The research objective was to examine the development and diffusion of a field of knowledge related to education as reflected in textbooks published in the United States, England, and Canada. Using a scheme derived from invention-diffusion theory, over 150 textbooks in educational sociology (including sociology of education and social foundations of education) were analyzed. Findings reveal increasing output and participation, shifts in emphases, changing perspectives, broadening scope, and some international diffusion. The study contributes to a definition of the field, discloses disciplinary needs, and demonstrates a close relationship between educational sociology and societal preoccupations. (A five page bibliography of references and a twelve page bibliography of textbooks are appended.) (Author/SBE)
THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY AS REFLECTED IN
ITS ENGLISH-LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS PUBLISHED FROM 1912 TO 1970

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The development of educational sociology as reflected in its English-language textbooks published from 1912 to 1970

B. Y. Card, J. G. T. Kelsey and Julia Wong
University of Alberta

It is the aim of this study to examine the development of educational sociology over sixty years as reflected in the textbooks of the field. Such an examination will yield not only a picture of the way educational sociology has developed, but some insight into, and feeling for, what constitutes educational sociology at the present time. It may also indicate some of the field's present needs and future paths of development.

That some clearer knowledge of the field is desirable may be inferred from recent attempts to clarify or define educational sociology with very little reference to its historical development (Brim, 1958; Gross, 1959; Clark, 1964; Bidwell, 1969). Moreover, confusion about the nature of educational sociology, or frustrations with what it appears to be in comparison with notions of what it ought to be, are evident in the welter of statements made about it, some of which are insightful, some contradictory, some derogatory. Educational sociology has been characterized as lacking in subject matter unity (Lee, 1927), as being in danger of becoming a technology rather than a science (Angell, 1928),

*The assistance of N. Kach and Cecil Race in analysing text-book data used in this study is gratefully acknowledged.
and as consisting of a succession of diverse 'schools' (Schaper, 1932; Roucek, 1940). It has been considered to be unfit for respectable sociologists (Brookover, 1949; Bressler, 1963:76). Some 'admirable American literature' on educational sociology was held to be 'inappropriate and irrelevant' for British teachers because of its background (Lester Smith, 1953:x). At various stages of its development the field was characterized as "a cracker barrel social philosophy", sociological "fiction" or a "moralistic doctrine" (Brauner, 1964:172, 173, 199-233.) Hansen (1967:3-35), regarded educational sociology as a normative field "uncomfortably" related to empirical sociology.

It is noteworthy that the characterizations of the field cited above are nearly all based on data obtained to a large extent from textbooks, and yet a systematic study of textbooks need not lead to conflicting statements. It could conceivably contribute needed knowledge of the historical development of the field and provide a basis for interpreting the assortment of statements about educational sociology represented in the samples given.

While studies of textbooks are not lacking in education, many are historical and general and do not deal with educational sociology specifically (e.g. Carpenter, 1963; Elson, 1964; Nietz, 1966). In the field of sociology, Odum's (1951) intimate portrait of American Sociology gives
considerable attention to textbooks and their writers as a major aspect of the discipline, without specifically dealing with educational sociology textbooks. Others (e.g. Meroney, 1933; Oromaner, 1968), concentrate on uses of textbooks in presenting sociology.

Those who have surveyed or analysed educational sociology have included a study of textbooks as part of their concern with its status or its development as a field (Lee, 1927; Schaper, 1932; Roucek, 1940; Herrington, 1947; Lawrence, 1951; Card, 1959; Hoyme, 1961). The present study is exclusively concerned with textbooks in the field and makes an attempt to bring earlier work up to date. In doing so some of the ways of conceptualizing educational sociology and its textbooks are utilized that were developed in the studies of Schaper (1932), Roucek (1940) and Card (1959).

EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY: THE DIFFUSION OF A SOCIAL INVENTION

The attempt to conceptualize educational sociology confronts one immediately with the problem of definition. "Educational sociology", "sociology of education" and "social foundations of education" are three terms which have acquired a polemical distinction each from the others, at least in the United States. Distinctions between them have been accompanied by the confusion which is the legacy of early attempts to define
the field, part of the process of social invention which the senior author has described in detail elsewhere (Card, 1959: 64-72; 143-171). Two examples illustrate the confusion over educational sociology in the United States. In 1956 Dryden Press published what became a widely used textbook, entitled: Social Foundations of Education (Stanley, Smith et al. 1956). The same year Dryden Press brought out a workbook bearing the title Field Projects and Problems in Educational Sociology and Social Foundations of Education (Stendler, 1956). More recently two sociologists undertook a survey of the members of the Sociology of Education Section of the American Sociological Association. The questionnaire bore the title: "Sociology of Education Survey." The published report, possibly because of the varied backgrounds found of persons belonging to the Section, was called Educational Sociologists (Summers and Hough, 1970).

It is the contention of the present authors that the distinctions are unhelpful and unnecessary to the extent that they mask the processes of social invention going on in relationships between sociology and education. In this paper "educational sociology" is the generic term. It is deliberately intended that it shall include both "sociology of education" and "social foundations of education."
"Educational sociology", with this comprehensive meaning, is conceived of here as behavior (institutionalized and pre-institutionalized) resulting in a complex social invention. This social invention can be investigated empirically with reference to four basic elements: the social contexts or situations in which it arises, the personnel inventing it, the ideologies they develop, and the patterns of social interaction involved. These elements, derived from LaPiere's (1938) conceptualization of collective behavior are manifested in large part by textbooks of the field, which may be regarded as social inventions in their own right as well as 'cultural traits' or 'artifacts', the convenient terms of early invention and diffusion writing.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

In this study only passing mention is given to the social contexts from which textbooks in educational sociology are written. More attention is focussed on an examination of the remaining three elements: the personnel who wrote and published them, and for whom they were produced, the textbooks as ideologies (with special reference to their orientations toward educational sociology) and the textbooks as indicators of patterns of interaction in sociology. As this framework is applied a certain amount of operational overlap is to be expected.
Within the above framework 138 English language textbooks in sociology were analysed. In the absence of any clearly established list of textbooks, those books were selected which were specifically designed as texts at either graduate or undergraduate level and which were broader in scope than a monograph or report of a research project. Books which were devoted primarily to philosophy, history or professional aspects of education were not included. Seventeen books from an original list of 155 were thus excluded from the analysis, even though they may in fact be used as required books in some educational sociology courses. The final selection includes those works identified as textbooks by Lee (1927), Schaper (1932), Roucek (1940), Herrington (1947), Lawrence (1951) and by the present authors after 1950. While an effort has been made to identify and examine all textbooks published in English, there is no assurance that the list examined is complete or that all other judges would agree on what is a textbook in this field. It is claimed that a highly representative sample of books has been examined and that in most instances other judges would agree with the selection made. Lists of textbooks analysed and of books rejected are given in Appendix A and Appendix B.

Although an analysis of personnel involved in textbook production and usage is a relatively straightforward count of authors, publishers and indications of anticipated
readership supplemented by biographical data obtained for the most part from the books or standard biographical indexes, the ideological and interactional dimensions of analysis are less easily determined. In order to clarify criteria on which analysis of these aspects is based, it is necessary to give a brief account of the development of a classification of 'schools' of educational sociology.

Earlier attempts to define educational sociology and trace its development sought to isolate different approaches to the field. Schaper (1931) identified three "schools", the Philosophical, the Applied and the Functional. A fourth approach was discerned by Roucek (1940) and labelled Scientific Descriptive or Sociology of Education. (The former term is preferred here to avoid confusion in nomenclature.) To these four schools must be added a fifth, The Social Foundations of Education, promulgated as a new discipline by its early inventors (Counts, 1934; Rugg, 1950), but included as an approach or "school" of educational sociology by later students of the field (Lawrence, 1951; Card, 1959).

Adherents of the philosophical school regard educational sociology as a social philosophy geared to the improvement of society and promotion of progress. Members of the Applied school see the discipline as an applied science with which the solution of practical problems of education can be attempted. Proponents of the functional school, with which New York University was
early identified, are concerned with education in its social context and stress the acquisition of scientifically-based knowledge about all relationships between education and social forms and processes which can then be used to control a process of education, both formal and informal, aimed at socializing the maturing student. The Scientific-Descriptive approach views sociological analysis of education as something quite separate from the educational applications of that analysis, and as a branch of theoretical sociology in which sociological hypotheses may be tested. The Social Foundations of Education is the result of the search for a new college discipline which would draw from all the social sciences and attempt to see education in relation to all of culture to the end that educational policies and goals could be better formulated.

If these "schools" or orientations are accepted as five more or less distinct ideologies, it is possible to analyse educational sociology textbooks in terms of the presence or absence of style, sources and content which reflect one or more of these orientations. The actual analysis was undertaken by the authors and their assistants who acted as a panel in assigning 'school' orientations to each book. A similar procedure was used in assessing the relative amount and strength of the sociological as contrasted with educational content of the different textbooks. Five categories, ranging
from strongly sociological to strongly educational, were used in this part of the analysis designed to reveal trends in content. A final ideological analysis examines the topical content of the books.

Analysis of textbooks as patterns of interaction involves still different ways of viewing the data over time. Brief consideration is given to trends in ecological patterns. Attention is also directed to diffusion, cooperation, competition and accommodation as some of the general social processes observable in the textbooks, and to public and classroom types of interaction as two specific social processes. The books are further analyzed as part of social movement interaction.

In the analysis of trends attempted, it has not been possible as yet to categorize the contents of all textbooks in terms of a single typology of contents. No has it been possible to consider all explicit and implicit interaction patterns in depth. The findings reported in this paper do not exhaust the research possibilities of the textbooks analysed, but rather point the way to further and more intensive studies.

FINDINGS

The Changing Social Context

The most impressive change in the social context of
textbooks and their writers in educational sociology is that production is now no longer exclusively American but includes substantial outputs from Britain and modest beginnings in Canada. Since the 1950's, the United States has no longer been the sole country in the English-speaking world in which textbooks are being written. Of the 138 books, thirteen, including one second edition, have been published in Britain and two in Canada. That there have been important changes in the social contexts or environments of the three countries producing textbooks is reflected in the kinds of concerns dealt with in the books, a matter for consideration in the analysis of ideologies.

Two general findings related to the context in which textbooks were produced in the United States are disclosed in Figure 1, where the total output of educational sociology textbooks, including multiple editions of a given book, are plotted by five-year intervals beside the total annual U. S. output for selected years of books in sociology and economics, and the U. S. population growth. The production curve for educational sociology textbooks follows very closely the curve for books in sociology and economics. After an initial increase in production, there is a decline from the mid-thirties, followed by a greatly expanding rate of production beginning in 1946-1950 and continuing until the present time. Interestingly, production increase in educational
FIGURE 1

RATE OF PRODUCTION OF U. S. EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY TEXTBOOKS AND SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS BOOKS COMPARED WITH U. S. POPULATION GROWTH, 1911-1970

Educational Sociology Textbooks
Sociology & Economics Books (x100)
U. S. Population (x10,000,000)

Sources: Gendell and Zetterberg, 1967:75 (updated from Publishers Weekly, 1969:5)
Statistical Abstracts, 1969:5
sociology was slightly ahead of production increase in sociology and economics in the years immediately following World War II. In this comparison it is the shape of the curves that is important, not the actual numbers. The production of actual volumes in educational sociology was small, in the ones and tens, whereas in sociology and economics it was in the hundreds and thousands.

With respect to U. S. population growth, the rate of production of educational sociology textbooks kept pace with the population expansion from 1916 to 1930, dropped off markedly until 1946-50, and has been greater than the rate of population growth ever since. However, the critical population variable, not shown on Figure 1, is unquestionably the college-attending population. This has been already well illustrated elsewhere (Trow, 1961:153). Suffice it to say that there is a close parallel between the higher education enrollment rates after 1945 and the production rates for textbooks in educational sociology as well as books in sociology and economics.

Textbooks and their Personnel

The present analysis concerns mainly authors, though personnel as editors of a series, publishers, and prospective readers or users of textbooks could have been included since they are mentioned in textbooks analysed. In this analysis the term "authors" includes writers of a textbook manuscript.
and compilers or principal editors of a book, but not those who contribute only sections or specific chapters of a book. Table 1 and Figure 2 show the total numbers of books published per five-year period from 1911, including revised editions. They also show new publishers and new authors. A publishing firm is classified as a "new" publisher on the appearance of its first textbook in educational sociology irrespective of the number of its subsequent publications, and amalgamations of publishing firms have been counted as new firms. Similarly, an author is counted as a "new" author only once, on the occasion of his first publication.

It is seen that there is a close relationship between the total numbers of books produced and of new authors. From 1956, however, new authors begin to outnumber new books, suggesting a rise in collaborative authorships. New publishers have lagged behind new authors in every period except 1911-1915, although in the early 1960's there was a proportionately sharper increase in the rate at which publishers entered the field of educational sociology than there was in the rate of book production or new author recruitment. The evidence suggests that authors have been in a seller's market as far as publishers have been concerned in the decade now ending.

Although there are limited background and biographical data available for some authors, the analysis does enable some statements to be made about selected characteristics of the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Books</th>
<th>New Publishers</th>
<th>New Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911-1915</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-1920</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1925</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-1930</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1935</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-1940</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1945</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-1950</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-1955</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-1960</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-1965</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1970</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>136</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIGURE 2

FREQUENCY POLYGON: BOOKS, NEW PUBLISHERS AND NEW AUTHORS PER FIVE-YEAR PERIOD, 1911-1970

(Note New Books includes Revised Editions)
authors of educational sociology textbooks. Table 2 shows the number of new authors in each five-year period classified according to various characteristics.

Predominantly authors have been men, although the ratio of women to men has increased sharply in recent years—from being 1:39 in the period 1912-1950, it rose to 1:13 in 1951-1960 and now stands at 1:7. It is also clear from the figures in Table 2 that the overwhelming majority of authors hold or have held positions in universities or colleges. The small number who were not associated with university or college teaching at the time of their first publication are either practitioners in the field of education (usually at the superintendency level) or they are associated with government research agencies and projects. The qualifications of these authors usually include a doctorate, and most of the doctoral degrees are Ph. D's with "other" doctorates consisting of one D. Sc and eighteen Ed. D's.

An examination of the field of specialization of authors reveals that eighty can be identified as from the field of education (including four from educational psychology), twenty are educational sociologists and forty-two are sociologists. One author is an anthropologist and for four authors the relevant information was unavailable. Since the late 1940's and early 1950's mark the beginnings of a movement to create a "sociology of education" by sociologists,
### TABLE 2

**EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY TEXTBOOKS: SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF AUTHORS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>UNIVERSITY OR COLLEGE TEACHER</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>YES  NO  NOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Known Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>95</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Period</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>New Authors</th>
<th>Highest Degree</th>
<th>University or College Teacher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911-1915</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-1920</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1925</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-1930</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1935</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-1940</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1945</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-1950</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-1955</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-1960</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-1965</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1970</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE 2 CONTINUED

### EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY TEXTBOOKS: SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF AUTHORS

#### NUMBER OF NEW AUTHORS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field of Specialization</th>
<th>Geographical Location&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>United States&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed. Ed. Ed. Soc. Other</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psy. Soc. Not Known</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Regions in U. S. A. according to Odum and Moore (1938).
it is interesting to note the relative participation of authors from these different fields before and after 1950. Table 3 shows the proportion of authors from each field expressed as a percentage of all new authors in each of the two periods. The indications are that despite the "sociology of education" movement, authors from the field of education have been recruited in relatively unchanged proportions, while those from educational sociology and sociology may even have decreased proportionately in the last two decades.

### TABLE 3

**PERCENTAGE OF AUTHORS FROM DIFFERENT FIELDS, 1911-1950 AND 1951-1970**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Educational Sociology</th>
<th>Sociology</th>
<th>Other &amp; Not Known</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911-1950 (N=40)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-1970 (N=107)</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to analyze authors of educational sociology textbooks in terms of their geographical location, the institutions with which authors were identified at the time of their first publication were classified as being in one of the six geographical regions of the United States (Odum and Moore,
1938), in Britain, in Canada, or elsewhere. From the relevant section of Table 2 it can be seen that the North Eastern and Middle States regions of the U. S. have each produced roughly the same number of authors and, between them, account for sixty per cent of all authors in the field. Few authors have published while they were in other regions until the 1960's when the Far West, mainly California, produced fifteen new authors. The South Western, South Eastern and North Western regions have produced only thirteen authors, five of them within the last five years. The fourteen authors appearing over the imprint of a British publisher seem all to be British nationals, but of the five new authors publishing from Canada, only one is a Canadian.

Although the North Eastern and Middle States regions of the U. S. continue to be important centres of the production of educational sociology textbooks, their strong lead in the provision of new authors does seem to be decreasing. Prior to 1961 there was only one period (1926-1930) in which these two regions together accounted for less than sixty per cent of all new authors. Since 1961 they have produced only forty-eight per cent.

It is tempting to conclude this analysis of the authors of educational sociology textbooks with a description of the typical author in the field. He is a male American who holds a Ph. D. degree and who works in a university or
college. His academic orientation is with education rather than with sociology and although he may owe an intellectual debt to predecessors working in the North Eastern or Middle States regions of the United States, there is only a fifty fifty chance that he himself now works there. Like all descriptions of "typical" persons, however, this portrait is less revealing than it may at first sight appear to be. What the author writes, for whom he writes and to which people and influences he owes his inspiration are crucial questions for the student of educational sociology as a developing field. Some insight into them may be gained from an examination of the ideological and interactional dimensions of the analysis.

Textbooks and Ideologies

The possibilities for analysis of ideologies, by which we refer to all symbolic expressions (and their meanings) appearing in, or associated with, textbooks, are virtually limitless. In the present study three specific analyses of ideologies were undertaken in an effort to examine trends which had been considered important in earlier studies or critiques of educational sociology textbooks.

The first of these analyses examined trends in the "schools" of educational sociology. Acting as a panel, the writers considered all textbooks to assess the extent to which
the orientations of one or more "schools" were reflected in their contents. This procedure is a subjective one whose reliability is somewhat increased by the concensus or panel approach which calls for a relatively thorough understanding by panelists of the earlier studies reporting "schools" in the discipline. While replication by other scholars would be necessary to establish the reliability of the present analysis, the findings reported here may be tentatively accepted for the trends they indicate.

The "school" orientations found in textbooks are shown in Table 4. The first orientation, historically, was the philosophical, but this was no longer apparent in the 1960's. The applied orientation, the next to appear in the development of the field, showed its greatest frequency in the 1920's and 1930's, with some modest rejuvenation after 1950. Appearing for the first time after 1926, the functional orientation lagged behind the applied orientation slightly between 1926 and 1936, but was the most frequently occurring one from 1951 to 1965, after which the two historically newer orientations, scientific descriptive and social foundations of education became the two dominant orientations in the field in terms of the frequency with which they appeared. Only these latter two orientations increased in frequency in the last five-year period.
### TABLE 4

"SCHOOL" ORIENTATIONS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY TEXTBOOKS, 1911-1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF ORIENTATIONS</th>
<th>NO. OF BOOKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Philo- Applied Func- Sc/Desc. Social</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>philical</td>
<td>Classification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Multiple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>Classification</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-20</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-25</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-30</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-35</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
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<td>1936-40</td>
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<td>1941-45</td>
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<td>1946-50</td>
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<td>1951-55</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1956-60</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1961-65</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-70</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF ORIENTATIONS</th>
<th>NO. OF BOOKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Philo- Applied Func- Sc/Desc. Social</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>philical</td>
<td>Classification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Multiple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>Classification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-15</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-20</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-25</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The figures for the total occurrence of each orientation over the whole sixty-year period show the functional orientation, despite a decline after 1965, to have been the dominant orientation in educational sociology textbooks. It leads slightly over the social foundations orientation, the most frequently used in the past five years. Although the scientific descriptive and applied orientations appear over the entire period with about the same frequency, the recent increased use of the former and the declining use of the latter would indicate that in future the scientific descriptive may be one of the two or three leading orientations. The applied orientation, so much identified with the early years of the field, will not, according to the trend observed, figure large in the future, and the philosophical approach, which characterised much of the earliest educational sociology, now appears passé.

The last two columns of Table 4 show the number of books classified as having a single orientation compared with those in which multiple orientations were found. There is only one period (1936-1940) in which books with a single orientation have outnumbered those with two or more orientations. These columns of the table suggest that, from the very first decade, there has been some overlap of orientations in the books published. Of all books analysed, fifty-eight appeared to be "single orientation" textbooks and eighty "multiple
orientation". In the "single orientation" books the pre-
ponderant orientation before 1965 was functional, but from
1966 to the present, such books have been found to be primarily
either scientific descriptive or social foundations books. If
there is any tendency towards a polarity of orientation in the
educational sociology of the 1960's, it might conceivably be
between books representing the scientific descriptive "school"
on the one hand and the social foundations of education on the
other. The polarity is not, however, a dominant feature of the
textbooks. Their increasing blend of orientations suggests,
rather, considerable inter-disciplinary as well as "inter-school"
diffusion.

The second ideological analysis dealt with trends in
the relative amounts of sociology and of education in the text-
books in the manner initiated by Card (1959:253). In this
analysis sociology is regarded as a generalising science en-
compassing other social sciences, while education deals with
the operational, programmatic or administrative aspects of
institutionalised education. A crude five-division scale
was used to classify the textbooks published between 1966 and
1970 in the same way as had been done for books published
between 1911 and 1950 in the study cited above. The scale
divisions were: much more sociology than education, more
sociology than education, approximately equal sociology and
education, more education than sociology and much more education
than sociology. The judgement of the panelists is shown in
Figure 3 in which the number of books in each category is
shown as a percentage of all books in each period. From
1911 to 1950 educational content predominated over sociological
content, whereas from 1966 to the present the pattern is for
most books to contain more sociology than education. No book
in this latter period was classified as containing much more
education than sociology. The direct comparison of the two
periods indicates that the sociology content has increased
dramatically with the passage of time.

The third ideological analysis -- a topical analysis --
proved more difficult to carry out. In his earlier study Card
(1959:259-266) reported fifteen categories of topics in books
published between 1911 and 1950. These categories proved to be
inappropriate for a number of topics in the more recent text-
books. Neither did others’ efforts to classify the content of
educational sociology as a field appear to be more useful for
classifying textbook contents or topics (Brookover (1955:29-33) --
four major categories; Floud and Halsey (1958:201) -- five major
categories; Swift (1965: 1 and inside back cover) -- ten major
education categories and four major sociology categories).
Consequently it was decided to develop inductively a
classification scheme within which textbook topics could be
quantified to show trends in content for the period 1966-1970.
FIGURE 3


Legend:
- SSSE  Much more sociology than education
- SSE   More sociology than education
- SE    Approximately equal sociology and education
- EES   More education than sociology
- EEES  Much more education than sociology
Topics (found from chapter headings, sub-headings and paragraph topic sentences) were each listed separately for the forty-one books published from 1966 to 1970. They were then sorted into "best-fit" groups and the groups labelled and combined to form sub-topics and major areas of the textbooks. Calculations were made of the relative frequency with which a sub-topic appeared within a major topic area, and of the relative frequency of occurrence of major topic areas in the textbooks. The results are summarized in Table 5. Three major topic areas accounted for eighty-six per cent of all topics: (1) the school in its social context (43%), (2) the school analysed sociologically (27%), and (3) problem areas in education and their social background (16%). The remaining major topic areas were, by comparison, dealt with very briefly; (4) educational sociology as a field and sociological concepts and research procedures (4%), (5) sociological analysis of society (6.5%), (6) prediction and future trends (2.0%), and (7) philosophy and aims of education (1.5%).

In considering the sub-topics, the major finding is the emphasis given to problem groups, poverty sub-cultures and racial minorities and to urbanization and metropolitan schooling -- an emphasis which was not found to a similar extent in the textbooks of any preceding five-year period. While this analysis of topics does map out the content tendencies of the most recent textbooks, the rigorous analysis
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAJOR TOPIC AREA</th>
<th>% OF ALL CONTENTS</th>
<th>SUBTOPICS</th>
<th>% OF RELEVANT AREA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>THE SCHOOL IN ITS SOCIAL CONTEXT</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>a) Educational personnel &amp; societal influences on them</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) Culture</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c) Social structure of institutions and education</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d) Social change &amp; education</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e) Social environment</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f) Education &amp; economy/finance</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>g) School &amp; community relations</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h) Politics &amp; the school</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i) School/community interaction: effect/impact of one on other</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j) Demography &amp; education</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE SCHOOL ANALYSED SOCIOLGICALLY</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>a) Particular areas of education</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) Functions of education (e.g. socialization)</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c) Social interaction in the school</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d) Curriculum in relation to aspects or all of society</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e) The school as an organization</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f) The school as a social or cultural system</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>g) Administration</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h) The school as an institution</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROBLEM AREAS IN EDUCATION AND THEIR SOCIAL BACKGROUND</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>a) Problem groups, poverty subcultures, racial minorities</td>
<td>67.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) Urbanization, Metropolitan schooling</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY AS A FIELD;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>a) Sociological concepts and methods explained</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPTS &amp; RESEARCH PROCEDURES</td>
<td></td>
<td>b) Educational sociology: the field and its development</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 5
CONTINUED

TOPIC AREAS AND SUB-TOPICS IN CONTENTS OF EDUCATIONAL
SOCIOLOGY TEXTBOOKS, 1966-1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAJOR TOPIC AREA</th>
<th>% OF ALL CONTENTS N=279</th>
<th>SUBTOPICS</th>
<th>% OF RELEVANT AREA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOCIOLOGICAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>a) Stratification, class, mobility</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANALYSIS OF</td>
<td></td>
<td>b) The economy</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIETY</td>
<td></td>
<td>c) Non-formal education</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREDICTION &amp;</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>(No sub-topics)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUTURE TRENDS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHILOSOPHY &amp;</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>(No sub-topics)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIMS OF EDUCATION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of content trends awaits the development of a better "dictionary" of the terms of educational sociology and a better way of classifying the broad range of topics coming from both education and the social sciences.

Apart from the findings of the three ideological analyses discussed above, two other ideological tendencies, can be reported, based on less specific observation. The first is the emergence in recent years of textbooks dealing with specialized rather than general educational sociology. The most important single specialization is the sociology of
urban education. Other specializations include the sociology of guidance and counselling, of early childhood education, and of the classroom.

The second tendency is reflected in comments about books, the frequency of their citation and their reputations reported in book reviews and encyclopedic summaries of the field. It is the tendency for some books to emerge as "pace-setters" in both style and contents. Nine such books appear to be of this type -- an observation which, it is admitted, may be somewhat different, if made by other scholars whose perspectives may perhaps not be the same as those of the present authors. The first textbook identifiable as a "pace-setter" is Smith's (1917) *An Introduction to Educational Sociology*, in which the content is divided into two parts, "Sociological Foundations" and "Educational Applications", and which was published in one of the most distinguished series of textbooks in American educational history, the Riverside Textbooks in Education, edited by Ellwood Cubberley. The second is Waller's (1932) *Sociology of Teaching*, in which the sociological conceptualizations of his day were so skillfully blended with astute observations of schools that the book has been acclaimed as a classic, "doing for its latest readers what it apparently did for the first". (Brembeck, 1965:iii). The third "pace-setter" is Payne's (1932, 1934) two-volume *Readings in Educational Sociology*, the first major
textbook composed of collected articles, many of which were first published in the *Journal of Educational Sociology* which Payne founded in 1927. The two volumes represent well the "functional" orientation to education, wherein the emphasis is on the field of educational sociology and its sociological research methods, the social contexts of education and its expanding functions. Rugg's (1941) volume I, *Readings in the Foundations of Education*, in spite of its great length (1001 pages) and its being "weighted on the side of sociology", set a new pace in interdisciplinary scope with its emphasis on an organic approach to all of culture as a basis for educational statesmanship. This volume was parentally related to another pace-setter (of 648 pages), Stanley, Smith, Benne and Anderson's (1956) *Social Foundations of Education*, which more or less set a style for undergraduate and senior level textbooks with a social foundations orientation. The sixth book, originally little known in the United States, was Ottaway's (1953) *Education and Society*, the first of the highly condensed, succinctly written British textbooks drawing upon American and British sources to bring sociology of education to British teachers and educators, in the spirit of Durkheim and Mannheim. The seventh is Brookover's (1955) textbook, *A Sociology of Education*, which followed the format for a scientific sociology of education which he had mapped out in his earlier challenge to sociologists to cease neglecting
education (Brookover, 1949). The general organizational pattern which Brookover adopted has been followed by a number of other sociologists writing "sociology of education" textbooks. The eighth "pace-setter" is Halsey, Floud and Anderson's (1961), Economy, Society and Education, the first major textbook deliberately to bring together as collected articles some of the outstanding sociological research and writing on education in Europe and the United States. It is a book that, no doubt, owes a part of its quality of article selection to the extensive bibliographical work of the first two of its authors (Floud and Halsey, 1958). The ninth book follows the precedent set by Halsey, Floud and Anderson. Banks' (1968) Sociology of Education is a textbook which also draws upon the rapidly accumulating knowledge of the sociology of education based upon international research, and which presents it to show both what is known and what still needs to be found out, thus pointing the directions for further research. It is a sociologist's sociology of education.

This listing of pace-setting textbooks would be incomplete without the mention of a related kind of book, the one that strives to introduce newer sociological theories and perspectives to the education world. Two such books are Hodgkinson's (1967) Education, Interaction and Social Change and Nelson and Besag's (1970) Sociological Perspectives in Education. Books of this kind are relatively rare from wi
in the field. In spite of the fact that considerable variation in the content of educational sociology textbooks seems to be derived from sociology rather than from education (Card, 1959:258-9; and the indications of the present analysis), most textbooks in the field tend towards the more conservative, conventional sociology in their content. Few appear to reflect the dynamic changes which sociology, especially in the United States seems to be experiencing (Rose, 1969; Bendix, 1970).

The two books referred to above, however, are among the small number which appear to be fairly closely following some of the more dramatic upheavals in the educational world, particularly in urban education. To the extent that this is so, textbooks of this variety may be one means of bridging what appears to be the gap between the conservatism of scientific-descriptive books -- usually identifiable as "sociology of education" -- and the rather more flexible orientations of social foundations oriented writers.

Textbooks and Patterns of Interaction

If the possibilities for analyzing ideologies are limitless, variations in the discussion of patterns of interaction are scarcely less so. Only four main aspects of interaction are discussed here: ecological aspects, general social processes (diffusion, co-operation, competition and accommodation), specific social processes (patterns of inter-
action of the public and of classroom audiences), and social movement interaction.

From an ecological perspective (see Table 2), the social interaction involved in writing or assembling textbooks, which was relatively concentrated in the North Eastern and Middle States regions of the United States, has undergone considerable decentralization, involving book production in each of the other major U. S. regions and in three other countries, notably Great Britain. Publishing, however, still tends to be concentrated in the major metropolitan areas of New York, Boston, Chicago and, more recently, London and San Francisco -- a reflection probably more of the structure of the book publishing industry than of educational sociology.

The basic social process associated with this decentralization is cultural diffusion. It is interesting that, although sociology, the parent discipline, was diffused from East to West across the Atlantic, the diffusion of its offspring, educational sociology, has -- at least before 1961 -- been in the opposite direction. Diffusion of textbook writing from the productive regions of the United States to other countries, particularly to Britain, seems to have occurred not much later than diffusion to most other areas of the States. Since 1961, the eastward transatlantic flow has shown signs of becoming a more reciprocal exchange: Halsey, Floud and Anderson's (1961) textbook was published by both the Free Press
of Glencoe and the London Office of Collier-MacMillan, and Banks' (1968) *Sociology of Education* was published in London by B. T. Batsford and in New York by Schoken Books. The publication of works in educational sociology has been initiated also in Toronto by one older Canadian publisher (MacMillans of Canada) and one American firm newly operating out of a Canadian office (Prentice-Hall of Canada). Two sociology of education abstracting services, the American based *Sociology Abstracts* and, more especially, the internationally oriented *Sociology of Education Abstracts* published from Oxford, contribute to the diffusion of educational sociology and may make a difference, not only in interaction patterns in the writing of future textbooks, but also in the diffusion of the ideologies of educational sociology. Diffusion as a pattern of interaction related to textbooks is a phenomenon that will probably increase in importance. Hitherto, only modest beginnings have been made in this kind of research into diffusion trends (see Card, 1960). It is hoped that the present brief discussion may stimulate further work in the area.

Another general pattern of interaction is the evidence of increasing co-operation as a basic social process in the production of textbooks. This is apparent in the increasingly large number of books produced by joint authors, and in the increasing number which depend on the contributions
and writing of many authors from sociology, education or
other fields, in the form of contributed chapters, or published
c. unpublished articles. One suspects that an unapplauded
development accompanying patterns of co-operative interaction
is a vast amount of exchange behavior, of bargaining and
bartering, which must go into so much cooperation.

Two other general social process patterns noticeable
in educational sociology textbooks are competition and
accommodation. Competition with educational psychology is
most frequently mentioned in the earlier textbooks, for
example, Smith (1917; v, vii), Brown (1947: 3-18). A different
kind of competition is for the scarce talents of sociologists
on the part of education (Smith, 1917: viii; Brookover, 1955:
vii; Hansen, 1967: 32). Whether processes of accommodation
are likely to mediate this competition is a moot point. There
is some evidence, in the literature, of accommodation between
competing disciplines or professional divisions within a
discipline (Payne, 1932: 43-47; Mercer and Carr, 1957: 566;
Havighurst and Neugarten, 1957: v), but the more recent
evidence of the present analysis suggests that, in one
particular at least, there may have been a decline in
accommodation. If collaboration between authors from
different disciplines can be said to constitute one kind of
accommodation, then an examination of the relative numbers
of books produced jointly by authors from the same discipline
as compared with authors from different disciplines can be regarded as a measure of such accommodation. Table 6 shows the quantity of books with more than one author in each of these categories expressed as a percentage of all multiple-author books in the period pre-1955 and in each of the succeeding five-year periods. Collaboration between authors from the separate fields of education and sociology had increased by 1960, but has since become progressively less common. Nor does the educational sociologist appear to be an "accommodation link" between the two parent disciplines.

**TABLE 6**

**EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY TEXTBOOKS: DISCIPLINE AFFILIATIONS AMONG JOINT AUTHORS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERCENTAGE OF BOOKS PRODUCED BY</th>
<th>Joint authors all from Education or all from Sociology</th>
<th>Joint authors from Educational Sociology and either Education or Sociology</th>
<th>Joint authors from Education and Sociology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911-1955</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-1960</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-1965</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1970</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
since an analysis of the joint authorships which include these specialists reveals that seventy-five per cent of them, when they have collaborated, have done so with educators and not with sociologists. The previously noted trend towards collaborative authorships, if continued, should make a similar future analysis interesting. At the present time the figures lend support to Hansen's (1967) plea for more cooperation between education and sociology.

More specific patterns of interaction are related to the publics of the books themselves. The authors and series editors, as distant leaders in public-type interaction, have, from the publication of the first textbooks, had a rather wide readership in view (see Smith, 1917: vi). The most obvious and important readership was and still is that of teachers in training. However, there has been, since Smith's early textbook, an appeal to those interested in other branches of education and sociology. The anticipated readership of books written between 1966 and 1970, analysed and reported in Figure 4, shows that this early tendency towards interaction with a wider public is still an important aspect of the entire field of educational sociology.

Some trends in classroom patterns of interaction can be inferred from the textbooks. In earlier books (Smith, 1917; Peters, 1924; Waller, 1932; Cook, 1938 and subsequent revisions) professors' lectures were apparently expected to be supplemented by questions, discussion and
FIGURE 4

PROPORTION OF BOOKS IN WHICH EACH OF
SEVERAL DIFFERENT READERSHIPS IS SPECIFIED
1966 - 1970

Anticipated Readership:

- Education Students
- Sociology Students
- Professors
- Sociologists
- Administrators
- Teachers
- Counsellors
- Lay
- Wider Unspecified
field projects, for which suggestions were freely offered by the textbook writer. Although Havighurst and Neugarten continue this pattern into the 1960's (1958; 1963; 1967), the vast majority of books, particularly those associated with a scientific-descriptive or a social foundations orientation, provide reading material and extensive bibliographies without the additional provision of questions for discussion, exercises or projects. One cannot help but raise the question: Is the process of discovery and group learning through projects tending to disappear with the growing productivity of social science and the knowledge explosion manifest in textbook publication in the field of educational sociology? If textbooks are an indication of classroom interaction, then listening and reading, possibly supplemented by some discussion, would seem to have become the major classroom activities since 1960.

The final interaction pattern selected for mention here is interaction associated with social movements of various kinds. Early textbooks frequently dealt with current movements in education such as vocational education, guidance and adult education. This pattern has been continued, with the majority of books taking a detached "intellectual" stance towards movements within education. However, while earlier books were concerned with American democracy as a kind of crusade or general social movement for which authors such as Smith, Rugg,
and others, including Ottaway in Britain, were agitators and prophets, the more recent tendency is for authors to take the agitator or prophet role with respect to social problems associated with poverty, ethnic relations, urban disorganization, or even educational reform. This pattern is more prevalent in books written from the functional, social foundations, or applied orientations, but it is also found in some books written from a scientific-descriptive point of view (for example, Brookover, 1964: 85-91; Corwin, 1965: 418-440; Halsey, Floud, and Anderson, 1961: 5). A few books explicitly encourage their readers to be "interveners" in social and educational reforms. (Anspach and Congdon, 1935: 179; Brookover and Erickson, 1969: 138-141; Wisniewski, 1968: 216-218). Finally, the movement to revive or stimulate sociological interest in education and to make the sociological study of education respectable for sociologists has been a feature of a number of scientifically-oriented books in the last fifteen years. (Brookover, 1955; Brookover and Gottlieb, 1964; Mercer and Carr, 1957; Halsey, Floud and Anderson, 1961; Swift, 1969).

In this brief report the relationships between educational sociology textbooks and social movement patterns of interaction have barely been introduced. Enough has been said, however, to indicate that textbooks are important windows through which to see social movement behavior in
society and in education. To look through the window is not always merely to observe, it is also often to be explicitly or implicitly invited to join the ranks of the movements.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This analysis of the textbooks of educational sociology, in its examination of the social context in which the books were produced, and of the personnel, ideologies and patterns of interaction associated with the books, has attempted to present a composite picture of a body of writing which reflects a social invention. It has been shown that the rate of educational sociology textbook production in the United States matches and sometimes exceeds the growth rates of sociology and economics book production, of population and of college population. The production of textbooks in recent years outside the borders of the United States has also been noted. Authors, the majority of whom are still men, have been seen to be from increasingly widely dispersed geographical regions, although they tend to remain, on the whole, concentrated in the broad field of education. This concentration is, perhaps, compensated for by the ideological content of the books which increasingly reflects a sociological research orientation and which shows a considerable
blend of the five distinct "schools" of educational sociology. The three major topic areas treated by recent books concern the school's social context, the sociological analysis of the school and educational problems in relation to their social backgrounds. Detailed attention to problem areas is also evidenced in the increasing number of textbooks dealing with specialized areas of educational sociology. Consideration of the "pace-setting" textbooks in the field leads also to the identification of a handful of recent books which seem to follow new trends in sociological thinking. The patterns of interaction of diffusion, cooperation, competition and accommodation revealed in the textbooks are indications of a field which is far from static. This indication is confirmed by the analysis of public patterns of interaction which shows widening audiences and changing instructional techniques. An analysis of the social movements reflected in the textbooks points to educational sociology as characterized by a blend of differing but interrelated social movements -- movements to which the reader is not only exposed, but in which he is often invited to participate. The social invention reflected in the textbooks of educational sociology is, clearly, an incomplete invention. To what extent it is incomplete and in what directions further development lies, are considerations which raise important questions for future writers of textbooks as well as for students of the field.
Crucial to any such questions raised is the more basic one of what educational sociology is. To attempt to answer the question in terms of what constitutes the matter of the field in 1970 is misleading to the extent that it ignores the developmental aspects which have been stressed in this paper. The importance of these aspects for an understanding of the field lies in the insights which they give into the close connections between societal preoccupations at any given period and the content of educational sociology. The major problems facing American society a quarter of a century ago, for example, are no longer the same as those with which the present day American is concerned, and whereas the dominant problems treated in the educational sociology textbooks of the late forties and early fifties were those of race relations, immigration and war and peace, those appearing in the textbooks of the last five years are urbanization, poverty sub-groups and race relations. Moreover, as one regards the trends over time of almost any aspect of the textbooks in educational sociology, one is faced with a picture of two periods of increasing growth rates: pre-1935 and post-1946. The inference is that the establishment of educational sociology as a social invention was interrupted in the depression and war years and that the recent increase in production may be as much the resumption of an inherent but interrupted growth, as the emergence of a new vitality.
If this assessment is correct, perhaps the still extant differences in orientations and purposes of the educational sociology textbooks of the present time become more understandable and predictable. They can be viewed not only as expressions of the scientific and professional knowledge of sociology and education, but also as expressions of social movement literature, and as reflections of educational sociology as a continuing social invention for relating the social science of sociology with the institutional field of education.

Considered in this light, educational sociology must, itself, bear a relationship to the social structures of both education and sociology. In America the structures and problems of education and the needs of sociologists and educators in their respective roles and statuses are intricately connected with the production of, and orientations in, educational sociology textbooks. Presumably, these structures, problems and needs will be different in other countries with their different educational systems and with their education and their sociology in different stages of professional development. The question arises as to how much inter-nation diffusion and international cooperation can go into textbook production. The further question is also implied of the extent to which educational sociology as a field must remain particularistic and national or universalistic and international.
Hitherto, the textbooks in educational sociology, especially those written during the last fifteen years, have been particularistic in their focus on national societies to such an extent that there are important gaps in the knowledge which they disseminate. The teacher in training, for whom these books are largely written, is preparing first and foremost to work in a community. In the United States and Canada, his second area of affiliation is likely to be the State or Province. Only thirdly will he see himself as a worker in the national education system of his country. At the same time, his general interests may lead him to see problems in an international light and his social conscience may respond to some of the current pressures which urge consideration of the problems of underdeveloped countries. The textbooks to which the teacher in training is recommended in educational sociology are deficient in material or exercises treating of the local and regional environments of education. Sociological studies of local areas abound -- they are only rarely found in educational sociology textbooks. Suggestions for community-based projects are a valuable way of introducing such studies -- they have largely ceased to appear in the textbooks of the last fifteen years. The deficiency in the area of local and regional studies in the textbooks is paralleled by a gap on the other side of the situation. With few exceptions, the universalistic aspects of the field aspired to by Znaniecki
receive scant treatment. Textbooks are needed in the field which combine the presentation of local and international material with the present national focus of the books. Whilst it may not be difficult to persuade the large national publishing houses, as well as writers, that an increase in international content would be consistent with present-day development of interest in inter-cultural studies and studies of developing nations, it may be more difficult to convince them of the need for the presentation of specifically local and regional materials.

The analysis of educational sociology textbooks as a reflection of a social invention raises implications for the future development of the field. An invention develops in a social context, but to continue it must be worked on. There is no guarantee that it will automatically fill the needs of its society. The future of educational sociology will, in no small measure, depend on the extent to which the questions raised in this discussion are accepted also as challenges.
REFERENCES


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Meroney, W. P. "The Use of Textbooks in the Introductory Course in Sociology." Journal of Educational Sociology 7 (September, 1933), 54-67.


APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY TEXTBOOKS ANALYZED

1911-1915


1916-1920


Robbins, Chas. L. *The Schools as a Social Institution*. Boston, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1918.


1921-1925


1926-1930


1931-1935


1936-1940


1941-1945


1946-1950


1951-1955


1956-1960


1961-1965


1966-1970


Havighurst, R. J. *Education in Metropolitan Areas.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1966.


Stalcup, R. J. Sociology and Education. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1968.


APPENDIX B

LIST OF BOOKS EXCLUDED FROM ANALYSIS

The following books were excluded from the analysis on the grounds that they were monographs or reports of research projects or that they were devoted primarily to philosophy, history or professional aspects of education.


