1993). An informed child-centered approach to schooling involves improved learning environment and understanding of the cultural and other differences of children and language barriers.

Students learn most effectively from others . A students learning is inherently social: 'learning is embedded in social and cultural contexts and it is through activity and interaction with more knowledgeable others that children come to understand themselves and the world in which they live(Wood and Attfield, 1996).Passive learning that still exists in many schools particularly in Ireland does not work. The picture painted may seem a little anarchic . Though children should be free to explore and be creative , it is important that the environment is structured . The type of structure recommended is an invisible , cohesive structure where there is room for routine , pacing, individualisation and integration.

This train of thought is highlighted in the interviews which I carried out especially interview three and four .

The school learning environment is very different to the home learning environment. Learning is context sensitive, Effectively this means that learning which occurs at home does not readily transfer to the school situation. There must be an attempt to bridge the gap between home learning and school learning. To capitalise on previous home learning in the school situation, the school situation must become closer to the home situation. For example, a child who learns how to play monopoly at home has learned many skills to do with numeracy, which could be capitalised upon in the classroom situation. It is also important to remember a child who has entered a primary school or secondary school is not accustomed to being one of thirty children sharing an adults attention, especially in rural areas. This pupil has to compete with over thirty other s for the teachers attention. Pupil teacher interaction is one of the most important aspects of education and it cannot be left to a one in thirty chance.

We really need to decrease the pupil teacher ratio, a fact I feel very strongly about ,especially when it comes to differtiating minority children as slow or just simply in need of an alterior teaching method. Teachers should be seen as **facilitators,** the importance of the teacher is to encourage and to broaden the perspective of the child. The teacher facilitates learning, but the learning occurs in the child. A decrease in the pupil teacher ratio is also beneficial, because it allows the teacher to become sensitive to individual differences between children. Children at school have a variety of skills at a multitude of different levels, different socioeconomic backgrounds, some will have had traumatic experiences, and some may have experienced extra stimulation. With a group of about

thirty it is very hard for the teacher to establish a personal relationship with the students in her care.

The current student pupil teacher ratio can exacerbate individual differences that exist . In a class of thirty only the exceptional children will get noticed and usually it is those the teacher considers most intelligent that they need to find other ways of getting attention. Sometimes this results in disruptive behaviour so that the child can get noticed. Other times this lack of attention leads to the child giving up . Teachers need to be very aware of their own behaviour and to make sure that they do not spend too much time with particular individuals.

Children should be encouraged to reach beyond their limits. This means that sometimes a child will fail to achieve their goals and will be upset but it is then that the teacher must build up the child's self esteem so that he or she can go out and try again.

Particularly minority children , as we as trying to adapt to a different cultural climate they have a new culture to take on board. Children should be encouraged to ask questions .This requires that there should be a fairly small pupil teacher ratio. When children ask questions, they should be encouraged to go out and find answers. Children are born with a thirst for knowledge and with proper teaching facilities , that thirst should never be sated.

Teachers cannot effectively teach thirty children and cater to each child's specific needs. Each child is different and enters school with different possibilities, we must ensure that they leave school with more possibilities not less.

Finally we must listen to children and we must stretch them to achieve more than they think they can and support them if they do not make it, a problem I believe will be greatly diminished with extra language classes , integrated cultural evenings for example which the Bosnian community continually organise , and most importantly an awareness of other cultures and the need to encompass them in future school curriculums not matter what type of school we are in reference to be it as Goodson to the grammer ,technical or modern secondary school.

So how does one propose to find a more integrated curriculum as a steeping stone towards an integrated Irish society.

Firstly if we are going too progress towards a multicultural society , the link between state and church in Ireland must be eroded. At the moment there is too much of an influence on the laws by one faith. A multicultural society must cater for all , not just catholic . This has to be taken quite seriously firstly because the churches reaction at an earlier point in the programme could destroy the programme and it's intentions. Also it must be the final step because without this step there will never be an integrated society. As we've all come to realise by now (or at least hopefully) Education is the most important of any programme to change attitudes and influence people. This is mostly

because of the primacy effects inherent in education policies . It is also important because 6,000 of those who immigrated to Ireland last year were under fifteen. Integration at an early stage will be vital for Ireland in years to come. Firstly the idea of social judgeability can also be used at this level . If children are taught that prejudice and judging others , especially immigrants , is wrong or bad then they will be less likely to judge others.

The teacher must realise that as well as being a facilitator in the classroom he or she is also a model. Segregation on the basis of ethnic status should not be allowed at any time in the educational system. This is base don the idea that much prejudice comes from ignorance and that actual exposure to the minority group who are being discriminated has a beneficial effect.

Education on history should focus on similarities between the history of Ireland and the history of the immigrants the focus similarities between the cultures attempts to set up a 'same as' relation between our culture and the immigrant culture. It is important that information on other cultures should be as concise as possible. Social judgeability varies with the amount of information received, not the accuracy of information; the more concise and unambiguous the information provided about a culture the less likely that the initial bias will still prevail. Importantly if there is to be any religious or cultural education in schools then it should be multicultural . religious instruction should not occur during school hours because this is just another form of segregation. This should occur nationally regardless of whether immigrants attend the school or not but as part of a coherent evolution of Irish society to multiculturalism . This ensures that particular

immigrants are not blamed for the change in school policy . These measures are to ensure that mutually exclusive goals influence the school setting as little as possible .

Television: its Influence

Young peoples television should aim to employ presenters of as many different nationalities as possible as this is an important part of children's conception of the world (Modeling)..The positive and interesting parts of different cultures and religions could be pointed out. Televison programmes aimed at adults such as ' prime time' could help by examining the continual evolution of Ireland towards multiculturalism. This would mean that the immigrants and nationals would feel as though they can make a difference .This strategy makes it less likely that immigrants would be used as scapegoats as this type of television program usually have mediators whose responsibility it is to stop such unproductive lines of argument. This type of television programme also lends to transparency to the integration process which is good for confidence all round.

My (admittedly) idealistic plan of action is intended to see Ireland through the current immigrant crisis where Ireland becomes a multicultural state? At present Ireland is 88% catholic and the percentage of Caucasians must be close to 1005 . Ireland is homogenous, why do we need to be multicultural ? Well, in the European Union , every European citizen will have a right to live in Ireland. We must realise that if people come to our country they must have the right to practice whatever faith they choose without feeling excluded. Finally , we have emigrated to every corner of the world and been accepted so we should extend the same courtesy. However , it is also important that Irish people can

get used to the idea of a multicultural society , as our most recent history has been staunchly nationalistic . Nationism was what freed us from horrible circumstances of oppression. But, we must move on as a country and leave the past behind . we can now allow in people on our own terms.   We should see these immigrants as a valuable commodity in our society .

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