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ABSTRACT

The issue of The Social Science Teacher contains articles and resources related to social science teaching on the elementary and secondary levels in England. There are five sections: articles, miscellaneous, reviews, resources, and briefings. The three main articles in the issue discuss the role of environmental studies in social science curricula, the third world and third world studies, and pros and cons of interdisciplinary programs. The miscellaneous section includes editorials and news from the Association for the Teaching of the Social Sciences. Resources exchange enables readers to learn of useful teacher-developed materials. In this issue resources are described for teaching about topics such as the nature/nurture controversy and theories of crime and delinquency. The briefings section provides a critical approach to teaching elementary grade students how to conduct a social interview. (AV)

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**THE
SOCIAL
SCIENCE
TEACHER**

VOL. 5 NO. 1 DEC. 1975

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EDITORIAL

In line with the Executive's determination to offer a basic service to ATSS members, the Social Science Teacher is to have a new format. Finance permitting, it will in future appear six times per year. Each issue will be divided into five broad sections - articles, miscellaneous (including editorial and ATSS news), reviews, resources exchange, and briefings. These last two require a word of explanations. The resources exchange scheme (see page 18) is intended to provide a convenient means whereby social science teachers all over the country can have access to teacher-produced materials which they might find of use. It is hoped ultimately that hundreds of items will be made available in this way. The 'briefings' series is intended to go one step further, and provide a critical approach to the teaching of particular topics, the use of certain teaching strategies, and so forth.

The views expressed in The Social Science Teacher (other than editorial opinion) do not necessarily reflect the views of ATSS.

Due to printing difficulties this edition of The Social Science Teacher is printed in a smaller type size than will subsequently be the case. We apologise for any inconvenience caused.

Editorial Board

The Social Science Teacher is in future to be produced by three editorial teams, with a chairman of the editorial board acting as co-ordinator.

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ATSS NEWS

New Branches

The Association is currently working towards the establishment of a nation-wide network of twenty local branches in England, plus appropriate local organizations in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. On October 12th the national Executive gave approval, subject to ratification by the ATSS Council, to the formation of three new branches, namely West Yorkshire, Avon, and Hertfordshire - Bedford. This brings the current total to ten branches.

Branch Activities

At the time of going to press the following notification of branch activities had been received:-

West Yorkshire

Meetings were held earlier in the term on phenomenology and race relations, and further meetings are planned for 26th November and 11th December.

Essex

An interesting meeting on social studies for the under-16's was held on October 15th, and a meeting is planned for November 26th on the Schools Council Social Science 8-13 Project. A sixth form conference on deviance is being planned for next term, together with an all-day meeting on games & simulations for social science.

Subscription Renewals

A large number of members have still not renewed their membership subscription due on October 1st - or even on April 1st. Please do renew your Subscription straight away if you are in this category - we need the income to finance our planned expansion of services. And we need you as members! All cheques made payable to 'ATSS' to:-

Denis Gleeson, .
285 Hartshill Rd.,
Hartshill,
Stoke-on-Trent.

Better still make out a bankers order, so that your subscription is paid automatically!

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SUBSCRIPTIONS

With effect from October 1st 1975 ATSS subscriptions will be as follows:

Ordinary : £4.00
Corporate : £6.00
Associate : £4.00
Student : £1.00

If you are an Ordinary, Associate or Student member and you pay by Bankers Order, it will be necessary to increase the amount of the Order according to the above figures.

The increase in subscriptions was agreed at the AGM in April. The Executive Committee very much regret having to ask for the increase but the enormous rise in basic administrative costs and the costs of paper and printing have made the increase inescapable. But for one factor it would have been necessary to make the increase much greater and much sooner, that factor is a rising membership. If our membership continues to increase at the present rate we may be able to avoid further increases of subscription for longer than the inflationary situation would normally allow us. So, if present members can in any way contribute to gaining new members for ATSS they will be helping themselves indirectly.

At the same time, the Executive Committee is painfully aware of the minimal level of services it offers ATSS members. The new series of The Social Science Teacher is intended to raise both the quality and quantity of ATSS activity - it may be that this cannot be done without further increase in costs.

From John Astley
54 Butler Close
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Dear Editor,

We should be grateful to Bob Anderson for raising what must seem to many social science teachers a very important topic, namely the direction of sociology as a field of study.

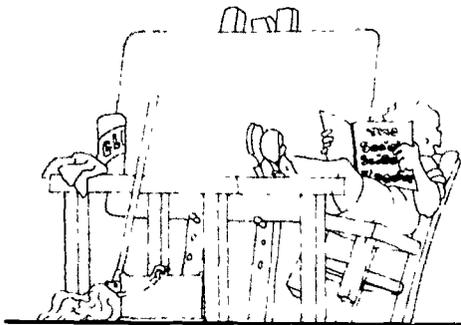
Going back over Young and Co. in Knowledge and Control, I do not find myself changing my mind about them than when I first read the collection of essays. What Anderson's amplification has done is to relate in my mind Young's approach with the topical question of a political sociology in the education system. I find myself asking questions like, can sociology not be political? Alright, if you say I just want to analyse, what techniques are you going to use, based on what values, attitudes and judgements? Are they not subject to political posture in the total cultural sense as much today as they were in the era of the classical sociologists?

I am not sure that by running away from the realities of social analysis that Anderson is not leaving himself open to sterility and impotence. I am not suggesting that I would go along with the existential line in sociology as reformulated by the Phenomenologists and Ethnomethodologists (reformulated because it is hardly a new concept after all), but that scepticism has not driven me into a culdesac of theory that has dire consequences in terms of practice. I am not suggesting that Anderson is reformulating the old question "How many angels can dance on the head of a pin?", but he is certainly getting dangerously near to the Pelican syndrome as outlined by Robert Desnos in his poem;

"One day young captain Jonathan,
he was eighteen at the time,
Captured a Pelican
On an island in the Far East.
In the morning,
This Pelican
of Jonathan's
Laid a white egg
and out of it came
A Pelican
Astonishingly like the first
this second Pelican
laid in its turn
A white egg,
From which came inevitably
Another
Who did the same again.
This sort of thing can go on
A very long time,
if you don't make an omelette."

All good luck to Bob Anderson in his efforts, I just hope for his sake that he does not end up like the teacher in Auden's poem, 'Lecturing on navigation while the ship is going down'.

Yours etc.



ARTICLES

Social Science Teachers and Environmental Studies
by Roger Gomm, Lecturer in Sociology, Stevenage
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The last few years have seen a phenomenal growth in 'environmental studies' courses at all levels in education (1). It is difficult to generalise about such courses: some are re-arrangements of the life-science, some are up-dated rural studies courses and others are no more than an amalgam of geography, history and biology with a local studies bias. Most entail the propagation of a conservation ethic. While some syllabuses attempt a thorough going integration of perspectives bearing on environmental issues, including social science, it is notable that social science teachers have not been particularly active in this area of the curriculum. It seems to me that this is a crucial area in which social science teachers should involve themselves, both for career reasons and for less venial educational ones.

Environmental studies courses being about man and nature, are inevitably also about the nature of man, culture and society. What worries me especially is the thought that an absence of interest by social science teachers is likely to result in the development of a special sort of 'sociology' and a special sort of 'psychology' for environmental studies, as other subject specialists pose and answer what are essentially sociological and psychological questions. I am doubly worried when I consider some of the resources which teachers might draw upon for enlightenment.

Inevitably the major resource here will be the teacher's own taken-for-granted notions about people and society. For instance, one of the taken-for-granted of environmental education is that there is an 'environmental crisis'. Now I happen to believe that we do currently face enormously serious environmental problems, but the sociologist in me makes me very suspicious of crises; for I know that when people speak the language of crises they usually mystify moral issues, represent moral problems as technical ones, reduce possible

options, and obfuscate the power which some groups have for defining what is wrong and for implementing 'solutions' convenient to themselves. I see very little reflection in the environmental studies movement on the processes through which issues emerge as important, or upon the sectarian convenience of the environmentalist position. This is clearly an area in which social science teachers could provide an input.

Environmental studies syllabuses usually demand that teachers teach about such topics as housing, the family, employment, urban problems and so on. Often this task falls to non-specialists in these fields. If these topics are not taught from the gut, there are luckily at least a few objectionable social studies texts which might be used as a resource for this task at CSE/O level, but only as providing a 'social studies' chunk in an environmental studies syllabus. Where attempts are made to synthesise these social topics with the themes of evolution, entropy, energy flow, ecological inter-relationships and so on that are thematic in environmental studies courses, other sorts of resource begin to look very attractive.

Take popular ethology (2) for instance. Given on the one hand the wide-spread currency of popular ethology among intelligent laymen and on the other the high involvement of biologists and other natural scientists in environmental education, it seems not unreasonable to suspect that on some environmental studies courses, a naive biologism will come to stand for sociology and psychology. This feeling was strongly reinforced for me recently in a discussion with the head of environmental sciences at a large, prestigious and innovative comprehensive school, who argued that environmental studies was an illegitimate endeavour, but that environmental science was a 'natural' and proper area of enquiry offering 'as much as was necessary' in understanding mankind. It transpired that science's insight into the organisation of society consisted of Lorenz and Ardrey. I note also that the environmental science syllabuses for this school included sections on new towns, and housing estates, industry and employment and urban problems!

There are value implications in subscribing to any model of man. The ethological representation of human beings as being highly aggressive, highly territorial, with strong sex drives, dividing naturally into dominants and submissives and naturally forming unequal societies has enormous value implications and to my mind very nasty ones; as legitimating current power structures, the dire need for law and order (in the classroom as elsewhere), women's place as in the home and so on. Yet in my experience this is an image of humanity which can be very persuasively purveyed as the unproblematic truth by Doctors teaching health personnel in my own college and I suspect by natural scientists doing environmental studies in schools. It is perhaps not surprising that the 'social' topics of the environmental science syllabuses of the school mentioned above turned out to be 'civility civics': control of the old Adam! There is a not altogether fortuitous congruence between popular ethology and the superscription to the latest Black Paper: "Children are not born naturally good".

I suspect that the apathy of social science teachers towards environmental studies (especially at higher academic levels) derives from two sources. Firstly it derives from an uncritical ideological rejection of the

environmental crisis as being so much bourgeois mystification of the real problems which are seen to be generated by the contradiction of the international capitalist order - or more mundanely as a middle class attempt to conserve their pleasant surroundings from working class housing estates, airports and reservoirs. In this case sociologists would do a good service to environmental studies in their traditional debunking role. Secondly social scientists often don't feel that they can make much of a contribution to environmental studies courses which would mesh in with other themes and content. And it is true that sociology is under developed in this area. Where for instance are the detailed sociological accounts of planning conflicts and planning decisions or a conceptual framework for handling these {3}? Where are the studies of the meaning of the environment, or environmental change to various social groups, or where the accounts of the processes by which environmental issues actually emerge as issues?

One important feature of the situation is that sociology is strong in urban settings (where the people are), while most environmental studies courses make their home in the countryside (where nature is). Thus in the context of many CSE/O level courses and that of the London A level syllabus, cities appear as deviant. Cities are to be studied as 'the process of urbanisation' (bad because it swallows up the countryside, necessary because people need homes and employment, but regrettable because there are too many people and what can we do about it?) - and as 'urban problems' (which are seen to arise inevitably out of urban living which is 'unnatural' and everybody in environmental studies seems to know that people really ought to live in small tight knit, preferably rural communities!)

Two inputs seem specifically requested by environmentalists from sociologists enlightenment about the causes of 'urban problems' and the teaching of substantive 'community studies'. In both respects I have been found sadly wanting by environmentalists, on the first count because I was unable to assign urban problems to aggressions generated by thwarted instincts,

overcrowding, urban stress or the breakdown of family and community life, on the second count because I attempted to render the whole concept of 'community' problematic and value laden.

Thus disappointed with sociologists like me the environmentalist could well turn to a developing perspective which might be labelled 'eco-functionalism'. Not surprisingly perhaps this is a perspective which has developed out of anthropology (study of man in his natural habitat) rather than sociology (the study of unnatural man), and particularly from the functionalism of Malinowski, through 'Cultural Ecology' (4) to emerge popularised as a re-embodiment of social darwinism. There is a populariser of this view in exactly the right place at the right time in the form of Edward Goldsmith, editor and major contributor to the Ecologist, a magazine which is widely read by environmental studies people. I doubt whether many teachers will master his: "The epistemological and biological basis of culturism; a general systems approach a study of the principles of social control in the light of a general theory of behaviour" (worth 80p for the title alone!) - but try this from the Ecologist itself.

Having noted the development of the Urbs of Rome and its large proletariat supported by state handouts he goes on.

"The greatest damage done by state welfare .. is to bring about the disintegration of the family unit itself. Indeed this basic unit of human behaviour without which there can be no stable society, cannot survive in a situation in which the functions it should normally fulfil have been usurped by the state. The family in traditional societies is an economic unit as well as a biological and social one. If the father and mother no longer make any effort to feed their children, if they no longer have to ensure their proper upbringing and education, then it must almost certainly decay.

A society in which the family has broken down is in the final stages of disintegration. Such is the case today in the ghettos of the larger American conurbations - not only in the USA but in Mexico, in Venezuela and elsewhere. Such a society is characterised by all possible forms of social aberrations: crime, delinquency, vandalism and every form of retreatism, drugs, alcohol, etc., are indulged in as a means of divorcing oneself as much as possible from a social environment which is increasingly intolerable (reference to Oscar Lewis and the 'Culture of Poverty'). One can safely assume that these social deviations also characterised the depressed areas of urban Rome during the later Empire all those changes led to the total demoralisation of the Roman people and the elimination of those qualities to which must be attributed the success of the Roman State in its earlier phases."

"The Fall of the Roman Empire" Ecologist Vol.5 No.6 July 1975.

The fit between this brand of functionalism and the thematics of environmental studies is attractively neat, and far more extensive than this quotation demonstrates: an organismic homeostatic model of society maps onto notion of an ecosystem. The family appears as a 'natural unit': deviation from the natural as the source of all our ills. Social controls become homologous with the checks and balances in stable ecosystems - the survival of a particular social order is confounded with biological survival. This is not the place to rehearse the intellectual and ideological objections to functionalism but merely to note the superficial but tempting attractions of functionalism to someone attempting a synthesis between the social and the natural world.

In this paper I have concentrated on social perspectives which are ideologically if radically conservative and which I find repugnant and which are sociologically demode in so far as theories of instincts and organismic models of society are sociological cast-offs. I do not wish to suggest that environmentalists are rabid fascists, that animal behaviour studies have no relevance to sociology, that cultural ecology is all bunk, or that there are no useful papers published in the 'Ecologist'. What I have been trying to do is to indicate some areas of knowledge which might come to stand in place of sociology as most sociologists profess it, if social science teachers do not involve themselves in environmental studies courses. If I were to make a complete inventory of such areas, I would have to include Illich and Schumacher, Kropotkin (rather than Marx) and a rag bag

of eugenics, mental hygiene, moral pollution, the geneticism of Eysenck and Jensen, the behaviourism of Skinner and the shocking future of Alvin Toffler.

All teachers are teachers of sociology and psychology in so far as they describe human activities. ATSS represents teachers who claim to do this in a superior way. Curriculum development in environmental studies, while it remains in a fluid state offers an opportunity to demonstrate this superiority, and hopefully to improve the educational package. The ATSS is in the process of setting up a panel to monitor developments in environmental education – this seems an excellent strategy and the panel would be grateful to learn the thoughts and experiences of members in this area. However by the nature of things ATSS panels tend to deal with syllabuses and recommendations to examining bodies which is a long way from what happens in classrooms. Thus the task of ensuring that environmental studies teaching is enlightened with valid social science perspective belongs to teachers in their own schools and colleges.

- Notes: 1) In 1975 of the 14 examining boards for C.S.E. 7 had made 1 syllabuses and 2 others had environmental studies panels. There are getting on for 200 Mode 2 syllabuses which might deserve the title 'environmental studies' Cf "Environmental Studies Courses for C.S.E. Mode 1 1975" and "A Selection of Mode 3 C.S.E. courses in Environmental Studies 1973" both published by the National Association for Environmental Education. O levels are available with London, Oxford, and Cambridge Boards The A.E.B. has an O/A syllabus and a restricted A level syllabus taken in the main by Wiltshire schools. There is a London A level taken by a consortium of schools and colleges and the N.U.J.M.B. is planning its own A level syllabus. There are at least 74 Colleges and Departments of Education with environmental education courses. Of "Environmental Courses in Colleges of Education" Sean Carson in *Environmental Education* Vol 4 Summer 1975 – and of course a growing number of departments in Universities and Polytechnics.
- 2) By popular ethology I am referring to the works of Lorenz, Ardrey, Desmond Morris, Fox & Tiger, Kripe and Maclay rather than to many less flashy students of animal behaviour. For an antidote Cf Ashley Montagu "Man & Aggression" O.U.P. 1973 or S.A. Barnett "Biological Myths" *New Society* 12th April 1973.
- 3) This is not a rhetorical question. If anyone can provide me with a bibliography I would be very grateful.
- 4) Cf for instance Andrew P. Vayda "Environment & Cultural Behaviour: Ecological Studies in Cultural Anthropology" American Museum Source – books in Anthropology. Natural History Press 1969.

On Interdisciplinarity by

Frank Gould, Principal Lecturer in Integrated Social Sciences at the Polytechnic of Central London.

As good a place to start from as any is the following fact, for which there is ample evidence: that when a course is called an "Integrated Study" or an "Interdisciplinary Study" students, ipso facto, expect something more than a group of disciplines focussing on a common theme, issue or problem, without relating to each other. The very use of the words "integrated" or "interdisciplinary" gives rise to quite definite and unambiguous expectations of something beyond that which the individual disciplines can offer by themselves. The result, often, is that they are severely disappointed and frustrated.

I think I can say fairly reliably, that most members of staff who have had some experience offering courses which contained "integrated" or "interdisciplinary" elements will testify to this frequent disappointment and frustration. We can and should avoid this.

It might be added that if we call a course of study "integrated" or "interdisciplinary", then students have the right to expect this "extra something" and we have an obligation to produce it.

Avoiding the word "interdisciplinary" (because it might imply a high level of sophistication, integration and a high stage of development) and calling such studies "integrated" instead, while it might avoid raising expectations too high, does not lower them by very much, if at all, and in any case does not enable the writer of the course to avoid any of the problems associated with producing an interdisciplinary course. So it is, in my opinion, a cosmetic rather than a substantive difference since the fundamental problems are the same whether it is an "integrated" or an "interdisciplinary" course. Such a term as "integrated" is in any case question-begging.

We wrote in our C.N.A.A. submission document for the B.A. Social Science that "Integrated Studies in the degree course grew from a realisation that academic interests are increasingly concerned with themes and areas of a multi-disciplinary character, and that social science students both demand and need an element in their course where they can work outside the confines of a single discipline".

Although some time has elapsed since those views were expressed I do not think we would seriously wish to challenge the substance of that quoted statement.

The point has also been made that "any truly scientific investigation, which means one which takes it upon itself to observe, describe and explain social reality, must necessarily take into account relationships between its particular field of study with the remainder of reality". i.e. the "problems" of contemporary society require interdisciplinary handling - the capacity to cut across social, political, economic, technological, psychological, anthropological and other dimensions.

A number of different accounts testify to the presence of both upward pressures (from students increasingly dissatisfied with narrow specialisms) and downward pressures from staff (many of the problems, issues, areas that members of staff are themselves interested in simply can-

not be handled within a single discipline framework).

But in spite of these many pressures towards more integrated or interdisciplinary courses there are numerous obstacles. One is that IDS are relatively new and therefore attract the criticism of being "simply a response to fashion" and therefore a trendy diversion or even ephemeral and not to be taken too seriously.

In itself this is not a very worrying criticism and can be refuted easily by pointing to some of the interdisciplinary developments that are now indisputably established: biochemistry, biophysics, psycholinguistics, environmental sciences, cybernetics and the Cultural Anthropology of Levi-Strauss.

The major obstacles are i) organisational institutional and ii) career. Organisationally, most institutions are discipline-based so that whatever the intellectual predisposition to crossing subject boundaries might be, there are quite firm physical barriers. In addition, because the ruling forces are the classical disciplines as they emerged in the 19th century (as far as Social Science is concerned) reading materials, texts and library resources in general are not available for the newer configurations of study.

Of no mean importance are the territorialism of some subject specialists and the additional work of planning and preparation required in the setting up of IDS.

From the students' point of view, given the subject-specialism structure of most institutions, there is the problem of feeling a "stateless" person, of having no home within the institution.

In career terms there are a number of factors militating against heavy involvement in IDS: lack of a discernible career ladder compared with career prospects within a discipline specialism; fewer research funds compared with discipline specialisms; lack of professional associations and journals.

There is also an uncertainty of standards applicable to IDS compared with the consensus of well-tried, established and agreed on standards often operating within discipline specialisms.

It might be pointed out that obstacles or not, IDS are developing rapidly in Polytechnics and Universities throughout the world.

There seems to be wide agreement that integration can be a very slow process, with intermediate stages, sometimes spreading over many years. It can best be described as a continuum.

It is important to make this point because it is sometimes thought that there is some magic formula whereby it is possible to produce "integrated" or "interdisciplinary" courses just like that. Actual evidence from those with experience in this field suggests that this is not at all the case and that the process is definitely evolutionary, as implied by the first statement in this section.

The continuum referred to runs as follows (see O.E.C.D. report 1972): i) Monodisciplinarity - the conventional discipline, e.g. economics, sociology etc., being recog-

nisable as a specific body of knowledge with its own background, assumptions, concepts, procedures, methodology, content areas etc. ii) Multidisciplinarity - the juxtaposition of a number of disciplines with no apparent relationships between them, and no interactions between them. iii) Pluridisciplinarity - the juxtaposition of disciplines assumed to be more or less related. iv) Interdisciplinarity - the interaction between two or more disciplines ranging from the simple communication of ideas to the integration of concepts, theory construction, methodology, data and terms etc. "An interdisciplinary group consists of persons trained in different fields of knowledge (disciplines) with different concepts, methods, data and terms organised into a common effort on a common problem with continuous intercommunication among the participants from the different disciplines". v) Transdisciplinarity - establishing a common system of axioms for a set of disciplines, i.e. full integration.

It can be seen from this taxonomy that most activities in this field are somewhere between pluridisciplinarity and that relatively little has achieved full interdisciplinarity (see the reference above in section 3). Transdisciplinarity is perhaps something to which we aspire rather than already achieved. It may even be "a dream, a will-o-the-wisp"?

The Nuffield Foundation research group has identified four main types of course involving some form of integrated studies. i) Area or period studies such as European Studies, American Studies, Development Studies etc. Here the period or area becomes an extrinsic focus for the disciplines involved. ii) Problem-solving or issue-centred, where the student becomes involved with problems or issues where he needs to employ several disciplines. The aim of such courses is to equip the student with expertise in the relevant disciplines so that the contributions of a number of specialists may be synthesised.

The seven social science Integrated Studies at PCL - Education, Environment, Development, Industrial Relations, Planning, Public Administration and Social Policy are all partially or fully within this type of course. Again the focus of the disciplines concerned is extrinsic.

iii) Broad courses based on a Faculty, such as Integrated Science, Applied Science or Social Science, where a number of high-level concepts are used as integrating agents, e.g. materials, systems, science and society. The focus here is intrinsic, a direct cross-fertilisation of concepts, methods and approaches between disciplines. iv) New groupings where the boundaries between disciplines has become unclear e.g. Biochemistry, environmental sciences, psycholinguistics etc. The focus again is intrinsic, as defined in iii) above.

Let me first quote Guy Michaud of the University of Paris-Nanterre: ".....interdisciplinarity cannot be learnt or taught, for it is a way of life. It is basically a mental outlook which combines curiosity with openmindedness and a spirit of adventure and discovery; and it also includes the intuition that relationships exist between all things which escape current observation and that there are analogies of behaviour or structure which are, perhaps isomorphic..... It is the fruit of continual training and systematically working towards more flexible mental patterns".

There are no short-cuts. Either i) there are a group of

people, all trained in the relevant disciplines so that from the outset they begin with a full understanding of all the disciplines involved and can therefore integrate their approaches on that basis or ii) the subject of study is itself interdisciplinary or has been approached in an interdisciplinary way more or less from the start so cannot easily be broken down into disciplines, e.g. biochemistry, cybernetics, environmental sciences, psycholinguistics etc. or iii) the various discipline specialists with perhaps little knowledge of each others' disciplines at the outset have to sit down together and work out an integrated course.

Situation i) is rarely found. Situation ii) exists in certain fields but most activity in integration is of the third type. This is certainly the case at PCL in Social Sciences.

It seems to me that for integration to take place certain necessary (but not sufficient) conditions must be met. Each member of the team must learn something of the organising concepts, methodology, structures, interfaces, terms assumptions, procedures and data of the other disciplines involved so that mutual recongition of where they overlap and where they differ can be made.

The teaching programme must then be prepared with full exchange of proposed content at all stages so that it is possible to identify those areas of the study where some integration or transaction of these disciplinary elements can be made. Where such integration or transaction cannot (at this stage) be made must be recognised and made explicit to students so that they are made aware of why, how and where the contributing disciplines are approaching the "problem" differently. If this is not done, and it frequently is not, students are left with the impression that the contributing disciplines are different and that is that.

It is this latter deficiency of some so-called integrated courses which causes the most frustration and disappointment among students because it produces the unavoidable conclusion that not only do the members of staff from the different disciplines not care and it is only the students who are trying to do the integrating. This sort of course is bound to fail, and deservedly so.

Attention must also be given to the chronology of introduction of the different concepts and methodologies from the contributing disciplines so that the student receives a coherent, mutually compatible and logically progressing approach to the problem or subject of study rather than a fragmented hotch-potch of sometimes irreconcilable or even contradictory assumptions.

This whole procedure will clearly involve lengthy and frequent planning discussions and a great deal of detailed organisation by the team preparing the course. It would be illusory however to assume that there are any short-cuts. It is likely to be the case that integration or transactions between the disciplines involved will at first be only partial.

There are two teaching situations which should comprise a sizeable part of any integrated or interdisciplinary course. Case studies are perhaps the most important because, involving a number of different

aspects of the problem, they force the student to apply an integrated or interdisciplinary approach in order to analyse the problems and assess possibly conflicting policies. The case study is one of the few situations where there is really no alternative to an interdisciplinary approach

The second very useful vehicle is the seminar on topics which are themselves interdisciplinary. It is important to stress that while it is useful to have several members of staff from different disciplines present, the most important aspect is the interdisciplinarity of the topic. If it can be conducted by a number of staff themselves taking an interdisciplinary approach so much the better. This is the ideal situation. But where it degenerates into the members of staff from each discipline each pushing their own discipline point of view without relating to the other points of view, it is self-defeating. In my opinion it would be much better to have one (broad-minded) member of staff conducting the interdisciplinary seminar by himself, if the former problem arose.

by Ray Jenkins

A recent headline, in the educational press, suggests that the growing interest of teachers in the Third World has led to an attempt to develop a Third World Studies movement within schools and colleges.¹ These developments are clearly viewed by some interested parties either with alarm or with a polite reserve. Serious doubts are raised concerning the phrase, Third World, and concerning the implications of a Third World Studies component in the curriculum of a school or college. The aims of this paper are two: firstly, to analyse and, secondly, to allay, some of the doubts and fears attendant upon the use of the phrase and upon the notion of Third World studies. Hopefully, such a preliminary review will help to initiate a much needed dialogue between the Third World 'enthusiasts' and those who remain doubtful, or, as yet, uninvolved in the debate.

It seems likely that the phrase, 'Tiers Monde', was first used by Alfred Sauvey in *L'Observateur*, on August 14th, 1952.² If this is true, the current doubts about its usefulness may well be traced to its origins. It is a phrase associated with journalism and, as such, it has been, and still tends to be, viewed as a 'cant phrase', 'a neologism from ephemeral journalism' or a 'catchphrase'.³ Secondly it is associated with the radical Left. Sauvey, like Frantz Fanon a decade later, drew a parallel between the Third World and the revolutionary Third Estate. In 1964, Peter Worsley saw the Third World as the 'hungry two-thirds who starve' in an era of, noon colonisation and planned consumer-goods obsolescence.⁴ There is a long tradition, therefore, of seeing the phrase as describing a socio-economic condition, directly linked to that of the 'First' and 'Second' worlds.⁵ Finally, the phrase is French in origin. This has inhibited its diffusion in the English speaking world, not only on cultural grounds, but also, perhaps, for reasons of 'academic nationalism'. Moreover, for members of the Third World themselves, the phrase had its origins in Europe, from whom political independence had been gained by the early 1960's. Was this yet another of the pejorative terms which Europeans had devised especially for them? Did, and does, Third World mean third rate.⁶

Doubts and fears, which are based on the origins of the phrase, would seem anachronistic, or, at best irrelevant in 1975. It has become common currency in world society, including the Third World itself. In Britain, the radical commitment has been maintained and can be seen in action, in the 'Third World First' movement, the publication of the magazine, 'The New Internationalist', the establishment of a Third World Centre in Norwich and in the work of agencies like Oxfam and V.C.O.A.D.⁷ Moreover, the phrase has clearly gained 'academic respectability' in the 1970's, to the extent that early radical thinking and recent academic interpretations have now tended to merge.⁸

Some indication of the evolution of the phrase, in academic circles, can be gauged from an examination of the periodicals published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, within the decade 1964 - 1974.⁹ Over 150 publications, only four articles included the phrase in their title, three of these occurred

after 1970. Only 16 articles made textual references to the phrase and 12 of these references occurred after 1971.

Two significant points do tend to emerge from these articles. Firstly, academics have maintained a steady interest in the notion of a 'third force' or 'third bloc', with the power to influence world affairs, particularly with regard to non-alignment and to the association of China with such a 'force' or 'bloc'.

Secondly, the use of the phrase in a socio-economic context was regarded as being within the preserve of the radicals. This is particularly evident in review articles. For example, Philip Whitaker, in his review of Peter Worsley's book, 'The Third World', saw it as 'a contribution from the intellectual and independent left' in which the sacredness of fact is too often sacrificed to freedom of comment.¹⁰ Clearly, Chatham House preferred the terms 'underdeveloped' and 'developing' until the 1970's when 'poor' and then 'Third World' came to be used. It would seem that political, economic, social, scientific and cultural activities,¹¹ for so long the key to radical thinking, is becoming increasingly acceptable following the emergence of 'producer power' in commodities such as oil, copper and sugar. Louis Turner's work on the multi-national companies provides some indication that Chatham House has accepted this reality in the context of the notion of the Third World.¹²

As a concept, it may still be argued, that the phrase remains vague in some respects. Peter Lloyd's declaration that: 'We all know what is meant by the Third World', does seem to be something of an over-simplification.¹³ In geographical terms, the tendency has been to include Africa, Asia and Latin America as 'third world' areas. A recent attempt lists the Middle East, the Far East, South Asia, Africa and Latin America.¹⁴ (Can one assume that anglophone and francophone areas of the Caribbean may be included?). For the student of almost any discipline, the identification of the 'Third World' presents an interesting challenge. Peter Worsley's plea that there were sound intellectual reasons for the chosen focus of his book still holds good ten years later.¹⁵ Moreover, since 1966, observers have drawn attention to the existence of a 'Fourth World'. There is no agreement as to where it is or what conditions obtain there. It has been variously described as 'Latin America', 'the undeveloped' world, 'the impoverished' world and the neglected 'ethnic, religious or political minorities'¹⁶ within states. Such claims do suggest that world stratification, as an exercise, is widely accepted, and, that the existence of the Third World is increasingly assumed.

Clearly, Robert Gardiner, until recently, a Ghanaian Executive Secretary of the United Nations Commission for Africa, as a member of the Third World, has accepted the principle of world stratification. With some confidence, he has identified the Third World both in terms of geographical distribution and of a socio-economic condition, linked to that of the world as a whole. His use of the phrase in this descriptive sense, is widely shared by others in the Third World, for example, the economist, T Dos Santos, and the Guyanese historian, Walter Rodney.¹⁷ In April, 1974, Teng Hsiao-ping, head of the Chinese delegation to the United Nations, at a special session of the General Assembly, redefined the accepted stratification of world society. He described the 'First

world, consisting of the two super powers, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., and the 'Second World', consisting of developed countries, which formerly belonged to and now wished to break with the capitalist and socialist worlds. The Third World, to which China belonged, consisted of the developing, producing countries, who, through joint political action, would endeavour to secure 'economic liberation'.¹⁸

Studies of voting behaviour at the United Nations, and of summit meetings and regional conferences of Third World states, indicate that the notion of the Third World as a 'third force' was accepted long before Teng Msiao ping's revelation.¹⁹ One can see the origins of the notion in the 1950's and early 1960's in the meetings of the non-aligned powers. However, in the 1970's, emphasis has switched from Bandung, Belgrade, Cairo and Delhi to Lusaka, Georgetown and Dar es Salaam and, as a result the non-aligned movement has been described as a 'Third World body of protest'.²⁰ In 1974, however, the activities of the oil and sugar producers have demonstrated the Third World's capacity for decisive action, as well as protest. In addition, during the autumn session of the United Nations General Assembly, the group of seventy seven Third World states used their power to curb South African and Israeli participation in debates and to accord the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat the honours of a head of state.²¹

In sum, the phrase, Third World has been, and still is, used to describe a socio economic condition, which exists in certain states and which relates directly to that of the 'First' and 'Second Worlds'.²² It has been, and still is, used to describe and prescribe joint action by those states, as a 'third force', to ameliorate or improve socio economic conditions and to realise political objectives. These interpretations are acceptable to observers from the Third World and to their European and North American counterparts, both academic and non academic.

Third World Studies

For those teachers who have been involved in World Studies and who perhaps share the doubts concerning its academic validity, the notion of Third World Studies is not an easy one to accept. One of their aims has been to promote feelings of 'global unity' and 'one world mindedness'. Another has been the mitigation of the evils of ethnocentrism and stereotyping. To dissect global society and to institutionalise one stratum, a stratum whose image is constantly projected as comprising poor, ragged, ex colonial, coloured peoples in hot climates, beset by natural disasters, would be to deviate from and to undermine aims. Also, for teachers concerned with questions of objectivity and political commitment, the increasing tendency to equate Third World studies with a radical emphasis upon problems of development raises serious issues. For example, a recent geography book, entitled 'The Third World' and designed for the 14 to 15 year age group, contains sections on 'neo-colonialism' and 'exploitation' by foreign firms.²³ Robin Richardson's excellent analysis of the 'tensions', or 'family quarrels', between 'conservative', liberal, and 'radical' attitudes and approaches to the teaching of world studies, gives added weight to this question of objectivity.

1. Implications for World Studies

It could be argued, then, that Third World Studies, with its apparent heresies, might well serve to divide, even further, that already congested and confused area of interest, World Studies. Alternatively, it could have a beneficial impact by helping to encourage positive reflection upon the issues which Robin Richardson has described. Far from undermining fundamental aims of World Studies, it seems equally possible that a seriously undertaken Third World Studies programme would bring the reality of those aims more clearly into focus by placing the assumptions, upon which they are based, under close scrutiny.

Firstly, it should already be clear that current interpretation of the phrase imply a study of its relationships with other areas of global society. The prime aim is to bring one stratum more sharply into focus at a time when the need of a less euro-centred approach is very great. It is not simply a class dissection of global society. Perhaps it is relevant to remember Arnold Toynbee's argument that, 'we have to dissect - and, in dissecting, misrepresent reality in order to be able to apprehend reality sufficiently to be able to act and live in the light of the truth as far as we can discern it. Our inability to apprehend reality completely is, of course, not surprising. It is a paradox that one part of a whole should be able to distinguish itself from the rest and should then be able to achieve even a partial apprehension of the whole, including itself. This feat is miraculous, however imperfect.'²⁴

Lofty prescriptions such as 'one world', 'the global village' and 'world order' often tend to assume that all peoples have the same or similar goals and that the reality of the 'one world', if and when achieved, would approximate to that of the 'First' and/or 'Second'. Indeed, such goals are not always based on a perception of the aspirations of all human beings, but rest on the assumption that the aspirations of all human beings are, or should be, the same. Hisako Ukita has written a penetrating analysis of the ethnocentrism evident in the Western dominated 'world studies movement'. On behalf of the 'Third World', she advises that, 'the foremost project that the self proclaimed 'advanced' peoples must set before themselves today is that of 'Learning to keep silent' or, rather, of cultivating the art of listening so as to acquaint themselves with the significance and value of other cultures quite alien to them. Such cultures may no longer be merely looked down upon as the products of an underdeveloped, outdated and bizarre mentality, they must be respected as a revelation of human wisdom - wisdom which is not the sole property of these 'advanced' peoples.'²⁵

It should be accepted, therefore, that the phrase, Third World can, and should, be used to describe a range of diverse and rich cultures - the results of centuries of experience and wisdom. By implication, such an acceptance would help to challenge the stereotyped images and impressions. Insight into the Third World can also be gained from the Third Theory of Gadafy, from the writings of Nyerere, from the philosophy of Gandhi, from the novels of Achebe and plays of Soyinka, from the art and architecture of Umayyad Spain, Mughal India and the Aztecs and Maya of South America, and, from

the bronze heads of Benin and horses of the Han dynasty of China.

An understanding of Third World cultures, then, could well help to remedy the distorted images of poverty, population, disease, disaster and underdevelopment. It might also lead to a reappraisal of notions that all answers to such problems, and, indeed, to world problems as a whole, originate, as of right, within the 'First' and 'Second' worlds. With a greater willingness to listen and to hear, the flow of prescriptions could well be redirected.

In 1961, before the days of 'producer-power' (one sign of the redirection of the flow of prescriptions), Frantz Fanon called upon the Third World to provide new concepts in order to start 'a new history of man' Worsley,²⁶ in 1964, saw these new concepts as 'man-centred issues' to be placed 'on the agenda of human society for discussion and action', by Third World states. Both men hoped that the Third World would provide answers to world problems which Europe had failed to solve and helped to create. A decade later, it is true to say that answers have emerged from the Third World, most of which may be seen as attempts to grapple with the problems of dynamic change, usually referred to as 'development' or 'modernisation'. The extent to which such answers are 'man-centred' or 'new' is subject to debate. Rather than being 'new', it would often seem more accurate to interpret some answers as attempts to synthesise past and present experience.

Clearly, the post-war generation of Third World leaders, and their peoples, are as sensitive to their past their identity - as to their present. Their capacity to synthesise both experiences, as with Gandhi, Nyerere or, indeed, Gadhafi, may be of value to the world as a whole. Certainly, their answers are 'man-centred'. In 1969, at the end of his highly critical review of Gunnar Myrdal's apparently eurocentric prescriptions for the development of India, Clifford Geertz wrote:²⁷

'Tomorrow's India will be born out of today's India. This is, indeed, the India of 'casteism, communalism, provincialism and linguism.' But it is also the India of the Tamil sage Ramunja who, when taught a mantra guaranteeing salvation but pledged to secrecy on pain of condemnation to hell, immediately climbed the temple tower and shouted the secret for all to hear, because he accounted his own damnation a trifling price to pay for bringing salvation to so many people'.

Clifford Geertz has, perhaps, cultivated the art of listening, to which Hisako Ukita refers. If those with an interest in World Studies wish, therefore, to promote their cherished aims, they might follow Geertz's example. Some real insight into the diverse cultures of the Third World could well lead to a greater understanding of the world as a whole - as Toynbee's approach suggests. Would it be such a miraculous feat to inject the concept of the whole world into world studies?

The argument that a Third World focus, given its implicit radicalism, would be likely to subvert, or compromise, the teacher's pursuit of objectivity is not a strong one; particularly, if that pursuit is linked to Toynbee's call,

'to apprehend Reality sufficiently to be able to act and live in the light of the truth as far as we can discern it.' It has already been suggested that a serious Third World focus is required if World Studies is to come to terms with the reality of some of its fundamental aims. In the wider context of the schools, colleges and departments of education, recent inquiries continue to suggest that the pursuit of objectivity, or, the attempt to apprehend reality, is severely limited at this moment.

Recent reports show that the Third World is either seriously neglected or misunderstood in the curriculum, in schools and colleges, in textbooks, in Schools Council projects and in educational broadcasting. World studies, in general, seems to be gaining ground, but the Third World element often comes a poor second to American or European studies (particularly amid the general 'scramble' for the latter). Where the Third World is included, the tendency is to concentrate upon twentieth century 'problems' and 'events'. Such an emphasis tends to reinforce, albeit unconsciously, the images of the 'primitive' and 'uncivilised' pre-European period of history - images which are all too apparent in textbooks and even recent source materials. Finally, it is clear that certain subject areas remain unaware of the Third World particularly art, literature and science.²⁸

This situation reflects a lack of concern, not only with the reality of world society as a whole, but with the reality of British society, in which both teacher and student live. More seriously, this lack of concern is manifest at a time when the evidence also indicates a real need for a Third World focus. The report of the joint working party of the Community Relations Commission and the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education has stressed the urgent need for the introduction of appropriate courses, both pre- and in-service for all teachers as they are now working in a multi-cultural society.²⁹ The minority groups, to which the report constantly makes reference, are those whose origins lie within the Third World. Clearly, if one accepts the inherent value of Third World cultures, now so obviously in our midst, the significance of Third World Studies is self-evident. Unless, of course, one assumes that the role of the teacher is to assimilate and that the aspirations of these minority groups are, or should be, the same as those of the indigenous population. In short, are they destined to become members of Robert Gardiner's 'Fourth World'?

In the face of the apparent need for a Third World focus how does one explain its relative absence from the college and school curriculum? The lack of resources and materials can no longer be considered as a sound argument. Not only has a great deal of work been done to remedy such deficiencies, teachers with a real commitment, and a familiarity with the British press can always provide their own materials.³⁰ Explanations that the Third World is irrelevant and outside the child's experience are particularly unconvincing, given the recent petroleum and sugar crises, the multicultural nature of British society and the fact that children are living in the television age. Indeed, research would indicate that the existence of television is a sound reason for a Third World focus in the curriculum, if only to mitigate problems of ethnocentrism and stereotyping. Enough has been written, within the last decade, to indicate that

children, particularly within the middle years of schooling are at a crucial stage in the development of attitudes towards peoples from other cultures.³¹ Again, recent attempts to evaluate college courses, with a Third World focus, indicate that such courses may 'be gauged successful in so far as student gain in cognition and attitude' are concerned.³²

It seems clear, therefore, that there is both need and justification for a Third World focus, or a Third World Studies component, within the college and school component reflects a rather distorted image of reality, and, as a result, objectivity, in terms of the content of the curriculum, is sadly lacking.

Objectivity, in terms of action in the teaching situation, is largely concerned with the element of balance, with points of emphasis and the use of language. E.H. Carr has described the historian as, 'the product and the conscious or unconscious spokesman of the society to which he belongs'.³³ For the student of history and of any other discipline, it is impossible to escape completely from the constraints of space, time and values. What is surely possible is an attempt to face the reality of those constraints. If a geography textbook does include a section on the 'exploitation' of Third World countries, by foreign firms, the 'objective' teacher might seriously review the term 'exploitation'. The teacher, who is content to remain within the prison of those constraints, might leave the offensive section out or return the inspection copy of the book to the publisher. Both responses are less than objective and could be viewed as highly political.³⁴

One can conclude, then, that the concept of the Third World is not a static one. It has various forms, socio-economic, political and cultural, which tend to increase or diminish in emphasis, both in time and space. Today, it is no longer just the 'cant' phrase of the journalist or the radical observer. It is a phrase which has worldwide usage and which has a validity for the academic, who tends to interpret it according to the dictates of his or her own discipline. As a description of a socio-economic condition or a 'third force' exerting pressure on the world scene, the Third World will continue to attract the economist, the geographer, the political scientist, the sociologist and the scientist. As a series of societies manifesting a rich and diverse cultural heritage, the Third World will also attract the anthropologist, the architect, the artist, the historian, the musicologist and the student of religions. With regard to the latter, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that Third World religious practices and beliefs are rapidly gaining adherents in the West.

The Third World, then, which holds such an attraction for the journalist, the academic and the aspiring mystic, must surely hold some interest for those involved in education. Its acceptance into a 'world studies movement can only result in an added vitality, a vitality which is perhaps seriously needed if teachers are to become increasingly conscious of the reality of the society - both national and global - in which they work.³⁵

1 "Third World Studies network on the way!" Times Higher Educational Supplement, 29th November 1974.

2 Over twenty years ago, Sauvey wrote: 'For this Third World, ignored exploited and despised, exactly as the Third Estate was before the Revolution, would also likely to be called something. 'A.Sauvey, A General Theory of Population, French Universities Press. 1966 Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1969 p.204 n.1.

3 J.D.E. Miller, 'The Politics of the Third World', O.U.P., 1966, p.x. Review article, International Affairs, 48,1,Jan.1972,p.94; P.Lloyd, 'A New Catch-phrase for an old problem', Times Higher Educational Supplement, October 4th, 1974. I should like to acknowledge my debt to Peter Lloyd's article, particularly with regard to the origins and early use of the phrase.

4 F. Fanon, 'The Wretched of the Earth', Maspero, 1961, Penguin, 1967; P. Worsley, 'The Third World', Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964, pp.245, 275.

5 The notion of a proletarian struggle of the poor and exploited nations against the rich, exploiting nations can be found, ironically enough, in militant Italian nationalist thought, from about 1910. In the 1920's fascism was regarded as a 'third way' by Mussolini. See F. Cansten, The Rise of Fascism, Methuen, 1967 pp. 19,21,51, A. Lyttleton (ed), Italian Fascism, Cape 1973, pp. 29, 149.

6 I.L. Horowitz defined the 'Third World' as a 'Third Position'. See 'Three Worlds of Development. The Theory and Practice of International Stratification, O.U.P., New York, 1966, p.16

7 J. Budd, 'The internationalists', The Guardian, October 29th, 1974; P. Barron, 'Rich Man, Poor Man', The Guardian, November 27th, 1973.

8 For example, Underdevelopment and Development. The Third World Today, edited by H. Bernstein of the University of Kent, Penguin Education, 1973. International Politics Conflict and Harmony, Professor J. Frankel, Penguin, 1973 (ed.).

9 These periodicals include 'International Affairs', published quarterly, and, 'The World Today', published monthly.

10 P. Whitaker, International Affairs, July, 1965, pp.527 - 528.

11 R.K.A. Gardiner, 'Issues Facing Mankind', Keynote address presented at the first plenary session of the World Conference on Education, University of Keele, September 9th, 1974. (pp. 10-11 of condensed text).

12 Louis Turner, 'Multi-national Companies and the Third World', The World Today, September 1974, pp. 394 - 402. Mr. Turner is a researcher at Chatham House.

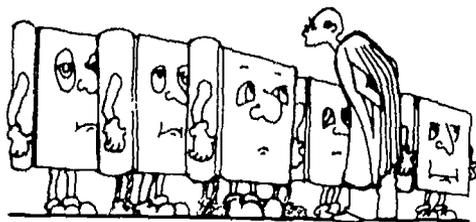
13 Peter Lloyd, op.cit.

14 R.K.A. Gardiner, op.cit.,p.3.

15 Peter Worsley, op.cit., Foreword.

16 J.D.B. Miller, op.cit.,p.x; I.L. Horowitz, op.cit.,p.19.

- E.E.C.', *The World Today*, October 1974, p.435;
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- 17 T.Dos Santos, 'The Crisis of Development Theory and the Problem of Dependence in Latin America', in *Underdevelopment and Development. The Third World Today*, H. Bernstein (ed), Penguin, 1973, pp.76 - 77. W. Rodney, 'How Europe Underdeveloped Africa', Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1973, pp 34 35.
 - 18 John Gittings, 'Peking firmly in the Third World', *The Guardian*, April 17th, 1974. This represents yet another twist in the Chinese interpretation of world Policy. *The Third World and the Developed World The World Today*, March-June, 1968, pp 111 120, pp. 257 - 267.
 - 19 M.G. Zaninovich, 'Socialist Models and Developing Nations', in *Developing Nations Quest for a Model*, W.A. Belling and G.O. Totten (eds.), Van Nostrand, 1970, p.138.
 - 20 R. Kochan, 'Changing Emphasis in the Non-Aligned Movement', *The World Today*, November, 1972, p.502.
 - 21 Joyce Eggington, 'Third World comes first at U.N.', *Observer*, December 22, 1974.
 - 22 It can hardly be argued that the terms 'developing' or 'underdeveloped' are more precise, conceptually, or less pejorative.
 - 23 R. Richardson, *Tensions in World and School. An Outline of certain current controversies*. Bulletin of Peace Proposals, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Vol.5, 1974, pp.263-273. Richardson includes in his 'family'. 'peace education', 'education for international understanding', 'world studies', 'conflict studies'; 'global development studies', 'international education'. This short list excludes area studies (American, Asian, Caribbean, European), for example.
 - 24 A. Toynebee, *A Study of History*, vol.X11, O.U.P. 1961, pp.9-10; in D. Apter, *The Politics of Modernisation*, University of Chicago Press, 1965, p.v.
 - 25 Hisako Ukita, *Some Thoughts on Education for Peace. A Non-Western Perspective*. Paper presented at the World Conference on Education, the University of Keele, September, 1974.
 - 26 F. Fanon, *Op cit.*, pp. 253-255, P. Worsley, *op.cit.*, p.275.
 - 27 C. Geertz, 'Myrdal's Mythology: 'Modernism' and the Third World, *Encounter*, July, 1969, pp. 33-34. A review article based on G. Myrdal's 'Asian Drama An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations', Allen Lane, Penguin Press, 1969.
 - 28 This overview is based on personal experience of U.K., and, evidence presented in reports such as *Impact World Development in British Education*, Lydia White (ed.), The Education Unit, V.C.O.A.D., 1971, World History. Secondary School Syllabuses, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1971, *The Changing World In The Classroom*, Jill and David Wright, May 1974; *Teaching About The Third World. A Report of a Symposium*. Geography, 266,60,1, Jan.1975, T. Hodgkin 'Some African and Third World Theories of Imperialism in R. Owen and B. Sutcliffe (ed.) "Studies in the theory of imperialism, Longman, 1972 p.115.
 - 29 *Teacher Education For A Multi-Cultural Society, Report of a Joint Working Party of the C.R.C. and the A.T.C.D.E.*, June, 1974, chapters 1 and 2.
 - 30 Handbooks of available resources together with their publishers or distributors, are increasing in number. The C.R.C. offers a valuable service in this respect and the Teachers' Handbook of Resources on Asia and Africa, compiled by M. Killingray and W.B. Mason, S.O.A.S., University of London, June, 1973, can also be recommended. For insight on how to produce Materials effectively and cheaply and to avoid the expensive study kit, see R. Richardson's 'Towards Tomorrow' World Studies Project, Parliament Street, London, S.W.1.
 - 31 See, for example, J. Carnie, 'Children's attitudes to other nationalities', in 'New Movements in the Study and Teaching of Geography, N. Graves (ed.), Temple-Smith, 1972; C.L. Hannam, 'Prejudices and the Teaching of History', in 'New Movements in the study and Teaching of History', M. Ballard (ed.), Temple-Smith, 1970; G. Janoda, 'The Development of Scottish children's ideas and attitudes about other countries', *The Journal of Social Psychology*, vol.58, 1962, and 'The Development of children's ideas about country and nationality'. *The British Journal of Educational Psychology*, vol.33, 1963; J.V. Torney, 'Middle Childhood and International Education', *Intercom*, The publication of The Centre for War/Peace Studies, New York, November, 1972.
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 - 33 E.H. Carr, *What is History?*, Penguin, 1964, p.55.
 - 34 Should 'exploitation' be regarded as one of L. Stenhouse's 'Controversial Issues', the teacher could only preserve his or her 'neutrality' by including such an issue for discussion. See *The Humanities Project. An Introduction*, Heinemann, 1972 (ed.) pp. 6-9.
 - 35 I should like to acknowledge the useful comments of Robin Cohen, Gopal Rao, Robin Richardson and Ray Watson during the preparation of this paper. Needless to say, they may not be held responsible for the 'end-product'.



REVIEWS

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Price £12.00 + 8% V.A.T.

The Inner London Education Authority set up the World History Curriculum Project in 1970. It was intended, as Harriet Chetwynd the I.L.E.A. Staff Inspector for history and the social sciences has noted, 'to answer the needs of teachers who for reasons philosophic and pragmatic wished to broaden the traditional British history syllabus to one more suited to a shrinking world and a multi-racial society'. Three packs, on India, Africa and China, have been produced. These draw support material from the fields of geography, anthropology, ethnology and the social sciences. Based on a thematic approach - the themes being Food, Work, Family Life, and Village and Town - the packs have the added advantage of being easily adapted by teachers of other subjects.

The materials have been used in the schools of the I.L.E.A. and the final published product has been modified in the light of experience in the classroom. Designed specifically for the middle school and younger secondary school pupils pursuing courses in history, geography and social and integrated studies, the packs are geared to mixed ability classes. They contain scope for much practical and project work and there is a strong emphasis on audio-visual material. The packs further reflect contemporary educational thinking in that they are intended to facilitate individual or group work and to utilise the teacher as a resource or guide rather than an instructor. In so doing a closer link between junior and secondary teaching methods has been forged and a step taken towards bridging an important gap.

The pack on India, compiled by Islay Doncaster, has much to recommend it. Neatly packaged and presented it contains four folders on the chosen themes (these may be purchased separately), four sets of 35mm colour transparencies, an audiotape cassette, and a teacher's guide. Each folder contains fourteen general sheets, one worksheet and a pupil's booklet. The general sheets are beautifully illustrated and carefully laid out to eliminate

ground information, and a set of questions which call on a range of skills on the part of the pupils. The pupil's booklet is particularly useful as it contains further information on the theme, suggestions for additional work, a bibliography for further reading and a general explanation of the folder. The colour slides - a set of ten is provided for each theme - are carefully presented in simple sachets. Attractive and informative they are clearly numbered and easy to relate to the material in the folders. The one audio-tape cassette contains stories to support the theme Family Life. The teacher's guide contains much worthwhile advice on using the material as well as bibliographies and lists of sources of information.

The pack has been produced in a highly professional manner and the teacher willing to make the effort will quickly master its basic ideas and structure. Islay Doncaster has succeeded admirably in producing a manageable unit on a subject which is very complex. The unit should be regarded as a foundation for further study however, rather than as an entity in itself. Its success will depend very much on the ability of the teacher to operate it and considerable organisational skill and a flexible approach to classroom work are essentials. It might well be that the teacher's guide would have been strengthened by more detailed attention to the practical problems likely to be encountered in using the materials. There is no doubt that this pack will prove a very welcome acquisition to the teacher interested in world studies as it has a great deal to offer in both the methods it employs and the material it contains.

IAN STEELE

LONGMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE STUDIES (Series One)

Editor Richard Cootes

The Family
R. Cootes 1974 85p.

Enquiring About Society
David Jenkins 1974 85p.

These books "are designed to introduce the reader to basic concepts and approaches" in the fields of sociology, politics and economics. (see prefaces). They are aimed at C.S.E. pupils and their equivalent in Further Education.

Some of the major concepts in each book are emphasised in the text by the use of block capitals (heavy lower case lettering would have been easier for the less literate to read).

These are repeated in a glossary with brief definitions. The texts are illustrated with many authentic-looking photographs and in D. Jenkins' book, witty cartoons. Each chapter is followed by a "To write, discuss and find out" section consisting of open-ended tasks students blessed with confidence and initiative might undertake. There is no check first that the ideas of the preceding chapter have been understood.

Attempts are made to control the vocabulary in both books, nevertheless many C.S.E. candidates would need help with the prose.

R. Cootes' work is a mammoth summary of sociological research on the Family in Britain (with mentions of customs from elsewhere in the first part).

Unless students had already been exposed to some social science work introducing concepts such as "culture" and "norm", I predict they would find the introduction fearsome, and tend to get drowned in 'information' in the rest.

The perspective adopted throughout by R. Cootes is functionalist. He gives a theoretical outline of this position on page 8, which could usefully be cross referenced with the experiments described by D. Jenkins pp 40-42.

The various common definitions of the term "family" on p.12 are clear and concise. There are some interesting examples (Russia in the 1920's, kibbutzim.) and some useful references to further reading.

However, because of the basic assumption of a value consensus, areas such as social class tend to come over as a set of facts to be accepted, rather than as categories employed by certain people. R. Cootes states there is less change than people imagine. Given this single perspective, it is difficult to see why there should be any change at all. This book provides too many answers and stimulates too few questions.

D. Jenkins faces the dilemma that concerns many teachers of social science. He tries to show how a variety of perspectives can be presented meaningfully, not just as academic, debating points, but as alternative ways of analysing situations in everyday life. The results will be gratefully welcomed by teachers in many spheres.

The actual methods of enquiry that D. Jenkins introduces in the first section include participant observation, case-study, sample survey, the laboratory experiment and ethnomethodological games. In the second section, he indicates the major sources of statistical information, explaining the distinction between primary, secondary and tertiary sources. These methods are illustrated by the third section, about Gypsies. This is interesting, but not as important as the first two sections which have much broader application.

The first section deserves considerable expansion Teachers will be delighted with it for their own use and that of their more able students. For the average C.S.E. candidate, the section needs developing. Terms like "raw data" need to be used, but as part of a programmed learning sequence, not casually used and omitted from the too brief glossary. Nevertheless this section meets a long felt need for materials that will help students mount their own investigations and evaluate the conclusions of others.

Janet Harris,

Teachers' Guide, Man, Land and Leisure
0 17 434104 4 £4.50

Teachers' Guide, Cities and People
0 17 434122 9 £6.00
Nelson

These two guides represent part of the printed product of the Schools Council 'Geography for the Young School Leaver' Project Team which was established at Avery Hill College of Education from 1970 to 1974 under the direction of Rex Beddis and Thomas Dalton. The initial need which prompted this project was to find relevant material and teaching styles for those pupils aged between 14 and 16 of below average to average ability and while it would be true to say that the Project Team has stopped well beyond its brief, this is by no means intended as a criticism. The search for relevant material is just as essential for pupils of average to above average ability. Furthermore, the key ideas and concepts elucidated in this project are equally capable of treatment at a variety of levels, from the simple, matter of fact, to the complex, and consequently the material is multi-purpose, being applicable in both streamed and mixed ability situations.

Each guide takes a major theme as its title and contains a great store of material - suggestions of content and procedure for the teacher, and individual copies of resource sheets for classroom use by the pupil. The two themes, 'Man, Land and Leisure' and 'Cities and People' are treated in considerable depth but in order to give structure and sequence they are broken down into several units. The units themselves provide the structure while the sequence is a familiar one - the concentric model starting with the pupil's immediate environment and then branching for further exemplification into more distant fields. For instance, the 'Man, Land and Leisure' units occur in this order - Leisure Time; Leisure - Local Communities; Leisure in the Countryside - National Parks; Leisure and Tourism in Britain and West Europe; Leisure - The Future. This model of moving from the familiar to the unfamiliar may not always necessarily stimulate the learner who finds his immediate environment less than exciting but the Project Team appear to be firmly in favour of the method.

It may also be pertinent at this point to consider the relevance of the content, particularly as far as Geography is concerned. For the vast majority of our pupils, the theme Cities and People may be more relevant than Man, Land and Leisure and it might be said that leisure forms such a critical aspect of the first guide because it has the great potential for engaging the pupils' interest. Nevertheless, the leisure theme affords an excellent vehicle for the introduction of the contemporary geographical approach through process to patterns and prediction. Similarly, Cities and People is also in accord with the recent concern for a sociologically based approach to urban studies.

In addition to the geographical content of these two themes, there are excellent opportunities here for work of an integrated nature. The project Team has recognised this and include in the supplements at the end of each guide well thought out, well researched suggestions for complementary work in Mathematics, History, English

... that the abising feeling after reading through this material is that of the wide ranging thought and attention to detail which has been put into the published material. Each theme is prefaced by a refreshingly clear statement in curriculum terms of the background thinking, the objectives, the teaching and learning experiences and activities. The varied nature of the material allows flexibility of use on the teacher's and the pupil's part. Discovery learning, hypothesis testing, problem solving, simulation activities, deductive and inductive strategies are all there.

My final point is on the use of material by individual teachers. The Teachers' Guides can be firmly recommended for purchase by Geography Departments as reference and resource banks. However, since relevance is the key and the local area is the starting point, many of the pupils' resource sheets need to be modified to the particular locality of each school. Here lies an excellent opportunity for local curriculum development and co-operative efforts by teachers and organisers and teachers' centres for preparation of replacement material to suit the needs of each and every area.

R. Watson.

GROUP INTERACTION AS THERAPY

by R.M. Stephenson and F.R. Scarpitti

Greenwood Press £6.90

Essexfield is "a guided group interaction programme designed to change the behaviour of juvenile delinquents". A non-residential facility in New Jersey, U.S.A., set up to treat offenders who continue to live in their communities, it opened its doors in April 1961. A study of its methods and impact began in January 1962 and including a follow-up period for checking recidivism rates, was completed in June 1966. Over eight years later - in October 1974 - Group Interaction as Therapy, which describes both the programme and the research findings, was finally published.

After such a long drawn-out germination, it is perhaps not surprising that a great deal of the book seems dated. True, it seeks to go beyond narrow psychological explanations of juvenile crime and makes some good use of role - theory. However, it remains heavily dependent on the work of, for example, Cohen, Miller and Cloward and Ohlin, and pays only passing attention to more recent sociological approaches to deviancy, and especially labelling theory.

Problems are seen primarily as resulting from the failure of individuals, small groups or even total neighbourhoods to adjust to the dominant norms of American society. Structural factors likely to produce deviance in that society - such as institutional racism or economic inequality - are treated merely as backdrop, or are reduced to oversimple but manageable research variables. And - most significant of all, given the book's central theme -

... synonymous with manipulating individuals into more, conforming forms of behaviour.

As a result, the attempt as Essexfields to harness the full force of group pressures to "therapeutic" ends is repeatedly made to seem undesirable, even sinister. Indeed, the fact that "the results ... are disappointing in terms of changing delinquents to non-delinquents" in the end almost comes as a relief. Even oppressed and powerless boys are shown to be capable of withstanding the efforts of very powerful and apparently totally unself-critical adults hellbent on a "correctional" programme.

And yet, what a pity it is that one is even tempted to draw such a conclusion. For, clearly and convincingly, the authors describe how a group can be a means and not just a context - how process as well as content can be used by those wanting to learn and to teach. Though much more might have been said about what the staff members contributed to group interaction, the way the boys talked, decided their collective tasks, controlled each others' feelings is laid out vividly and in detail. Three of the chapters convey a lively and convincing picture of groups which have developed into dynamic, organic entities, and in which the helped have become helpers and the taught, teachers.

At the finish, the authors all but recognise this. Their admission appears largely as a belated excuse for the failure of the small groups, in spite of the intimacy, self-expression and even personal freedom which they made possible, to reduce recidivism. The boys, it would seem, took what they wanted from the project - but on the whole refused to pay the price of meek compliance and loss of individual autonomy which its providers were unquestioningly demanding. For those who glibly assume that rewarding small group experience is a refined instrument of social control, this book should stand as a warning.

Bernard Davies

TOPICAL ECONOMICS

Ian L. Buchanan

Oxford University Press 75p

... All too often Economics is taught as a rather sterile theoretical subject having little connection with the 'real' world outside the classroom. Elsewhere the emphasis is placed on a descriptive account of the working of economic institutions. One of the major difficulties facing the economics teacher is how to use theory to illuminate practice. Ian Buchanan's fine little book shows one way this can be accomplished.

Every month during 1974, he picked a particular topic (ranging from the sale of cup final tickets to floating exchange rates) and related this to economics theory. For each topic he gives a brief account of the facts of the problem; then he described the economic analysis which is relevant and finally applies this to the problem. Occasionally he over simplifies. Thus in discussing housing

subsidies he omits to mention the untaxed, imputed income deriving from home ownership. Thus making his conclusion relating to the relative importance of subsidies to public and private housing, inaccurate.

Despite its links with the events of 1974 the book will not quickly date for it is concerned with perennial economic problems. It is well written and carefully organised and should be a boon to teachers seeking to apply economics to the kind of situations which confront us in the everyday business of life.

Brian Atkinson

LIFE IN OUR SOCIETY

by K. Lambert

Revised Edition Nelson

In reviewing this book one is almost reviewing the evolution of the New Social Science movement. Moving from descriptive compendiums on the macro scale like 'Life in our Society', to the in-depth micro studies like Paul Mathias' Groups and Communities, and those engaging the student in activity through enquiry and problem solving such as David Jenkins' enquiry about Society. Each can be seen as a necessary link in the progression, emphasising not only changes in the previewed social science methodology appropriate for 14 - 16 year olds, but also a changing view of the teacher-student relationship; with increasing credence being given to 'equal value' or shared experience for all participants in a social science investigation.

In this light Mr. Lambert's book appears extremely out-moded, and illustrates how far the social sciences have moved since its first publication in 1969. The book's Preface contains a healthy acknowledgement that 'any textbook can provide only a background to the work which must be done by individual teachers and team leaders to exploit to the full immediate situations and the local environment'. Yet by its arrangement and structure Mr. Lambert's book is prescriptive; it posits certain lines of study and provides the necessary factual content for the student to cope with the end of chapter questions. The approach is tight and does not encourage enquiry based on the appreciation of forms of alternative evidence or participant study - not even open ended group discussion. I find many of the suggestions under 'Things to do and discuss', very shallow and it would be difficult to justify time spent on such activities as (from p.51), 'On a map of your area plot the various premises run by the Local Authority e.g. schools, libraries, cemeteries, ambulance stations, clinics, offices, refuse stations, sewage works etc' - but for what purpose? Not all the suggestions are of this calibre, and many could form the basis of much more detailed work and investigation. However there is a danger that if a book like this is adopted as a class text it becomes the means and the end of a student's social science education.

There are inherent problems with any re-issue of a book - the Rolling Stones (p25) disbanded a few years ago now, and many of the Ford Zephyrs pictured on p.72 are well

on their way to the scrap yard. But perhaps my real concern, is whether a textbook like Life in our Society, giving broad encyclopaedic coverage is really what social science for 14 - 16 year olds is all about.

ECONOMIC SOCIETY

K.B. Marder and L.P. Anderson

Oxford University Press £1.50

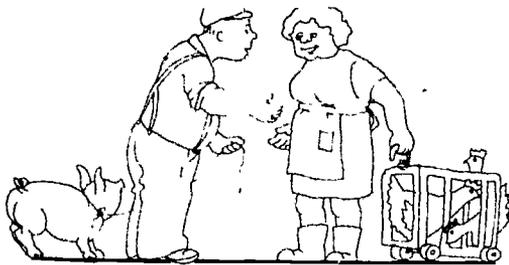
Economics, as a teaching subject, began in the Universities, slowly spread to the Sixth form and is now gradually taking root as an 'O' level subject. This has inevitably led to the production of text books to satisfy the demand.

Economic Society is one such book. It contains descriptions of economic institutions such as the trade unions, the role of the retailer and the structure of the public corporations. The theoretical sections of the book examines micro-economics in some detail, and includes diagrams showing the effects of changes in demand and supply and the effects on price of a tax on spending. This detail is reflected in the section on macro-economics; only five pages are devoted to inflation.

The book reflects its *raison d'être* as an examination textbook. It contains examination questions from several boards, which teachers will find useful, but it is written in a style which makes little attempt to involve the reader in his own learning and instead concentrates on conveying information.

It will make a useful addition to the school library, but should only be used as a class text book by those teachers who are willing to spend considerable time planning learning activities for their pupils.

Brian Atkinson



RESOURCE EXCHANGE

The ideal behind this scheme is that any useful teaching material - handouts, stimulus material, games, etc produced by a social science teacher anywhere in the country should become swiftly available to his/her colleagues in other schools and colleges. This is an ideal we shall never succeed in reaching! Nevertheless, it is hoped we shall eventually include in the scheme several hundred's of items, and that these will constantly be added to and revised.

Perhaps it would be as well to say what the scheme is not. It is not intended that the items included shall be finished works of art: though we shall attempt to maintain a certain minimum standard. Nor is it intended that the scheme will provide 'ready-made' lessons, or 'model answers'. Nonetheless, we can all benefit by having a look at what other teachers consider an appropriate approach to a particular topic, theme, or concept. The success of the scheme depends entirely upon the response of ATSS members, for if you don't send in your materials for inclusion in the scheme - it won't even exist. We can't afford to pay you, so you'll get nothing but thanks. Though if you want to reserve copyright (perhaps you've toyed with the idea of having some work published in the future) just let us know. Basically what we want is for you to send in materials you have produced, together with a few lines of description. The items will be listed in subsequent issues of the Social Science Teacher, together with the description, and interested teachers can then write in for copies to the various centres which are responsible for co-ordinating the scheme.

We hope by the new year to include items on social studies, sociology, politics, anthropology, psychology, economics, and environmental studies. Loughton College of Further Education is co-ordinating the sociology and politics sides of things (Dave Pack - sociology; Keith Poulter - politics) and the address is given below. We are still arranging the other aspects of the scheme, and hope shortly to include a great many items for school social studies. Addresses of other co-ordinating centres will be published as soon as possible. For the present items lying outside sociology and politics should be sent to Keith Poulter.

Address for items:

Dave Pask, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

Keith Poulter (as above)

No. of items required	Charge
1	20p
2	30p
3	40p
4	45p
5	50p
6	55p
7	60p
8	65p
9	70p

N.B. For orders in excess of 15 items, please calculate the excess as if ordering from this table.

DON'T BE BASHFUL! Send us a copy of any material you have produced and which you think might be of interest to other teachers. Items will not bear the originator's name, except by request where he/she would like some feedback from other teachers. One final word: please ensure that the material you submit does not infringe copyright: no extracts from published books please!

1) An analysis of the current position of the white collar worker, in terms of his trade unionism, and his position in the class structure.

Sources

Black-coated Worker - David Lockwood 1958
 White Collar Unionism in Britain - Roger Lumley 1970
 Open University 2nd Level - Stratification and Social Class

A brief account of the clerk's position in 1970 society using David Lockwood's framework of market, work situation and class position but using modern data and taking particular notice of the recent upsurge in white collar trade unionism. Particularly useful when used in conjunction with Goldthorpe and Lockwood's analysis of the affluent worker. Leaving class students have usually found this topic of particular relevance
(Full text appears below)

2) Is Britain a Meritocracy

Sources

D.V.Glass Social Mobility in Great Britain 1954
 Rosser and Harris The Family and Social Change 1965
 Various recent articles

This is a useful extract for teachers who want their class to understand the issues in the meritocracy debate and also want them to have some empirical evidence to draw on. The data is mainly out of date, a drawback of most mobility data but there is a discussion of contemporary trends relevant to equality of opportunity in Britain.

3) Workplace Attitudes

Sources

Lockwood and Goldthorpe - Affluent Worker
 Wedderburn and Crompton - Workers Attitudes and Technology
 Blavner R. Alienation and Freedom 1964
 Articles by W.W. Daniels in New Society

An historical account tracing changes in theoretical approach to the factors which affect workers' attitudes to the firm, their family, politics etc., from Blavner's work in 50s America to Wedderburn's recent study of the 'Seacroft' plant in the North East of England. Extremely useful in that it helps the teacher understand the relationship between the various studies mentioned rather than merely listing them as many textbooks do.

4) The Relationship between Work and Leisure

Sources

R.S. Parker - Towards a Theory of Work and Leisure

A critique of Parker's well-known theory set in the general context of factors which shape industrial attitudes. Useful used in conjunction with the essay on industrial attitudes

5) The Functionalist Theory of Stratification

An account and critique of Davis and Moore's classic apology for American capitalism which should enable the teacher to bring the issue alive for 16 and 17 year

olds. Academically rigorous but written in everyday language and relating the issues to modern life.

(Full text appears below)

6) The Labelling Approach to Juvenile Delinquency

A short explanation of the way interactionists look at delinquency which is jargon-free and gives lots of everyday examples, suitable for all levels of ability from C.S.E. to A level.

7) Theories of Crime and Delinquency

Sources

Schurr - Our Criminal Society
 L. Taylor - Deviance in Society
 S. Cohen - Images of Deviance

A comprehensive and chronological summary of sociological approaches to deviance from Lombroso to Stanley Cohen, explaining clearly the differences in perspectives. Extremely useful as a hand out and a solid basis for teaching deviance at A level.

8) The Sociological Approach to Drug Taking

This extract is based on Jock Young's book The Drug Takers. There is a detailed summary of the book, dry but useful, and an explanation of why Young's approach is sociologically significant as well as some criticism of his work. Usefully used in conjunction with Beckers article - Becoming a Marijuana User.

9) The Sociological Approach to Suicide

Sources

Emile Durkheim - Suicide
 Jack D. Douglas - The Social Meanings of Suicide
 J. Maxwell-Atkinson in Images of Deviance

An extremely compact comparison of the different approaches to suicide of the above sociologists. Requires a high degree of sociological sophistication to be fully comprehended and is best read with Maxwell-Atkinson's article, Jack Douglas' article in New Society 13th July 1967 and the work on Durkheim in 2nd level O.U. course sociological perspectives, unit 3. Potentially very important in getting the student to understand what perspectives sociology offers and in understanding the relationship between theory, methodology and findings.
(Full text appears below)

10) The Effects of the Media on Delinquency

Sponsored by grants from the Home Office, J.D. Halloran and a team of sociologists worked through the 60s attempting to establish the relationship between media violence and juvenile delinquency. Eight years and several publications later they rather lamely concluded that rather than being able to establish any causal relationship one could only say how different people used the media. The extract shows how in fact Halloran's work is the classic example of scientific sociology's weaknesses and is extremely useful in teaching methodology as well as deviance.

11) The Family and Social Change this Century

A summary of the trends which British sociologists see as significant in changing the structure of the English family paying particular attention to husband/wife

relationships, and kinship networks. Avery's useful evaluation of the work of Willmott and Young, Rosser and Harris, Colin Bell, Elizabeth Bott, etc.

12) A Sociological Account of Trends in Divorce

A comparison between the approach of O.R. McGreggor who felt that high divorce rates did not indicate changes in attitudes to family life and the views of sociologists writing in more recent times when the divorce rate has doubled who attempt to interpret how attitudes to marriage are changing.

13) Reasons for the Decline in the Birth Rate

A fairly detailed account of changes in fertility, intended primarily for O level Sociology and ONC Social Structure candidates.

Education

14) Intelligence, Social Class and Ability

The nature/nurture controversy using examples, contrasting mainly the views of Burt and Hebb on intelligence. Extremely useful for getting the students thinking rigorously about intelligence and social class.

15) Sponsored and Contest Mobility

A fairly lengthy account of Turner's famous if outdated theory.

16) Class Differences in Socialisation

An attempt to link class differences in socialisation to language use behaviour and educability. Based on the work of John and Elizabeth Newson, and Basil Bernstein. Gives many interesting examples from typical working class and middle class socialisation techniques.

17) The Methods of Sociological Enquiry Source

The Limitations of Sociological Research -
M.D. Shipman

An explanation of the scientific method which explains point by point the problems sociologists face in carrying out research, from the initial formulation of the problem through to the presentation of data and drawing of conclusions. Not only are the alternative methods which researchers select looked at closely and their strengths and weaknesses elaborated but many examples are given from recent studies and some of the more dubious tactics sociologists indulge in when claiming scientific status are highlighted. Extremely useful when approaching the theory and methods section of A.E.Bs A level sociology paper.

(Full text appears below)

18) Sociological Perspectives - Functionalism in Contrast with Conflict Theory and Symbolic interaction

A sophisticated description of the development of the functionalist perspective with conclusions and points of departure from conflict and interactionist approaches. Needs a great deal of explanation to be useful to the average A level student but more concise, explanatory and interesting than any account to be found in a 'social theory' book, with plenty of examples from everyday life

19) 'As If' - target: A level sociology students who have not received any formal teaching on 'sociological perspectives'. Aim: to introduce this topic by getting students to generate primitive versions of various perspectives from a few basic assumptions. Thus each section of the exercise begins: "I would like you to think as if" (e.g. 'society were a system tending towards equilibrium.....') and then asks students questions such as: "How could deviance/inequality/etc. be explained?" Students are thus enabled to produce primitive versions of functionalism, vulgar marxism, ethology, social action etc. A check-back consists of a series of brief extracts from various sources (a C.B.I. document, a poem from Socialist Worker, a piece of moral crusading etc) which students are asked to assign to the various models they have generated. I have found this exercise works best when completed in small groups. Students do not find it easy, but have commented that they found it helpful in understanding sociological perspectives later. Main danger: that students will confound the models generated by themselves with full-blown sociological perspectives. I think this exercise could be considerably improved and it is offered as a basis for renovation.

20) 'What Shape is Society' - target: anyone. This is a cartoon by Mackie, ripped off from the cover of Case Con, in which two blobs discuss the proper shape for society. Script "..... What shape do you imagine society is? /Well society's a group of people, so I imagine it would be kind of round/Ridiculous, it would roll all over the place!/Well, what about a square? /No, No, people need a high point to aspire to/(a pyramid) There now! can you imagine that falling over? Society has to be stable. A good solid base and something to aspire to at the top!/But I thought the pyramids were tombs built by slaves!/Why must you be so literal! I find this very useful for opening up discussions on social stratification.

21) Parties in Britain

Target: A-level Government. A discussion of the post-war history of the major British parties and their structure, and an extended discussion of 'Butskellism' and its causes. Concludes with a look at the extent to which a consensus still exists.

22) Pressure Groups

Target: A-level Government. Straight-forward account of what pressure groups are, the types of group, their methods and effectiveness. Concludes with a look at the merits and demerits of groups. Clear and concise, but needs supplementing with specific examples.

23) Selection

Target: A level Government. An account of the selection of parliamentary candidates in the Conservative and labour parties, and the significance of the process. Discussion of whether 'primary' elections should/could be introduced into the British system.

24) The British Constitution

Target: A-level Government. Potted history, useful as

background, which attempts to provide a concise account highlighting a variety of economic, social, and institutional changes.

25) What is Politics?

Target: A level Government. Definition of basic terms such as 'politics' and 'political system'. Extended discussion of the fortunes of the 'Westminster Model' when exported to other countries, to illustrate the significance of social environment for the working of political institutions.

THE POSITION OF THE WHITE COLLAR WORKER IN TERMS OF HIS TRADE UNIONISM AND HIS POSITION IN THE CLASS STRUCTURE

Sources:

Black Coated Worker - David Lockwood 1958
White Collar Unionism in Britain Roger Lumley 1970
Open University Course on Stratification David Weir

Changes in the class position of clerks during this century, particularly demonstrated by the growth in white collar trade unionism, can be traced to dramatic changes in both the market and work situation of the clerk. Karl Marx, in his early writings, recognised that the clerk was likely to prove an exception to his theory that the non-owners would develop a coherent 'class consciousness'. Marx, however, dismissed the clerk's pretensions to middle classness as 'false consciousness'.

David Lockwood, however, accepted that there were real factors in the market, work and status position of the clerk, which had kept him separate from the manual worker. Conversely, it was changes in these areas of the clerk's life that explained both the recent growth of white collar trade unionism and its variation between industries.

Traditionally then, Lockwood points out that the clerk's market situation has once been characterised by higher incomes than manual workers, particularly when taken over a lifetime, by greater work security and superior chances of promotion. His work situation was characterised by a personal relationship with the employers, based on a face-to-face relationship centred on the small office. Thus he rightly saw his interests in individual rather than collective terms. But the clerk's position has been changing gradually with increased literacy and with the increase of routinisation of his job, his market situation has weakened, and this has been reflected in decreased pay differentials with manual workers, whose strong unions have often gained comparable pay conditions and security for their members. (N.B. Do not overstate this case - see 'Workplace Inequality' New Society, 9th April 1970).

In terms of his work situation, the growth of large scale bureaucratic organisations, in which large numbers of clerks perform similar tasks, under standardised conditions, has meant that personal relationships with the employers are no longer possible. Furthermore, the bureaucracy has meant an increased demand for formal qualifications rather than experience, which has meant even the chances of upward mobility are much reduced

or even blocked. Finally, the clerk's status position has become much less clearly distinguished than the manual workers.

These changes then explain both the growth in white collar trade unionism and its variation. In 1970, 38% white collar workers were in unions, an increase of 34% over 1964, an increase of 75% in white collar unions affiliated to the T.U.C. However, whereas 80% public sector white collar workers were unionised, only 10% in the private sector were.

As Lockwood has pointed out the main factor that explains variation in white collar unionism, is the degree to which the office is organised on bureaucratic lines. This explains the high membership in local government and the railways, and the low numbers in the banks and private sector where offices are quite small and paternalistic. Other factors important are the closeness to militant manual unions, as it is in the case of the railways and the newspaper industry. Another is the hostility of many employers to white collar unionism, sometimes expressed by overt discrimination against such members, and only outlawed in the 1971 Industrial Relations Act. Militancy in terms of strike action, however, has been limited, despite small scale action by teachers, bank clerks and local government workers.

But what is the clerk's position in the class structure? There are at least two possibilities. Either the manual worker, through his trade union activities has raised himself to a middle class position (embourgeoisement) or the white collar worker has been proletarianised. As we know, Lockwood and Goldthorpe in their article, 'Not so Bourgeois after all' favoured a theory of convergence. However, David Weir, in a recent open university programme on stratification points to an interesting paradox. More women are entering white collar work, to the extent that the 'white blouse' rather than the 'black coat' has become their symbol. However, it is the women who tend to do the routine work while the men take the high positions. Women are often doing jobs most similar to a factory situation, such as filing or operating machines. Yet it is they who are less militant and most likely to define themselves as middle class despite the fact that women as a group have entered clerking only recently, and have no tradition of closeness to the boss.

SUICIDE - A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Suicide was first studied as opposed to merely moralised about in the late 18th Century. In fact there was little apparent suicide before the reformation and it was only in the 17th Century that it assumed any great statistical proportions. The first studies were medical and psychological in nature and focussed on individual suicides. Rates of suicide were not known until the late 18th Century when statistics on 'moral phenomena', alcoholism, prostitution, etc., were published. People known as moral statisticians explained the different rates in terms of race, climate, temperament, etc.

The first real sociological work on suicide was Durkheim's Suicide 1897, and this has dominated sociological research on the subject to the present day. For Durk-

heim the subject matter of sociology should be what he called **social facts**. By this, he meant beliefs and modes of conduct established by the group which he thought had an external existence **apart** from the individual and which constrained him. Examples would be morals, family and religious observance, or rules of professional behaviour. Sociology, thought Durkheim, should be the scientific discovery and explanation of the birth and functioning of these social facts.

Durkheim was not interested in individual cases or suicide which he thought should be left to psychologists. Rather he wanted to show that the causes of rates of suicide were wholly social. He notes that comparative rates of suicide between countries stayed fairly constant so concluded that social forces must be at work. By careful statistical analysis he compared suicide rates while holding such phenomena as degree of religiosity or % of the population married. From these findings he concluded that the major social fact that affected the suicide rate was the degree and type of social integration. Thus **egoistic suicide** was a product of weak social integration and was found among the unmarried, the childless, the **atheistic** or Protestant rather than Catholic, all of whom had high rates. **Anomic Suicide** he thought was encouraged by a breakdown of social norms such as occurs in rapid periods of economic change, boom or slump. **Altruistic suicide** occurred mainly in primitive societies and was related to tight social solidarity, (is this an adequate explanation of martyrdom?).

In fact Durkheim pinpointed most of the variables that modern sociologists consider to be related to suicide. And his methodology with its close relationship between clearly stated theoretical statements, painstaking empirical research, and the formation of social laws, was a model for the scientific approach which sociologists were increasingly coming to adopt through the 20th Century. Where they disagree, however, is with Durkheim's determination to separate explanations of differing suicide rates from individual acts. He speaks of suicidal currents as collective tendencies which dominate individuals and which catch the most susceptible up in their sweep, a form of social realism which borders on the mystical.

During this century most studies have been based on Durkheim's methods and findings. Not until the late 1960's was there any major disagreement with Durkheim's basic findings or approach. Jack Douglas in his book *The Social Meaning of Suicide* rejects Durkheim's work on a number of counts. On the empirical level he points out that Durkheim's view of integration and anomie was highly impressionistic. As regards the statistics on which Durkheim's work is based he says that even today suicide statistics are open to error. Even in countries which are not religious relatives will try to cover up a suicide (sometimes for insurance reasons) and anyway it is often difficult to tell a suicide, poisoning presenting the greatest difficulties (Hendricks and Epstein). And because whether a suicide takes place or not is often outside the control of the individual because of mechanical failure or the intervention of others, no distinction should be made between suicide and attempted suicide, yet the latter do not appear in the statistics.

But it is in approach rather than detail that Douglas differs from Durkheim. Rather than seeing man as the victim of social forces he sees man as at least in part

creating his own social world. Like any other role the suicidal role requires to be selectedly tried on and held up for comment from one's significant others. Since not all single Protestants commit suicide one has to study individual acts since the rate is no more than the sum of these. So what Douglas is interested in is the process by which a suicide comes to be registered, taking in both the lead up to the event, and after the act when it is evaluated and classified.

However this approach throws up severe methodological difficulties. Clearly what is required to be studied is the day to day action in the life of a suicidee yet clearly this is impossible to do. How are we to select a sample? However, we go about it our analysis is bound to be retrospective. Of course we can get the accounts of those involved and in the case of attempted suicide we can build up a picture of the typical meanings actors attach to the suicidal process - such as revenge, repentance, escape, search for help, etc.

Douglas' approach then focusses on individual suicide 'dramas'. J. Maxwell-Atkinson in his article "Societal Reactions to Suicide" in *Images of Deviance* points out that we can also study how the meanings attached to suicide are generated in a society impelled to commit suicide by mysterious social forces. Rather he evaluates his situation with regards his significant others (or lack of them!) and from the stock of meanings available embarks on a course of action. But how are we to find out what stock of meanings about suicide are available in society. Maxwell-Atkinson's thesis is that just as the coroner comes by his decision of what is a suicide or an accident (was the person happy or not, was the balance of mind disturbed, was he overworked, etc.) so the individual decides what situation merits suicide, what role to play, even what method to use.

M.A.'s model

A. Shared definitions of social situations

B. Coroner

C. Individuals who commit suicide

D. Researchers

E. Press, T.V. and other media

Journals and Conferences

Thus Maxwell-Atkinson suggests that students may be more likely to contemplate a suicidal solution precisely because they are aware of the shared definition of students as a group which is particularly suicide prone.

STRATIFICATION

Do all societies have differences between their members of wealth, working conditions, and status? Does it always take the form it does in our society, with inherited wealth and privilege of the few existing along-

side the general poverty and drudgery of the average unskilled manual worker. Are there some mysterious forces at work which ensure that inequality between men must not only prevail, but that this inequality is in the long run beneficial to society?

It is certainly true that forms of inequality exist in all societies - from the Indian brave with his hard-won eagles feathers to the well-born stockbroker collecting antiques and rare stamps as a hedge against inflation. But the degree of inequality and the form that it takes varies greatly even between modern societies; from China with only six variations in pay and the differences between those right through to the socialist states such as Russia and her satellites where manual workers earn more than most 'professionals' and there is no inherited wealth, to the Western industrial world such as Britain with its historically developed system of status distinction and a division of wealth where, in 1960, 1% of the population owned 42% of the wealth, 10% owned 83%.

Such differences in the form and extent of stratification did not, however, stop Davis and Moore, two American sociologists of the functionalist school, attempting in the late 1940s to put forward a theory of stratification. Their basic assumption was that inequality was inevitable (that is bound to occur) and that it was also functional (that is necessary to the maintenance of societies). "The unequal distribution of rewards in society is necessary to the maintenance of the stability of the social system and is therefore bound to occur." Their argument moved through seven positions:

1. Some positions in the social system are more important than others to the maintenance of stability (such as industrial managers, accountants, surgeons, stock brokers, advertising executives, the aristocracy).
2. Such positions need more talent than others.
3. Talent in any population is distributed unevenly.
4. Rewards in any economy are scarce.
5. Any stable society must fill its most important positions with people of high talent.
6. People require rewards and will be motivated to attain them.
7. So scarce rewards will be distributed such that those positions which need a lot of talent will be most rewarded, the law of supply and demand, ensuring that 'the boss' will be the most talented person.

At first sight this theory does seem to throw light on the problem of stratification, to put into logical form what is in fact a common sense view of society held by many people. However, when one examines it point by point, many difficulties arise. Which jobs are the most important? How is talent distributed? Does everybody require rewards? Are the top people necessarily the most able? In fact the argument is a circular one and explains very little - inequality is necessary and therefore is bound to come about; why, because the system needs it, how do you know, because it is there.

This idea that things exist because the system needs

them to, is at once the cornerstone and the basic weakness of the functionalist approach. There is, however, a school of thought with views diametrically opposed to those of the functionalists. They are called Conflict Theorists and they would dismiss Davis and Moore's theory as little more than an apology for the state of affairs in their own post war American society, obsessed as it was with fears of communism. Conflict theorists base their ideas on Marx's belief that the ruling class would attempt to maintain its position by holding on to the means of production and by seeking to legitimise inequality by its control over the generation of ideas. Rather than stressing the 'needs of the system', theorists such as Dahrendorf stress the different access various strata in society have to power. Stratification is thus the result of a constant struggle between, for example, the employers, and the unions, moderated by political action of governments, and played not only with sanctions and rewards but with words and ideas in order to make legitimate inequalities which arise.

Others have pointed out that not all groups in society strive after rewards with the same intensity. The part-time women in the launderette who washes, dries and folds your clothes for a five pence service charge, or those whose aim is to help others rather than accrue wealth. And common sense tells us that the greediest are not necessarily the cleverest, while a certain cynicism informs us that people are sometimes promoted not because they are dynamic but because they are unlikely to prove too much of a threat to the man who appoints them. For stratification is the result not only of socially structured power, and certainly not of some undisclosed and indescribable system needs, but is a mirror of the whole subjective world of human existence, what is thought to be true is just as important as what is true, as those in power have always known. Nor does society necessarily take the form it does for wholly rational reasons. It is Peters Law that men are promoted to the level of their incompetence and Harry Haim's Law that Centre point is worth £x million while empty, while many are homeless.

THE METHODS OF SOCIOLOGICAL ENQUIRY

An outline of the Hypothetico-Deductive (Scientific) Method with an explanation of its short-comings in every day sociological use (see p.69 of Worsley).

We shall see later that a number of sociological studies conform very closely to this ideal type; you could usefully study Lockwood and Goldthorpe's Affluent Worker study and Durkheim's study of suicide. However, or the moment, what I want to consider is some of the difficulties sociologists meet in achieving this ideal type of research, and in some cases where they depart from it significantly, without necessarily informing the reader of their shortcomings. Let us consider the scientific method stage by stage.

1. Formulation of the Problem

Ideally one should begin without preconceived expect-

ations of what the answer to the problem should be as these could easily lead one to read too much into one's findings. However, no researcher lives in a vacuum and obviously has preconceived expectations and values about the area he is studying (for example Jackson and Marsden E.W.C.). The scientific sociologist feels that the rigour with which he designs and carries out his research will eliminate his biases. Others like Stan Cohen in his reader Images of Deviance try to discover, and make clear to the reader, their own biases at the very beginning of the research.

The reasons for the selection of the subject for study are only rarely only because of the desire to further man's knowledge. The most important question for many researchers is who is supplying the money. Many sociologists in the States work directly for the Pentagon. At a more humdrum level, my methods teacher did a study of book buying and one of theatre going receiving a paid sabbatical year from the Book Sellers Association for the former, if not the acclaim of the sociological fraternity. Much research is the result of 'having to do something for a Ph.D.' and there are great pressures in the academic world to publish whether or not one has anything to say.

2. Selecting the Group for Study

In much sociology one tries to make generalisations of a wide nature, but practical considerations often mean that only a small sample from the target population can actually be studied. Thus Lockwood and Goldthorpe generalised about the working class in advanced industrial societies from a sample of 229 Luton manual workers. They did not argue that they were a representative sample in a mathematical sense however, merely that if any group should have demonstrated the embourgeoisement thesis then these should. We call this type of sampling PUPPOSIVE. Lockwood and Goldthorpe interviewed all of the particular workers in whom they were interested. Many sociologists use this method but not all are as careful as Lockwood and Goldthorpe to avoid bias, as we have noted in J. and M's study of a Huddersfield Grammar School. Care should always be taken when generalising from such studies. Often the authors state the need for caution but the findings are summarised by others and go towards what we 'know' about a topic (e.g. Julianne Fords findings based on the study of ONE comp., grammar, and sec.mod., SOCIAL CLASS AND THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL).

A more statistically reliable method of sampling is random sampling. One locates the target population and locates every nth member. The larger the proportion of the population one uses the more likely the group will be representative. This is only done where the information required is of a straightforward nature such as in political polls or census. It is important in such studies that the non-responders be checked to make sure they are not a group with homogenous characteristics as happened with the B.B.C.'s straw poll at the last election. The prediction with 19% non-responders was a Labour victory of 100 seats. They won by 3. A case of Tory non-response!

The Enquiry Stage

In the ideal type of sociological study there ought to be

a very close link between one's original theory and the type of enquiry one conducts. In the case of our two ideal types - The Affluent Worker and Suicide, this is indeed the case. Lockwood and Goldthorpe's theory was that industrial attitudes are not determined by the conditions at work but are rather a reflection of a general orientation to work derived from the workers total life experience - family life, leisure, aspirations for their children, political values. All these areas were thus studied, not just the work situation. But more important because Lockwood and Goldthorpe saw the affluent worker as making his own world (The Action Approach) rather than being a product of his work experience - (technological determinist) they studied the decisions he made and had made in the past - where he said his priorities lay. Conversely Durkheim saw men as being constrained by social forces therefore in his study of suicide he did not study individual suicides but instead correlated suicide rates between countries with such social factors as economic slumps and booms, degree of religiosity, Catholic/Protestant, single/married, children/childless, etc. The focus was on wide statistics as measures of large social forces.

However many British studies are totally atheoretical. This is not merely because they sometimes focus upon non-problematical areas such as book reading but often because in Britain 'here has been a tendency to equate the social survey with sociology. Ideally sociology is typified by the fusion of theory and empiricism, as in the work of the classical sociologists - Marx, Durkheim, Weber. English sociology until recently was, unlike its European and American counterparts, devoid of theory because of a split between the first researchers - the reformers of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, and the theory of the main English classical sociologist Herbert Spencer, whose evolutionary-based ideas of society led him to reject ameliorism. Sociology was thus accepted as a useful research tool but not as a proper discipline.

At first sight some ways of finding out appear to be more controllable and therefore more reliable than others. Experiments on small groups of people or supervised questionnaire techniques come to mind. Yet paradoxically these situations are those which are most artificial and distant from real life. Other methods such as participant observation may be less controlled but they offer more chance of finding out what is really going on - many sociologists reject the notion of finding out about society by methods which are always at least one step away from reality, and when one attempts to perfect 'scientific' techniques one comes across many problems, however, since all sociologists agree that their theories must have empirical validation - that is they must be capable of being supported by evidence from the real world even if this evidence is not scientific.

Let us consider the different techniques of finding out normally employed by scientific sociologists and some of the many difficulties which arise.

1. Experiments

Here one is attempting to copy scientific experiments whereby one compares two groups who are alike in all but one criteria. If different results occur then it must

be due to that one different variable. Hence two peas both with water, both with air, but one in dark, one in the light. The first one fails to grow therefore it must be because it has no light (apologies to any scientists present). One attempts to imitate this when trying to show, for example, that streaming is inferior to mixed ability. One takes two schools which are the same, and have children of equal ability and social class, and equally well motivated teachers. One is streamed and one isn't. The latter gets more O levels yet of course we have proved nothing. For it is impossible to find two children, two schools, or two teachers which are the same. In short, in experiments with people one can't control variables as one can with physical objects.

Q. In what sense is it possible to compare two people who are of equal social class, at least in a scientific way.

The other major criticism of experiments is that they produce results because there is an experiment going on. This is called the Hawthorne Effect. A good example is Young and McQueeney's experiment whereby they got a school to improve its home/school relations and change its teaching methods, and then measured the gains the children made in I.Q. 'as a result'. Many people have said that the gains were due not the home/school relationships improving but to the teachers trying harder because famous researchers were measuring and evaluating their teaching.

THEORY - statements of relationships between facts held to be true over a large number of circumstances.	FORMATION OF THE PROBLEM
HYPOTHESIS - relationships deduced to exist among unobserved facts,	If confirmed 1. Ordinary laws 2. Probability statements 3. Tendency statements
Enquiry - discovery of new facts to test the hypothesis.	
Presentation of data and analysis	ATTEMPT TO DISPROVE HYPOTHESIS
	THEORY MODIFIED OR CONFIRMED

2. Questionnaires and Interviews

These can be brought together as the questionnaire is only a highly controlled form of interview, even when the questionnaire is sent by post. Both are attempts to find out about people by asking them questions. It is only fair to say that the design and phrasing of these questions has become an extremely sophisticated and painstaking process. And yet despite this care many weaknesses remain. Thus P.H.MANN - Methods of Sociological Enquiry - advises us to take five precautions when framing questions; avoid ambiguous questions, leading questions, double questions, jargon, and emotional questions. Sound advice - yet how do we phrase a question that 'has one meaning and one meaning only to

all respondents? There is scarcely a word in the dictionary, never mind in real life use, that fits the bill, as the example about the schoolchildren going to the toilets for a 'whisky' clearly demonstrates. The contradictory results about public attitudes to R.E. in schools (handout - controversy 3 - Do the public want R.E. in schools) demonstrate that one doesn't have to begin one's questions "Surely you are not stupid enough to think that....." for them to be leading. Finally one has to avoid emotional questions or, as Mann puts, questions to which 'oughts' are attached. But it is not so easy. What areas don't have 'oughts' attached? It's not only masturbating that people feel they didn't ought to do, but reading the wrong newspaper, bringing up one's child 'wrongly', or if one is a sociologist, being middle class. And if we avoid such areas we are likely to follow Dr. Mann in limiting our research into the heady areas of book buying and theatre going - crucial if one is to understand society!

Similarly, great care is taken to control the interview situation. Kinsey's enquiry into the sexual behaviour of Americans is the classic interview-based study. Interviewers were carefully trained to give no hint of right or wrong behaviour, interaction of any sort was avoided, questions being asked directly and rapidly, moving without change in voice from simple questions of age, birth, etc, to how many times do you Questions were double checked against others, husbands checked against wives, and samples were reinterviewed after eighteen months.

If not confirmed
Reformulation of the theory

But most interviews are far from as controlled as this and wouldn't want to be for these techniques do limit insight and the range of topics that can be covered. Thus in general the same criticism holds for the interview as the experiment - the more control the less insight. The greater the insight the greater the likelihood that the respondent is being given clues as to how he ought to respond. The question, as anyone who's been for a job knows, is often who is interviewing who!

3. Participant Observation

This technique is probably used least by scientific sociologists because as the researcher becomes involved with his subjects, the less likely he is to be 'objective',

and yet it is the closest we can get to the real life situation and offers a host of insights and understanding. As such, and as we shall see later it is a technique which has been used by sociologists who would not claim to be scientific.

4. Finding out from Existing Sources

(a) Statistics

Many sociologists use official statistics as evidence and often seem to be very scientific in the process. Yet statistics have severe limitations as evidence. For one can never know who has become a statistic and who hasn't. If more people are arrested is there an increase in crime? If Leeds have had fewer men sent off than any other team in the first division are they the cleanest players? If the suicide rate goes up have more people killed themselves? If the divorce rate goes up are more marriages unhappy? One could go on ad infinitum but the point is clear - it is the explanation that counts. Statistics are never 'what happened' but what has been officially recorded as happening.

5. Historical and Literary Sources

Both of these sources can offer us excellent insights into life. It is impossible to understand society without understanding how things come to be. But the problem with historians is that they were usually interested in a restricted range of phenomena - political events, wars, life at court and they usually only represented the views of the 'educated' sections of society. Similarly literature can illuminate more quickly and effectively than any sociological treatise. Yet how do we decide which literature is accurate? Is it those novels which confirm our sociologically derived findings?

Finally we come to the presentation of one's findings and the conclusions one can come to as regards the formation of laws, probabilities, tendency statements.

Presentation

If one is working within the scientific paradigm it is likely that one's findings will be presented in terms of correlations between variables which are tested for significance and then the researcher will attempt to explain these findings. As a result a highly mathematical and seemingly scientific presentation can result. However, when we remember the weaknesses leading up to the production of findings it becomes clear that what is going on is sometimes little more than a mirage - the presentation of results is often little more than the stage management of a scientific facade and owes more to the sociologists feelings of academic insecurity vis-a-vis the natural sciences than any actual scientific findings.

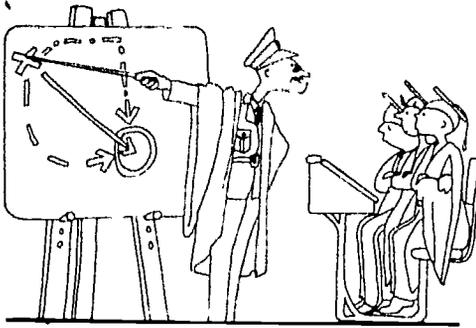
The value of numerical findings is often that they give the impression of exactness and reliability. Thus we can work out that the correlation between home ownership and high academic attainment is significant at the 5% level. This means that there are only 5/100 chances that the result is due merely to the particular sample being used. But it does not mean that home ownership is sociologically significant as a factor in explaining differ-

ential educational aspirations. Nor does it mean that high aspirations are caused by home ownership though the researcher often attempts to explain the relationship as a casual one.

Q. How would you explain this correlation?

To this extent it is sometimes said that in studies which are 'scientific' the tail of statistics wags the sociological dog - that is the theoretical sociological imagination necessary for problem posing and explanation is submerged between the statistical data which at best can only be the tool of the sociologist.

Thus it can be seen that stating laws, tendency statements, probability statements, etc., in a scientifically rigorous way on the basis of this very shaky pseudo-scientific foundation is in all but a few highly controlled and very restricted studies all but meaningless. Because of this M.D. Shipman in *The Limitations of Social Research* has said that sociologists can only produce evidence that questions or raises doubts about issues. Thus we have proved that despite the 1944 Act, those who benefit from education are still mainly middle class. But we have not been able to prove that this is not due to the innate intellectual inferiority of working class children, only suggest possible (and often convincing, especially to the committed) explanations of how the situation comes about.



BRIEFINGS

The Briefing for this issue is enclosed as a separate booklet except for the Students' Answer Sheet which is reproduced below. Extra copies of the Briefing can be obtained from the briefing editor.

THE SOCIAL INVESTIGATION INTERVIEW

STUDENTS' ANSWER SHEET

Your page of answers should look something like this. Check you have written and underlined a proper title and date on this work.

1. The purpose of this booklet is to help you interview people well.
2. A simple definition (phrase that explains the meaning) of an interview is a conversation between two people.
3. The person undertaking the investigation by making the interview is called the interviewer.
4. The person providing the information by answering the questions is called the interviewee.
5. In order to make a proper survey, an investigator should carry out many interviews.
6. A generalisation is a general statement used to sum up many items of information.
7. A social investigation interview is different from a T.V. interview because it takes place in a more private way.
8. A social investigation interview is different from an interview for a job because the interviewee does not gain anything except the thanks of the interviewer.
9. There are two main ways to find out about the way people behave. These are to observe them and to ask them questions about what they are doing.
10. The problems about only looking at the way people behave is that you do not know what they intend to do next, why they are behaving this way and what they hope to gain by this behaviour.

11. Before you ask the public your questions you should always try them out on a few friends and get their criticisms.
12. There are many students at the Abraham Moss Centre and we do not want to annoy the public. If you can get the information you need this way, it is best for you to interview relatives and friends.
13. When you pick a sample you select a number of people in a particular group that you think will represent all the people in the group.
14. For a group of students to undertake a survey successfully together, they need to co-operate in the work.
15. A structured interview is one where the interviewer has a list of questions to ask.
16. The sort of interview where the interviewer knows exactly what questions he/she intends to ask is called a *structured interview*.
17. The sort of interview where the interviewer gets the other person to talk about the subject by saying just enough to show interest is called an *unstructured interview*.
18. Adult people who do not know you are more likely to stop what they are doing for you to interview them if you make yourself look the way they like seeing young people look.
19. Your introduction should be something like this. - "Good afternoon! I am a pupil at the Abraham Moss Centre taking part in a survey to find out what people think of the Cheetham Hill Road shops. Could you spare me a few minutes to give me your views?"
20. The sort of place you choose to make your interview needs to be sheltered from the rain when wet, quiet when tape-recording, near a seat when interviewing old people and out of the mainstream of people passing by.
21. If the interviewee looks uncomfortable, goes red and looks annoyed, you should change the subject.
22. To finish the interview on a January day you could say, "I mustn't keep you standing in the cold any longer."
23. The last sentence you should remember to say to the person you have interviewed is, "Thank you very much for your help."
24. Ask your friends what answers they put for this. See which subjects most people find difficult to ask about.
25. Read you lists of questions again.
26. Write down a good criticism and a bad criticism you
27. think each list deserves.

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Briefings

NUMBER ONE

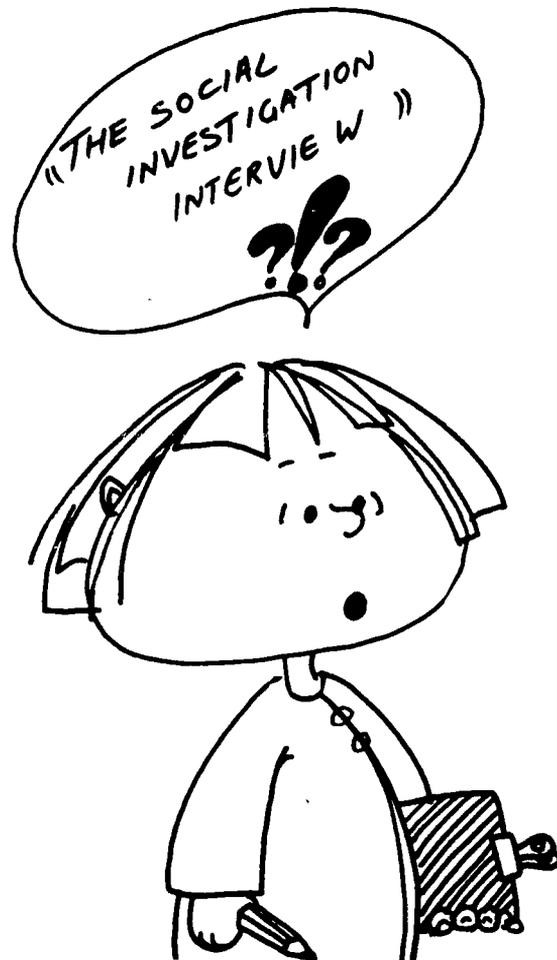
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A SKILL-BUILDING BOOKLET

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- 1. To introduce those who use it to the complex skills of interviewing for the purposes of social investigation.*
- 2. To increase an awareness of the techniques of manipulative interviewing: asking questions that are conducive to certain answers, in order to avoid such methods in a genuine attempt at social investigation.*
- 3. To help youngsters acquire an interviewing style that will help them find out about the local community without offending people and thereby impeding the acquisition of further knowledge and the good reciprocal relations desired between Centre and Community.*

PLEASE NOTE

Where possible, youngsters' interviews should take place with tolerant associated groups such as relatives, neighbours, friends; rather than with the general public. Saturation of the area will produce antagonism amongst local people. For the sake of the Centre's relationship with the public and to protect serious social investigation in the future; this must be avoided. There should be a central reporting of any public interviewing to prevent overloading a particular part.

A SKILL BUILDING BOOKLET

This booklet is intended to help you interview people well, in order to find out the information you need to know for your social investigation.

CONTENTS

1. What is a social investigation interview?
2. Why make interviews?
3. Who should you interview?
4. Planning the questions.
5. Your self-presentation: what you look like.
6. Your self-presentation: what you sound like.
7. Where to go to make a street interview.
8. Four points to remember during the interview.

An interview is a conversation between two people. One person (the interviewer) is trying to find out what the other person (the interviewee) thinks about something.

A social investigation requires interviews from many people. If we wanted to find out what local people thought about the new houses in Waterloo Road, it would be no good just asking one person. We know that people have different ideas. We might find though, that out of 100 interviews, 75 people liked the houses and 25 people did not like them.

Only when you have the information collected together from a number of interviews can you begin to make comments about peoples' ideas in general. These are called generalisations.

A social investigation interview is not like interviewing someone on T.V. it is usually a fairly private conversation.

A social investigation interview is not like interviewing someone for a job. The interviewee (person being interviewed) will not win anything by giving one answer rather than another. You hope that the interviewee will say what he/she really thinks, not try to please you by his/her answers.

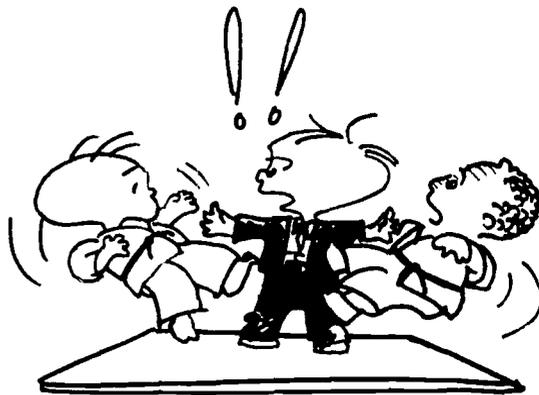


There are different ways of finding out about the way people behave. One method is to observe what they do. You watch carefully at certain times and places and write down a record of what you see. This only tells you what they look as though they are doing to you. If you asked them what they were doing, you might get a surprise.

For example, a social observer sees what he/she thinks are two people in white pyjamas fighting. She/he asks them what they are doing. They say they are practising judo in judo suits and they are the best of friends.

If you only look at people, you have no way of finding out what they like and want. A social observer might see a group of youngsters groaning in agony while they climbed a steep hill in the Peak District. If he/she asked them afterwards why they climbed the hill, they might say they liked doing it, even though it was hard work.

To find out what people think and what they like, you must ask them.

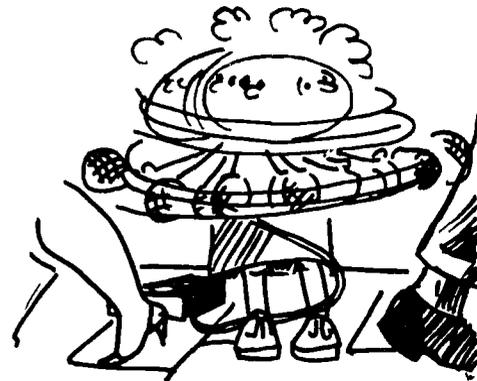


If you have not had much practice yet, you should always try your questions on a few friends first. Ask them to pretend they are the sort of people you want to interview. Ask them afterwards if there is anything you can do to improve your interviewing technique. Then get them to interview you and try to understand what it feels like to be interviewed. This is called role play. It allows you to make your first interviewing mistakes with a friend. It should make you a more understanding interviewer, more able to find out what you need to know from the people you interview.

If you can find out what you need to know from friends, relatives and neighbours; ask these first. At least it will help you to work out what are the best questions to ask. It is quite likely you will get longer answers from people like this, as they may want to help you with your work.

Who you interview depends on what you want to know. If you want to know what it is like to be a porter in the library at the Abraham Moss Centre, you might interview all the porters. If you want to know what it is like to live in Woodlands Road, there might be too many people to ask all of them. You would have to make a sample of them. For example, instead of going to every house, you could go to every fourth house.

As you need a lot of interviews before you can make any generalisations (comments about your findings), you need to share out the interviewing in your group and co-operate in the work.



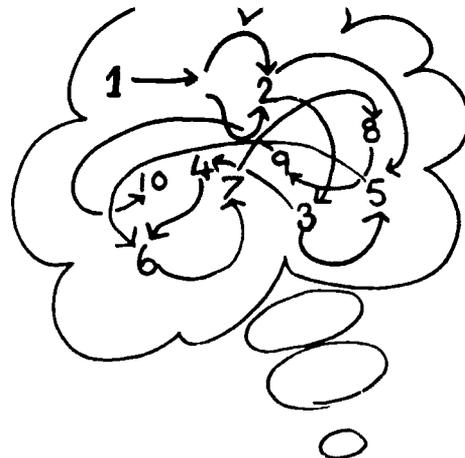
PLANNING THE QUESTIONS

You may only want to know three simple things. For this, you may only need to work out three simple questions. This is a structured interview. For example, you may want to find out where youngsters' in the area go swimming. You might ask:

- 1) Do you ever go swimming? If the answer is no; stop here.
If the answer is yes:-
- 2) Where do you normally go swimming?
- 3) What are the other places where you have swum this year?

Always avoid any questions that might be embarrassing to the interviewee. Never ask adults about their age. Never ask people about how much money they earn.

If you have any questions that are more difficult to ask, leave them to the end of the interview, by which time you and the interviewee will know each other better.



unstructured interview. You may have a topic you want to know the interviewee's ideas about. For example, you want to find out what some young people think about the Youth Club. To ask particular questions about the Youth Club will make the interviewee think along certain lines: it may alter what he/she would say. A good way to begin would be:

"Do you go to the Youth Club here?"

This may be enough to start some people talking about it for 10 minutes. Other people may reply just, "Yes". Your next question would depend on what the interviewee had said. It might be,

"Do you go there often?"

It might be a repeat of the last words the interviewee said,

Interviewee: "I go there to meet my mates."

Interviewer: "You meet your mates there..."

For some reason, this often starts people talking at great length. No doubt people like talking to a careful listener.



You probably know the people living around the Centre well enough to guess the way they like young people to look. Many adults prefer to see teenagers with combed hair, clean shoes and tidy clothes. It does not take long to make yourself look the way your interviewees will approve of. (Read Ervin Goffman's book listed at the back of this booklet for some ideas about the effect self presentation can have on other people). If people do not like the look of you, they will rush past saying they have no time to answer your questions.

If you approach possible interviewees gently, they are more likely to see you as a friendly stranger. Do not charge in like a prize bull. This will frighten people away.

If you carry a clipper board and possibly a tape-recorder, people will see you as an interviewer and not be astonished when you want to ask them questions.



You need to plan an opening phrase to explain to the interviewee why you want to talk to him/her. This could follow a sequence:

i) GREETING

"Good afternoon!"

ii) EXPLANATIONS

"I am a pupil at the Abraham Moss Centre taking part in a survey to find out what people would like to do at the Centre."

iii) REQUEST

"Could you spare a few minutes to give me your views?"

If the person says "No!" you say "Thank you" step back, and wait for another person to come along.

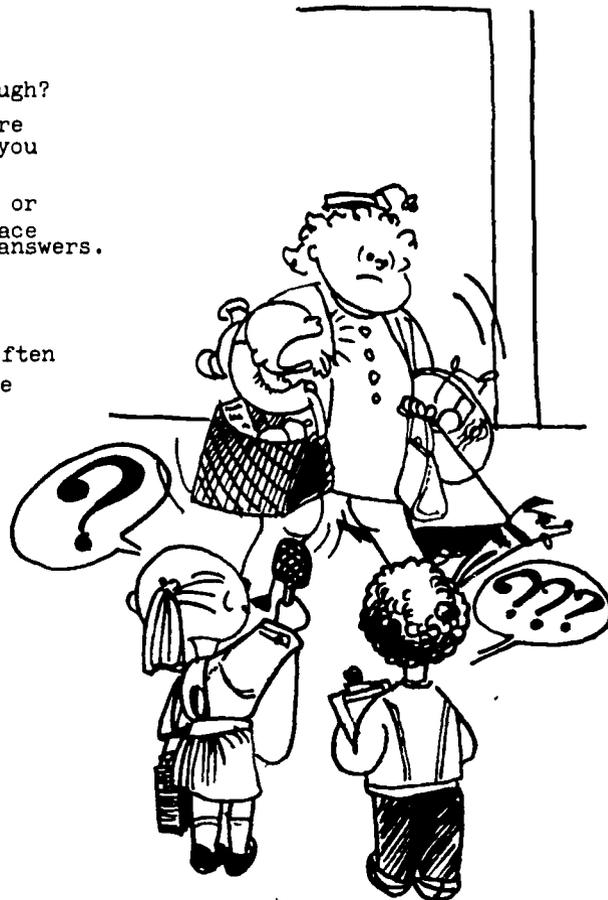
If you have a tape recorder, you should ask the interviewee's permission to use it. If they refuse, jot down notes on your clipper board to keep a record of the main points. When you get back to the Centre, copy up the notes carefully.



Find a good position in which to carry out your interview.
Some points to think of:

- Weather:** If wet, is there a shelter?
Noise: If tape-recording, is it quiet enough?
Obstruction: If the pavement is crowded, is there a less busy place to stand, where you won't hold up other people.
Comfort: If you are interviewing old people or people carrying babies, find a place near a seat and you'll get longer answers.

You must consult your tutor before deciding where to interview. To prevent any one place from being used too often a record will be kept in the Centre showing when any place has been used for interviews.



(i) Encourage the interviewee to do the talking.

If you look very interested in what the other person is saying; he/she is more likely to carry on saying it.

(ii) Guide the speaker where necessary.

If the person seems to be saying a lot about something that has nothing to do with the interview, try to bring him/her back politely to your main subject.

e.g. Interviewer: "Could you tell me some more about the shops you mentioned earlier?"

(iii) Be on the watch for the "body language" of the interviewee.

(e.g. blushing, sweating, trembling etc.)

As soon as you see evidence of distress, anger, embarrassment etc. try tactfully to change the subject.

e.g. Interviewer: "I am very interested in your ideas about schools."

(iv) End the interview when you have gained the information you need for the investigation.

You can take your leave with the following phrases.

e.g. Interviewer: "I musn't take any more of your time."

OR : "I musn't keep you standing in the cold any longer."

Always part with an expression of thanks.

e.g. Interviewer: "Thank you very much for your help."

You always thank people whether you have found them helpful or not. If you are polite, they may be more helpful to the next interviewer who comes along.



REFERENCES FOR FURTHER STUDY

One of the people involved in the social investigation should have studied at least some of the books and articles below, particularly item 3.

Books are available from the Abraham Moss Library and Manchester Central Reference Library, St. Peter's Square. Journal articles are available in the Social Science reading room of the Manchester Central Reference Library.

Items are listed in order of difficulty beginning with those easiest to read.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Information</u>
1. Goffman E. (1959)	<i>The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.</i> New York: Doubleday Anchor.	Written in an easy to understand & amusing style, this book suggests we take a great deal of notice of each others' appearance & gestures in deciding what they mean when they talk to us.
2. Rogers CR. (1951)	"Client Centred Therapy" Houghton Mifflin	This book is of general interest. It shows how it is possible to get longer answers by asking shorter questions: even by merely saying, "Yes?" in the appropriate voice.
3. Denzin N.K. (1970)	<i>Sociological Methods: A Sourcebook. Part 5: The Sociological Interview: Problems & Strategies.</i> a) pp 185-189 Introduction. b) pp 190-198 Berney M. & Hughes E.C. (1956) (from <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> pp137 - 142), c) pp 199-203 Becker H. (1956)	These articles raise the main issues social investigators should be aware of. They are written in a fairly straight forward style. Item 3b is also available as unit ST/1445

NameTitle

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| 4. Benney M., Riesman D and Star S.A. (1956) | <i>"Age of Sex in the Inter-view" in the American Journal of Sociology pp 143-144.</i> | This item is also available as unit ST/1446 |
| 5. Cicourel A.V. (1964) | <i>"Method & Measurement in Sociology". New York: Free Press.</i> | Read chapter 3 pp 73 - 104 on "Interviewing". |
| 6. Lazarsfeld P.F. (1954) | <i>"The Art of Asking Why: Three Principles underlying the formulation of Questionnaires". in Katz D. et al. (Eds) "Public Opinion & Propaganda". New York: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston.</i> | This shows how much thinking needs to go into the construction of questionnaires & suggests the major problem areas social investigators should be aware of. |

7. THE PERSON COORDINATING THE SOCIAL INVESTIGATION SHOULD HAVE READ:-

The British Sociological Association: Statement of Ethical Principles and their application to sociological practice. (Sept 1973).

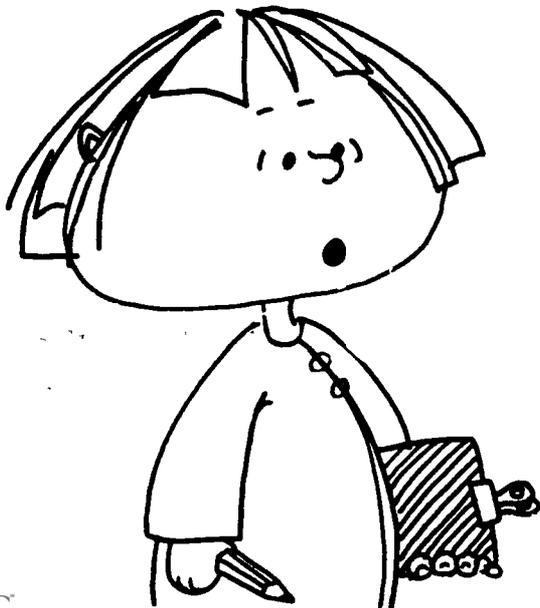
Section 4 entitled "Teaching" is especially pertinent.

Written by Janet Harris
Illustrations by Beverly Curl

The author would like to express her thanks to Brian T. Woolley, a friend of the Abraham Moss Centre, for his valuable suggestions.

Janet Harris
December, 1974.

"THE SOCIAL
INVESTIGATION
INTERVIEW"
?!



When you have read the booklet, 'The Social Investigation Interview', ST/1404, carefully, answer the following questions.

Read the following sentences and all the endings given. Choose the ending you think fits best and write out the sentence in your book.

1. The purpose of this booklet is to
 - a) make you laugh.
 - b) help you write a questionnaire.
 - c) help you interview people well.
 - d) tell you what an interview is.
 - e) occupy your time.

2. A simple definition (phrase that explains the meaning) of an interview is
 - a) a telephone conversation.
 - b) a television documentary.
 - c) a tape-recorded conversation.
 - d) a conversation between two people.
 - e) the way two people look at each other.

3. The person undertaking the investigation by making the interview is called the _____.

4. The person providing the information by answering the questions is called the _____.

5. In order to make a proper survey, an investigator should carry out
 - a) one interview
 - b) a few interviews
 - c) many interviews

6. A generalisation is
- a) a general statement used to sum up many items of information.
 - b) a polite lie.
 - c) a way of presenting facts.
 - d) a term describing the mobilisation of military leaders.
 - e) a statement that is about everything in general.
7. A social investigation interview is different from a T.V. interview because
- a) it is not so interesting.
 - b) it takes place out of doors.
 - c) it takes place between friends.
 - d) the interviewee can refuse to answer the questions.
 - e) it takes place in a more private way.
8. A social investigation interview is different from an interview for a job because
- a) the interviewee does not have to sit the other side of a desk from the interviewer.
 - b) the interviewer does not gain anything except the thanks of the interviewer.
 - c) the interviewee is not nervous.
 - d) the interviewee can refuse to answer some questions.
 - e) the interviewee often enjoys it.
9. There are two main ways to find out about the way people behave. These are to o u u u them and to u u u them questions about what they are doing.
10. The problem about only looking at the way people behave is that you do not know
- a) what they intend to do next.
 - b) why they are behaving this way.
 - c) what they hope to gain by this behaviour.
 - d) what they intend to do next, why they are behaving this way and what they hope to gain by this behaviour.
11. Before you ask the public your questions you should always
- a) see they are spelled correctly.
 - b) make sure the tape recorder is working.
 - c) try them out on a few friends and get their criticisms.
 - d) practise them in front of a mirror.
 - e) make sure you know what time it is.

Centre and we do not want to annoy the public. If you can get the information you need this way, it is best for you to interview

- a) relatives and friends.
- b) people you do not know.
- c) people who do not want to be interviewed.
- d) people sitting on park benches.
- e) people who look friendly.

13. When you pick a sample you

- a) are given something free in a shop to try it out.
- b) undo some sewing.
- c) choose whose face you like the look of and interview them.
- d) select a number of people in a particular group.
- e) close your eyes and make a mark on a list of names.

14. For a group of students to undertake a survey successfully together, they need to

- a) see which individual can do best.
- b) cooperate in the work.

d) have a leader.

e) all think the same way about everything.

15. A structured interview is one where the interviewer has

- a) a time to begin and a time to end.
- b) a particular way to greet the interviewee.
- c) an idea of what he/she wants to know.
- d) a list of questions to ask.
- e) co-operated with a group of others in a social survey.

16. The sort of interview where the interviewer knows exactly what questions he/she intends to ask is called a _ _ _ _ _

17. The sort of interview where the interviewer gets the other person to talk about the subject by saying just enough to show interest is called an _ _ _ _ _ interview.

18. Adult people who do not know you, are more likely to stop what they are doing for you to interview them if you:

- a) rush up to them.
- b) offer them sweets.

- d) make yourself look the way they like seeing young people look.
- e) stand in their way.

19. Write out your first sentences for an interview about Cheetham Hill Road shops. These should include a greeting, an explanation of what you are doing and a request for an interview.

20. The sort of place you choose to make your interview needs to be (pick 4 of the following words or phrases)

sheltered from the rain when wet;
near a bus-stop;
quiet when tape-recording;
near your own home;
near a seat when interviewing old people;
out of the mainstream of people passing by.

21. If the interviewee looks uncomfortable, goes red and looks annoyed, you should:

- a) offer a paper hankie.
- b) tell them not to be silly.
- c) get angry.

a) walk away.

e) change the subject.

22. What could you say to an old person on a January day to show that you had finished interviewing him/her? (Apart from saying, "The interview is over.")

23. What is the last sentence you should remember to say to the person you have interviewed?

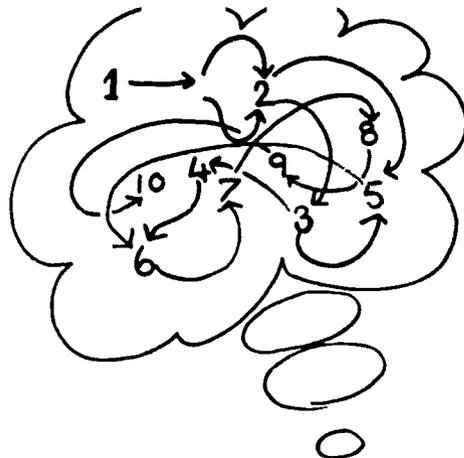
24. Which subjects do you think you would find it hardest to ask people about? The answer is not in the booklet. You have to imagine yourself interviewing to answer this.

PRACTICE INTERVIEWS

25. Choose a partner to work with. Write down a list of questions to try and find out what the other person likes and dislikes most about the Abraham Moss Centre. Take it in turns to be the interviewer and ask the questions. Afterwards the other person should tell them what was good and bad about the way they put the questions.

26. You may keep the same partner or choose another. Write down a list of questions to find out whether people think the police should be armed. After you have both had turns at being the interviewer, tell each other the good and bad criticisms you think will help them be better interviewers.

27. Choose your own topic. Write a list of questions on it. Ask them to 5 people in the group. Afterwards ask them if they can make any criticisms of your methods.



Mark your answers to questions 1 - 24, using the gold Students' Answer Sheet, (ST/1404/19).

If you find your answers differ from those on the sheet, re-read the relevant page of the booklet, "The Social Investigation Interview".