

larger numbers of all possible combinations.

Interview studies of mixed marriages to check on the present statistical analyses.

Studies of mixed marriages which have not ended in divorce to determine how well adjusted these couples are as compared with couples who do not make mixed marriages.

Research among marriages of different combinations of Protestants to determine whether certain of these marriages have contrasts which hinder marital adjustment.

More research to determine the chances for success in marriages of religiously oriented and non-religiously oriented persons.

SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION: A DEFINITION*

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IN THE minds of educators and sociologists, the concept, sociology of education, is associated with the concept, educational sociology. For that reason any discussion of a sociology of education which this paper proposes to define must take into consideration the development of educational sociology. At the turn of the present century, there was considerable enthusiasm for the development of a new discipline or at least a branch of sociology to be known as educational sociology. By 1914,¹ as many as sixteen institutions were offering courses called educational sociology. In the following period numerous books carrying some type of educational sociology title came off the press. These involved various concepts of the relationship between sociology and education.

By 1923 the "National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology."² was organized. This society met with both the American Sociological Society and the Department of Superintendents. Between 1923 and 1931 three yearbooks were issued by this organization, but such publications were discontinued and the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, founded in 1928 by E. G. Payne, became the official organ of the society. The

independent existence of the society³ ceased at about this time. Sociologists interested in problems of education have met as the educational section of the American Sociological Society at the annual meetings until 1948. The early demise of the National Society which was made up of both education specialists and sociologists is indicative of the divergence of interests in this group. The apparent demise of the educational sociology section suggests a lack of interest, among sociologists, in what has been known as educational sociology.

The same trend has been noted by various persons with regard to the college offerings in educational sociology. Herrington⁴ found a decline in courses from 1926 to 1947. This decrease may be due in part to the substitution of other sociology courses for former educational sociology courses in schools of education and teachers colleges. It seems safe to say, however, that in the past few years relatively few sociologists have been interested in educational sociology, and apparently there has been no increase in interest in departments of education.

Before eliminating the area from further consideration it may be desirable to examine the reasons for such a trend and to suggest an area in which sociologists who are interested in educational institutions can make an

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¹ D. H. Kulp, *Educational Sociology*, New York: Longmans Green, 1932, p. 536.

² *Ibid.*, p. 554.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 555.

⁴ G. S. Herrington, "The Status of Educational Sociology Today," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 21, (November 1947), p. 129.

acceptable contribution. The purpose of this paper is, therefore, two-fold. First, to examine what has been included under the rubrics educational sociology and sociology of education in order to understand the trends in the field. Second, to try to delineate an area of research involving educational processes and patterns in which sociologists are qualified to work and in which considerable numbers have shown some interest.

AREAS OF STUDY BY EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGISTS

The study by Lee⁵ in 1927 indicated that educational sociology courses had little similarity to one another in content. They gave the appearance of being merely a hodge-podge of subjects which instructors in sociology and education might put together for the training of teachers and others interested in education. The study of the aims of educational sociology by Moore⁶ in 1924 indicated a similar variety of content. An examination of the literature in educational sociology including books with this or a related title, as well as the periodical literature in which the field is defined or delineated, leads to a similar conclusion. It may be worth while to examine very briefly several conceptions or definitions of the area of educational sociology at this point. They are not mutually exclusive categories, but indicate the widely different although somewhat related ideas of the field.

Analysis of education as the means of social progress. Several of the early sociologists thought of educational sociology as a field which would provide the basis for social progress and the solution of social evils. This probably stems from the early work of Lester F. Ward⁷ in which he looked upon education as an ameliorative process whose main function is the improvement of society. Ward's emphasis on education as the means to progress in society is also seen in

⁵ H. Lee, *Status of Educational Sociology*, Monograph, New York University Press Bookstore, 1927.

⁶ C. B. Moore, "Aims of Educational Sociology," *Education*, Vol. 45, 159-70.

⁷ L. F. Ward, "Education as the Proximate Means of Progress," in his *Dynamic Sociology*, 1883.

the works of Good,⁸ Ellwood,⁹ and Kinneman.¹⁰ These men expressed the idea that the school might succeed in teaching the people to exercise social control in such an intelligent fashion that culture would progress to the highest level possible. Others have set similar tasks for educational sociology, but these indicate the nature of this conception of the field.

Educational sociology as providing the aims for education. A second conception of educational sociology can be recognized in the contributions of those who were concerned with social determination of the aims or objectives of education. Finney,¹¹ Snedden,¹² Peters,¹³ Clements,¹⁴ and Kinneman,¹⁵ all in various degrees thought of educational sociology as the objective analysis of the aims or purposes of education. In this sense they were attempting to arrive at a social philosophy of education which would be based on an analysis of society and the needs of people in society.

Application of sociology to education. Quite a number of students in the field have defined educational sociology as the application of sociology to educational problems. Most of the men mentioned in the previous paragraph discussed the application of sociology to curriculum development. Many of the persons who gave this catch-all definition of educational sociology also discussed specific problems. Among these are Smith,¹⁶

⁸ Alvin Good, "Sociology and Education," *Harpers*, Vol. XXVI, 1926, p. 25.

⁹ C. A. Ellwood, "What is Educational Sociology?" *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, (Sept. 1927), p. 25-30.

¹⁰ John A. Kinneman, *Society and Education*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932, p. 49.

¹¹ Ross L. Finney, "Divergent Views of Educational Sociology," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, (Oct. 1927), p. 100.

¹² David Snedden, *Sociology for Teachers*, New York: Century, 1924, p. 33.

¹³ C. C. Peters, *Foundation of Sociology*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935.

¹⁴ S. C. Clement, "Educational Sociology in Normal Schools and Teachers Colleges," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, 1927, p. 33.

¹⁵ Kinneman, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹⁶ W. R. Smith, *Principles of Educational Sociology*, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1928, p. 6.

Zorbaugh,¹⁷ and Kulp.¹⁸ More recently Brown encompassed the whole area of applications of sociology to education when he said that "The educational sociologist utilizes all that has been learned in both fields but joins them in a new science by applying sociological principles to the whole process of education."¹⁹ In addition to his emphasis on the idea of a sociological curriculum Zeleny²⁰ in his paper read before the educational sociology section of the American Sociological Society, a year ago, took the position that "Educational sociology cannot be a pure science; it must be applied to the control of education." Viewed in this light, educational sociology is strictly technology and not a science at all.

We turn now to consideration of somewhat different concepts of the educational sociology program. Viewed in one light, the following two approaches to educational sociology are almost as comprehensive as sociology in general.

The educational process as the socializing process. Prior to the more recent emphasis by sociologists and social psychologists on the development of personality, some educational sociologists viewed the entire process of socializing a child as the area of educational sociology. That part of the field of social experience in which the individual is affected by the social group was considered the field of cultivation for educational sociologists. Important in this group were Ellwood,²¹ Smith,²² and more recently, Brown.²³ Brown presents this view in quoting from Dodson: "Educational sociology is inter-

ested in the impact of the total cultural milieu in which and through which experience is acquired and organized. It is interested in the school, but recognizes it as a small part of the total. Educational sociology is particularly interested in finding out how to manipulate the educational process to achieve better personality development."

Sociology training for educational workers and training for educational research. The point of view expressed by Brown and Dodson is similar to that expressed by Payne²⁴ when he says, "by educational sociology we mean the science which describes and explains. . . the social relationships in which or through which the individual gains and organizes his experience." He also indicates "that educational sociology is interested in social behavior and the principles of its control." At various points he looks upon educational sociology as a comprehensive study of all aspects of education from a technological or applied science point of view. When this is examined in the light of New York University's very extensive sociology offerings in the School of Education we recognize that, for Payne, educational sociology included anything in the field of sociology which could be related to the learning or socializing process and anything in education that was subject to sociological analysis. This all-inclusive view plus the opportunity to develop a separate department at N. Y. U. led to a varied and multiple conception of the field of educational sociology. Primary emphasis throughout, however, if I understand it correctly, is on the need to provide teachers, research workers, and others interested in education with an adequate and effective training in sociology and its contributions to the understanding of the educational process.

In this sense the work being done at Ohio State University is similar to that at N.Y.U. Although a part of the sociology department, a staff of sociologists provide several courses in sociology for teacher trainees at this institution. It is understood that prospective

¹⁷ Harvey Zorbaugh, "Research in Educational Sociology," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, 1927, pp. 18-19.

¹⁸ Kulp, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

¹⁹ Francis Brown, *Educational Sociology*, New York: Prentice Hall, 1947, p. 35-36.

²⁰ Leslie Zeleny, "The Sociological Curriculum," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 13, especially p. 45, and "New Directions in Educational Sociology and the Teaching of Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 13, (June 1948), pp. 336-341.

²¹ C. A. Ellwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-30.

²² C. R. Smith, *op. cit.*

²³ Francis Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 35-36.

²⁴ E. G. Payne, *Principles of Educational Sociology*, New York University Press, 1928, p. 20.

teachers take educational sociology along with the general introductory course as the requirement in sociology. The emphasis at this institution is upon the understanding of the community and the total social scene in which the child is socialized. The nature of this work is indicated by Cook²⁵ and Greenhoe.²⁶ In both of the institutions mentioned, and perhaps in many others, educational sociology rather than other sociology courses are offered to teacher trainees. In many other institutions the teacher trainees receive similar contact with sociology but do so through the same courses offered to other students. Many of the books which were written as educational sociology texts reflect the desire to provide a survey of sociology as a general background for teachers.

The outline of trends in educational sociology made by Zeleny²⁷ in 1948 suggests a new departure in this field of training for teachers. He emphasized the contribution that sociologists, trained in social drama and role-taking procedures, could make to the techniques of teaching. He also emphasized the contribution which sociologists could make in socializing other techniques of classroom instruction.

Role of education in society. A more recent development in the field of educational sociology and quite different from the earlier orientations is the analysis of the role of education in the community and society generally. In his book, *Community Background of Education*, Cook has placed some emphasis upon the function of educational institutions in the community and has analyzed the social relationship between the school and other aspects of the community. Many of the rural sociologists have delineated rural communities and neighborhoods in relation to high-school and elementary-school attendance areas. Somewhat different but classifi-

able in the same general category is the analysis of the function of the school in the status structure of society with particular reference to the local community structure. The work of Warner²⁸ and his associates is significant in this area. The emphasis in all of them is on the analysis of the community and society with particular reference to the function of education. For this reason it is hardly appropriate to call this by the same name as the previous categories of educational sociology which placed much more emphasis on the idea of application.

Patterns of social interaction within the school and between the school and the community. Closely related to the above and similarly recent has been an attempt to analyze the patterns of social interaction and social roles within the school society and the relation of personalities within the school to outside groups. The work of Waller²⁹ was the first major attempt to analyze the role of teachers both in relation to their students and to the communities in which they teach. Greenhoe's³⁰ study of community contacts and participation of a nation-wide sample of school teachers is also significant. In this same general area are the analyses of the roles of teachers on the higher education level by Znaniecki³¹ and Wilson.³² Warren³³ has also made a study of teachers in his analysis of social roles. The studies of clique structure, leadership, and rejections have also been contributions to a sociology of the social groups within the school. Major con-

²⁵ W. L. Warner, R. J. Havighurst, and M. B. Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated?* New York: Harper & Bros., 1944.

²⁶ Willard Waller, *Sociology of Teaching*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1932.

²⁷ Florence Greenhoe, *Community Contacts and Participation of Teachers*, American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., 1941.

²⁸ Florian Znaniecki, *Social Roles of the Man of Knowledge*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.

²⁹ Logan Wilson, *Academic Man*, London: Oxford University Press, 1942.

³⁰ Roland Warren, Unpublished MS. which has been made available to the writer.

²⁵ L. A. Cook, *Community Backgrounds of Education*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938, p. 19.

²⁶ Florence Greenhoe, "Community Sociology and Teacher Training," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 13, (April 1940), pp. 463-470.

²⁷ Zeleny, *op. cit.*, 1948.

tributions in this field have been made by Cook³⁴ and Smucker.³⁵ Here again it is hardly accurate to list this approach as educational sociology if that rubric is to contain the variety of other work that has been described above.

Summary of various approaches to educational sociology. The range of differences among persons who call themselves educational sociologists has been apparent throughout the half-century of the concept's existence and was recognized by Lee in his 1926 study.³⁶ The practice of calling anything that anyone might want to include in a course for teachers educational sociology may be a factor in the decline of emphasis upon that type of course. Competent sociologists could hardly continue to have respect for such a hodge-podge of content. This becomes particularly evident when the emphases on value judgments, educational technology, and other materials foreign to the scientific analysis of social interaction are considered.

This apparent decline in interest in educational sociology among sociologists is not, however, an indication that sociology is no longer considered an important part of the training for prospective teachers. Although no evidence is immediately available to illustrate trends, there is some indication that teacher training institutions are offering many more sociology courses, other than educational, than they previously did. The

study by Landis³⁷ which found one thousand and twenty-two sociology courses listed in the catalogs of one hundred and sixty-two teacher colleges would substantiate the assumption that teacher training institutions are offering a considerable number of courses. This seems to be much greater than the number offered twenty years ago. This may mean that directors of teacher training programs have come to feel that teachers can get better training in sociology from other courses than those specifically designated educational sociology. This may account in part for the decline in the number of courses of the latter type.

The more recent interest of sociologists in the analysis of the educational system as a pattern of social interaction and its relation to other social systems suggests a new and different role for sociology in relation to education. It is this to which we now turn our attention.

SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION: SCIENTIFIC
ANALYSIS OF THE HUMAN RELATIONS
IN EDUCATION

The foregoing survey of various approaches to educational sociology may lead some to the conclusion that there is no place for a sociological analysis of education. It is our purpose here to note that there is not only such a place, but that it is one of the more important tasks that the sociologist is equipped to do. Furthermore, the stage of scientific development has arrived wherein a major contribution can be made to the educational system in our society. It should, however, be made clear at this point that there is no intention to disagree with those who wish to deal in the philosophy of education or the development of the goals or objectives of education from sociological data. Neither is there any wish to discredit those who, like Zeleny,³⁸ wish to apply sociological information and principles to the

³⁴ L. A. Cook, "An Experimental Sociographic Study of a Stratified 10th Grade Class," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 10, (April 1945), pp. 250-261.

³⁵ O. C. Smucker, "The Campus Clique As an Agency of Socialization," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 163-169; and "Prestige Status Stratification on a College Campus," *Journal of Applied Anthropology*, Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 20-27.

³⁶ Harvey Lee, "The Status of Educational Sociology in . . . Schools . . . Colleges . . . and Universities," New York University Press Bookstore, Summary in Payne, *Readings in Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, New York: Prentice Hall, 1939 pp. 2-8.

³⁷ Judson T. Landis, "The Sociology Curriculum and Teacher Training," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 12, (February 1947), pp. 113-116.

³⁸ Zeleny, *op. cit.*

construction of the school curriculum or to the improvement of teaching methods. It is submitted that these concepts of educational sociology either do not contribute to the scientific analysis of human relations—thus are not sociology—or that they are attempts to include all sociology under this rubric.

The fundamental and increasing importance of the educational process and the system of social relations associated with that process certainly makes it of such importance that the sociologist should turn his attention and abilities to the analysis of this aspect of the society. It is doubtful if those who wish to apply sociological principles and information to the school administration can make rapid progress until we understand the nature of the human relations within the school, and the social structure within which the schools operate in the community. Just as sociologists have turned their attention to the analysis of human relations in the family, industry, religion, politics, the community, or in any other system of social interaction, so it is appropriate for those trained in this field to determine the patterns of interaction in the educational system. Furthermore, this approach can meet the most rigorous requirements of scientific investigation. It can also make as much contribution to an understanding of the total society as the analysis of any other portion of society.

It should be pointed out that such a delineation of a field which we would designate the sociology of education is not new. Some years ago Angell³⁹ made a significant and valid definition of the field. He took the position that an educational sociologist should be simply a sociologist who specializes in his thoughts and research on the educational process. Furthermore, he maintained that in this light "educational sociology is then merely a branch of the pure science of sociology." He stated that he preferred to call this area of the discipline *Sociology of Edu-*

cation, because the approach was through the school as a source of data which could be analyzed rather than as something to be acted upon, which is implied in the traditional concept of educational sociology. Angell further pointed out that an applied science of educational sociology is impossible because the application of sociology alone to the educational process does not supply all that is necessary to administer and determine the policy of educational systems. The school administrator faced with the necessity of organizing and directing an educational system must draw upon the information provided by psychology, political science, economics, and many other disciplines. For this reason, as Angell pointed out, the problems of school administration involve a broad technology.

Somewhat later Reuter⁴⁰ made a similar delineation of the field when he pointed out that "the interests of the educational sociologist differs from that of the general sociologist only in the fact that he works with a specially selected set of materials. . . . He is interested to understand education's forms, functions and developments in diverse situations, to understand the behavior and ideologies of school men, to discover the effect of school on existing institutions and its influence on personality." Reuter further recognized the fact that his definition of educational sociology eliminated much that had gone by that name: "educational sociologists have for the most part been concerned with other than sociological material. . . . Even that labeled as sociological commonly deals with social, practical, and moral topics or with questions of educational objectives and curricular content rather than with sociological problems."

Unfortunately neither Angell nor Reuter followed up his delineation of the sociology of education with an extensive analysis in the field. In fact, only a limited number of contributions are found in the literature

³⁹Robert Cooley Angell, "Science, Sociology, and Education," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, (March, 1928), pp. 406-413.

⁴⁰E. B. Reuter, "The Problem of Educational Sociology," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. IX, (September 1935), pp. 15-22.

which can be included in the area outlined by these men. There is, however, a rapidly growing body of research data which makes possible the organization of a rather extensive and significant sociological analysis of the educational system in American society.

In summarizing the reflections on the earlier contributions to the so-called field of educational sociology and the more carefully defined concepts of what might preferably be called sociology of education, some criteria, both negative and positive, for delineating the latter field are suggested. First, it will *not* include all of sociology simply because sociology is good training for teachers. If the latter is true, then teachers should be trained in sociology. Having prospective teachers studying courses in sociology does not make that sociology a science of educational sociology. Second, sociology of education is *not* a technology of education. Certainly it is to be hoped that the educational administrator will know sociology and will use it in the administration of the school. It is also hoped that he will know more than sociology and that he will not be primarily a researcher in the social relations within the school.

Third, on the positive side, the sociology of education *is* the scientific analysis of the social processes and social patterns involved in the educational system. This assumes that education is a combination of social acts and that sociology deals with the analysis of human interaction. Such analysis of the human interaction in education may include both the formal education occurring in other places as well as the school and the multitude of informal communication processes which serve educational functions. It is also assumed that such an analysis would lead to development of scientific generalizations about human relations in the educational system. Finally, any adequate sociology of education must present hypotheses concerning such human relations which will provide the body of theory to be tested in research.

Although only limited segments of the area have been analyzed and few if any supportable generalizations are available,

there is a rapidly increasing number of contributions to a scientific analysis of the educational social system. There is no wish to withhold this information from the educator who wishes to improve the organization and administration of the educational system. In fact, it is hoped that the end result or goal of this area of sociological analysis will be just that. On the other hand, it is maintained that improvement in the school system can move forward much more rapidly if based upon a scientific analysis of the educational system when such is available. This is the task of the sociologist who is sufficiently interested to turn his abilities and attention to the social relations involved in the educational processes and patterns.

AN OUTLINE OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

The present state of research and analysis of the educational system makes it possible to indicate a tentative outline of a sociology of education. Because of personal interest and experience the outline will be limited to the areas of analysis that can now be recognized in the formal aspects of the educational system. These areas will provide the subject matter for a forthcoming book in the field of sociology of education.⁴¹

The relation of the educational system to other aspects of society. There is now available a considerable amount of evidence upon which to develop some theories about the relation of the educational system, particularly the schools, to other aspects of American society. This division of the sociology of education would include several subdivisions. Among them would be: (1) the relationship of the educational system to the processes of social and cultural change or the maintenance of the status quo, (2) the functioning of the formal educational system in the process of social reform in such areas of human relationships as those between racial, cultural, and other groups, (3) functions of the educational system in the process of

⁴¹The preparation of this manuscript, to be published by the American Book Company, is in process.

social control, (4) the relationship of education to the social class or status system, (5) the relation of the educational system to public opinion, and (6) the significance of education as a symbol of faith in democratic culture. There is no attempt to make an inclusive outline of all possible topics in the area, but to indicate those in which some analyses have been made. These will indicate something of the scope of this area without a bibliography of the contributions or a more detailed outline.

Human relations within the school. The second area of the sociology of education which is receiving increasing attention and to which many significant contributions have been made is the analysis of the social structure within the school. It has been pointed out that the cultural patterns within the school system are significantly different from other aspects of society, but much remains to be done to describe and analyze the nature of this school culture. A considerable number of studies have been made of the patterns of interaction among the persons in the school situation. This makes it possible to suggest several types of sociological analysis that would be included in this area. Among these are: (1) the nature of the school culture, particularly as it differs from the culture outside the school, (2) the nature of the patterns of stratification within the school, (3) the relationships between teachers and pupils, (4) the analysis of the clique and congeniality group structure in the school system, and (5) the nature of the leadership patterns and power structure in the school groups. There are no doubt other types of analysis in this area, but these will suggest the nature of the area and many of the contributions that have been made to it.

The relation between the school and community. A third area that has been the focus of attention for a number of sociologists is the analysis of the patterns of interaction between the school and other social groups in the immediate community. In this field one might include: (1) the delineation of the community as it affects school organiza-

tion,⁴² (2) the analysis of the community power structure as it impinges on the school, and (3) analysis of the relation between the school system and other social systems in the community. All of these are significant aspects of the increasingly accepted concept of the community school which is intended to achieve an educational system that is better integrated with the life of the community which it serves. Sociological analyses can well provide the type of knowledge that is essential for the achievement of this end.

The impact of the school on the behavior and personality of its participants. The last major division of the sociology of education to be mentioned might be considered a social psychology of the educational system. In this we are interested in analyzing the nature of the behavior patterns or personality that result from the participation of teachers, pupils, and others in the total educational system. Psychologists and educationists have devoted considerable research and theorizing to the problem of the impact of the school on the pupils. Sociologists and social psychologists can also make contributions by noting the significance of the social roles the child plays in relation to teachers and other pupils in the school society. Just as human relations in the school have the effect of defining the roles and behavior of the children, so do they define the roles and behavior of teachers. Thus the development of teacher personality is a significant aspect of an over-all sociology of education.

Some of the analyses that can be mentioned in this area are: (1) the social roles of the teacher, (2) the nature of the teacher's personality, (3) the impact of the teacher's personality on the behavior of students, (4) the role of the school in the growth, adjustment, and/or maladjustment of children, and (5) the nature of behavior resulting from varying degrees of authoritarian or democratic school situations.

Others would no doubt subdivide the

⁴² See J. F. Thaden and Eben Mumford, "High School Communities in Michigan," *Special Bulletin* 280, Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State College, E. Lansing, Jan., 1938.

sociology of education into other segments, but, in terms of the criteria indicated earlier, it would seem that these are the more significant areas in which some analyses have been made and for which there is some research evidence to support hypotheses and tentative theories. There is, however, a tremendous amount of research to be done before an adequate sociology of education can be said to exist.

SUMMARY

A review of the contributions to the field traditionally known as educational sociology indicates a wide variety of subject matter and concepts of the field. It further indicates that there has been an apparent decline of interest in educational sociology as such. This has been associated, however, with an increasing emphasis upon sociologi-

cal analysis as the means of understanding schools and the educational processes. This suggests the necessity for a comprehensive analysis of the human relations in the educational system and between the educational system and other aspects of society. These, with the impact of such human relations on the behavior of individual human beings, are suggested as the areas for research and analysis to be pursued in the sociology of education. The growing body of research and increasing interest suggests the advisability of distinguishing it from the earlier applied educational sociology. Although the apparent demise of the educational sociology section of the American Sociological Society suggests that this paper may be an elegy for educational sociology, it is hoped that it may be a part of the initiation ceremony for a robust sociology of education.

THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL LIFE IN SIX VILLAGES OF BENGAL*

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THE SOCIAL grouping of any people will, of course, follow its own laws and possess a life of its own, but the social organisation must contribute to, or at least sustain, the basic necessities of the people—or be rejected. Consequently, changes in the basic character of the economy of a people should be reflected in the social institutions, affecting the pattern of the institutions or even their very existence. In this paper an attempt is made to show, very briefly, the effect of economic changes on a few major social institutions in six villages of Bengal (viz., Silimpur, Hatsahar, Naopara, Amanipara, Roair and Ghorsal in the district of Bogra). These villages were studied by the writer in 1942 and 1945.

In a recent article the writer has shown

that, although rural Bengal as a whole, and these villages in particular, seem to represent an egalitarian society with a subsistence economy, the society is, in fact, based on commodity production which functions through a well-developed economic structure.¹ It was seen that the economic structure increasingly divided the traditional peasantry into a small section of rich farmers and a large majority of poor and landless peasantry. The traditional relation of production is still maintained within the economic structure by the middle peasantry, but this group is rapidly decreasing in strength. The writer now intends to show the effect of this developing economic structure

¹ Ramkrishna Mukherjee, "Economic Structure of Rural Bengal: A Survey of Six Villages," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (December, 1948), pp. 660-672.

* Manuscript received February 23, 1949.